John Clark Ridpath

CYCLOPÆDIA OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE CAREER OF THE HUMAN RACE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF CIVILIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME. FROM RECENT AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES

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To the Memory of

My Father and Mother

Who on the Rough Frontier of Civilization

Toiled and Suffered and Died that

Their Children

Might Inherit the Promise

Preface to Volume I.

WITHIN the present century the motives for writing History have been greatly intensified. First of all, the vision of the historian has been considerably widened by the enlargement of geographical knowledge and the establishment of the hitherto uncertain limits of cities and states. By this means not a few of the puzzling and contradictory aspects of the old-time annals have been brought into clearer light and truer proportion. More particularly in Ancient History has accurate geographical information contributed to the completeness and perspicuity of the narrative.

The rectification of Chronology, also, has gone forward with rapid strides, and the result has been no less than the writing anew of whole paragraphs in the earlier chapters of human history. If to this we add the splendid achievements in the department of Archæology, in deciphering the hitherto mute records of antiquity, and in interpreting the significance of the architectural monuments so abundant in most of the countries where civilization has flourished, we shall find a large, even an imperative, motive for reviewing and re-writing the records of the Ancient World.

It is, however, most of all, the Scientific spirit of the nineteenth century which has demanded, at the hands of the historian, an additional guaranty for the accuracy of his work. This spirit is abroad in all the world, and prevails most of all in the highest departments of human thought and activity. It has not hesitated to demand that History shall become a science. It has challenged or rejected the value of all historical writings that are not pervaded with the scientific method and modeled on the inductive plan. All this is well; the historian must scrutinize the foundations of his work and the validity of his structure.

It is to motives such as these that the great historical works of our century owe their origin. But for such reasons, Wilkinson, Ebers, Rawlinson, Duncker, and Curtius had never written; and the world would still be blindly following the unsifted stories of old. Thus much may be said, then, as to the general reasons for writing History.

The more particular motive which the Author of the present work has to offer to the public for undertaking the composition of a book so comprehensive as the title indicates, is this: A desire to bring within the reach of the average reader a concise and accurate summary of the principal events in the career of the human race. The historical works produced in our century have nearly all been in the nature of *special studies*, limited in their scope to a particular epoch. The result has been that the works in question are so elaborate in detail and so recondite in method, that the common reader has neither courage to undertake nor time to complete them. Before a single topic can be mastered, he finds himself lost in a labyrinth. The synthesis of different periods, treated by different authors, seems impossible; he turns in discouragement from the task; and to him the history of the past remains a sealed fountain.

It has thus come to pass that the average citizen, who, in the United States at least, is expected to have accurate general views on historical questions, may reasonably plead in bar that the historians, by not considering the limits of his time and opportunity, have put the required knowledge beyond his reach.

Be it far from me to say aught in disparagement of the learned labors of our great historians. They have fairly deserved the plaudits of mankind. It can not be denied, however, that the best of our recent historical works are, by excess of learning and the dissertative disposition of the writers, quite

incommensurate with the demands, and, I may say, the needs of the common reader.

It has been my purpose, in the preparation of these volumes, to *popularize* the subject without losing sight of the dignity and importance of the historian's office. The *People* are as much entitled to accurate information, concisely and graphically conveyed, as scholars are entitled to elaborate dissertation. It is a most pernicious error to admit that a true epitome of History can be hastily and easily prepared. Such a work, when conscientiously undertaken, requires the greatest care and the highest skill in execution.

In preparing the present work, I have freely availed myself of the best and most recent authorities. The names of Wilkinson, Brugsch, Bunsen, Ebers, Duncker, Rawlinson, Smith, Curtius, Grote, Niebuhr, Falke, Mommsen, and Von Ranke will suggest the secondary sources which have been relied upon; and these names are the guarantees for the fundamental accuracy of the narrative.

As to the style adopted in the following pages, as well as the general views expressed, and the method of treatment employed in the various parts—these are the Author's own. It has been my hope and aim in this work to relate the HISTORY OF THE WORLD in such a manner as to bring the vast record within a manageable limit, so that every reader who will, may obtain, at a moderate expense, and master, with a moderate endeavor, the better parts of the history of the past.

A word of explanation may be required respecting the arrangement of the earlier parts of the present work. Instead of beginning, as do most of the treatises on Ancient History, with the Chaldæan and Assyrian monarchies, I have chosen to begin with Egypt, tracing, first of all, the history of that country down to the time of its subjection to the Persians; then transferring the scene to Mesopotamia, and following thereafter the natural course of events from the Euphrates to the Tiber—from Babylon to Rome. The choice of the valley of the Nile, rather than the valley of the Tigris, as the place of beginning, has been determined by chronological considerations and the true sequence of events.

GREENCASTLE, 1890.

A brief explanation is also demanded respecting the line of division between Ancient and Modern History. Instead of selecting the downfall of the Western Empire of the Romans (A. D. 476) as the line of demarkation between the world of the ancients and our own, I have taken the overthrow of the Greek Empire by the conquest of Constantinople (A. D. 1453), as what may be properly called the death of Antiquity. True it is that Modern Europe was already in the nascent state before the final destruction of the old historical forces; and for that reason the attention of the reader will be recalled after the overthrow of the Eastern Empire, by the span of a thousand years, to the story of the Barbarian Nations, which may be fairly regarded as the opening scene in the drama of modern times.

It is also proper to add a word respecting the use of the term CYCLOPÆDIA in the title of these volumes. Popularly speaking, the word is limited to the discussion of topics alphabetically arranged; but neither etymology nor better usage in literature indicates any such limitation of meaning. I have chosen to use the word in its truer sense, as implying simply a discussion of *the whole circle* of the subject under consideration.

As it respects the illustrative part of the present work, it may be said that the aim has been kept constantly in view to make the illustrations contribute to a ready understanding and apt appreciation of the text. Great care has been taken in the preparation of the maps with which, by the liberality of the publishers, the following pages are so copiously interspersed. The cuts and drawings have all been selected and arranged in such relation with the text that the one shall illustrate the other.

I trust that the work, the plan and motive of which I have thus briefly summarized, may, in the present Revised and Enlarged Edition, meet with the same cordial reception at the hands of the public which has been extended to the author's other essays in historical literature. More particularly am I anxious that these volumes may prove to be worthy of the appreciation and praise of my countrymen, to whose candor and charitable criticism I now surrender the fruit of my labors.

J. C. R.

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Introduction to Volume I.

CIVILIZATION was first planted in the great river valleys of the East. The upland, hill-country, and plain reäcted less favorably upon the faculties of man than did the dark alluvium richly spread along the banks of overflowing streams. The exuberance of the soil thus formed, and the copious and perennial supply of water, gave great advantages to those primitive tribes of men who chose for their homes the valley-lands rather than the mountain slopes and plains. Accordingly we find that, at the suggestion of Nature, the first progressive communities were organized by the river-banks, on the fertile deposits made by the overflow of turbid waters as they spread out to meet the sea.

In such a locality the first well-developed society of which history is called to take account was established. Where the River Nile bears northwards to the Mediterranean his swollen waters, annually yellowed with the rich *débris* of the mountains, the oldest nation of antiquity was planted. The secular history of mankind properly begins with Egypt.

The second region to which the attention of the historian is directed is similar to the first. The valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris, occupying the depression between the Syrian plateau and the table-land of Persia, furnish a situation specially favorable to the development of great kingdoms. Here the incentives and instigations to a civilized life are scarcely inferior to those of Egypt; and accordingly we find that, at a very remote period, man availed himself of the natural advantages of the low-lands lying along the two great rivers, and planted powerful empires on their banks.

In this fruitful and well-watered region no fewer than three of the great monarchies of the ancient world—Chaldæa, Assyria, Babylonia—rose, flourished, and fell. It will therefore be natural, after tracing the vicissitudes of Egyptian history, down to the time of the conquest of that country by the Persians, to turn to the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and narrate, in chronological order, the histories of the three great kingdoms founded on the banks of those rivers. The Second, Third, and Fifth Books of Ancient History will thus be occupied with an account of the Chaldean, Assyrian, and Babylonian monarchies.

In an exhaustive account of the early movements of the human race, we should next enter the valley of the Indus. Here we should see the oldest branch of the Aryan family developing into the civilized condition, until, by the separation of the Iranic tribes on the west, a new dominion is established in the hill-countries of Media and Persia. We should observe the growth of this power, warlike and aggressive from the first, until attracted by the wealth and emboldened by the effeminacy of the Mesopotamians, the army of Cyaxares captures Nineveh and makes it the capital of the Median dominions. The Fourth Book will be occupied with the history of the Median Empire, down to its overthrow by Cyrus the Great.

With this event we may properly pause to observe the revival of Babylonia under Nabopolassar and his successors. We shall see a new power arising on the ruins of ancient Chaldæa more glorious than she, but destined to a brief career. The Lower or Later Empire of the Babylonians will occupy a few of the most brilliant and interesting chapters in the annals of antiquity.

The collapse of Babylonia under the blows of Cyrus will take the reader again beyond the Zagros and open to him the records of the Medo-Persian Empire. Here he shall note the growth, culmination, and decline of the greatest power ever planted by the Aryan race in Asia, and at its close shall mark with admiration the triumph of the freedom-loving Hellenes over the consolidated despotism established by Cyrus and his successors.

But before transferring his historical station from Asia to Europe, the reader may

well pause to observe the rise and expansion of a great native dynasty on the ruins of Persia. After a few striking evolutions, and the lapse of a brief period, a new Asiatic dominion, known as PARTHIA, springs up as the representative State of the Iranic nations. With this Power the successors of Alexander contend in desultory and fruitless wars until what time the shadow of Rome, extending across Asia, reaches the Euphrates. Then, for two and a half centuries, the Mistress of the World shall find a barrier to her progress in the long lines of Parthian cavalry lying in the desert horizon of Mesopotamia. The Seventh Book will be devoted to the history of the PARTHIAN EMPIRE.

The next change of scene will be to the GRECIAN ARCHIPELAGO. In the islands of the Ægean, and around the adjacent coasts of Asia Minor and Hellas, we shall see the Hellenic tribes establishing themselves and laying the foundations of the most brilliant civilization of the Ancient World. For a while Sparta, with her warrior caste, and Athens, with her intellectual activity, will occupy the foreground. The hosts of Persia will be precipitated upon the small but vigorous democracies of the Greeks, only to be destroyed by their valor. Macedonia shall then achieve, partly by prowess and partly by intrigue, what the Persians could not accomplish—the subjection of the Grecian States. The Eighth Book will contain an account of the rise of the Hellenic colonies, the glory of the Greeks, and their final subordination by the Macedonians.

In the next scene the Illyrian Greeks of the North, led by Philip and Alexander, shall subvert the democratic liberties of Hellas, visit Asia with retribution, overthrow the Medo-Persian Empire, and carry the Greek language to the banks of the Indus. Then, as suddenly, the great fabric reared by Macedonian genius shall collapse and disappear. The Ninth Book will recount the history of MACEDONIA, from the rise of the kingdom to the decline of the States established by the successors of Alexander the Great, in Asia.

In addition to these general aspects which the history of the Ancient World presents, certain minor considerations will, from time to time, claim our attention. Several countries in Asia Minor, Syria, on the northern coast of Africa, and in Europe, will at intervals demand attention and be made the subjects of special chapters in proper connection with the general narrative. In this way the history of Lydia and the other kingdoms of Asia Minor, Phœnicia, Israel, and the Greek colonies will be presented.

Summing up the results of this brief general survey of Ancient History, we find the subject presenting itself under nine principal heads, or divisions, as follows:

I. BOOK FIRST.—THE EGYPTIAN ASCENDENCY. From the founding of the Kingdom of Memphis, B. C. 3892, to the conquest of the country by the Persians, B. C. 525.

II. BOOK SECOND.—THE CHALDÆAN ASCENDENCY. From the establishment of the Cushite Kingdoms on the lower Euphrates, B. C. (about) 2400, to the subjection of Babylonia by the Assyrians, B. C. 1300.

III. BOOK THIRD.—THE ASSYRIAN ASCENDENCY. From the establishment of the Assyrian Empire, by the conquests of Tiglathi-Adar, B. C. 1300, to the destruction of Nineveh, B. C. 625.

IV. BOOK FOURTH.—THE MEDIAN ASCENDENCY. From the origin of that kingdom to its overthrow by Cyrus the Great, B. C. 558.

V. BOOK FIFTH.—THE BABYLONIAN ASCENDENCY. From the revival of the Lower Empire under Nabopolassar, B. C. 625, to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, B. C. 538.

VI. BOOK SIXTH.—THE PERSIAN ASCENDENCY. From the founding of the Empire of Achæmenes, B. C. 660, to the battle of Arbela, B. C. 331.

VII. BOOK SEVENTH.—THE PARTHIAN ASCENDENCY. From the revolt and accession of Arsaces I., B. C. 256, to the destruction of the Empire, A. D. 226.

VIII. BOOK EIGHTH.—THE HELLENIC ASCENDENCY. From the establishment of Greek colonies in Hellas, in the mythological ages, to the death of Alexander the Great, B. C. 323.

IX. BOOK NINTH.—THE MACEDONIAN ASCENDENCY. From the founding of the kingdom by Perdiccas I., B. C. ——, to the absorption of the last of the fragments of Alexander's dominions by the Roman Empire, B. C. 146.

In this order the History of the Ancient World will be presented in the following pages.

CYCLOPÆDIA

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

VOLUME I.

ORIENTAL MONARCHIES.

HELLENIC ASCENDENCY.

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AN EGYPTIAN PRINCESS.

Book First.

EGYPT.

CHAPTER I.—THE COUNTRY.

THE oldest civilization began on that continent which seems to be least favorable to the progress of the human race. Africa lies under the equator, sun-scorched and blasted. In the broadest part, through fifteen degrees of latitude, the country is a desert, the upheaved bed of a sea—more impassable than the trackless deep. The whole of the southern portion of the continent is occupied with a vast plateau which, descending to the north, sinks at intervals into jagged hills and anon into a tangle of impenetrable forests, wild and gloomy, where, through untold ages, the exuberant forces of Nature have triumphed over the genius and cowed the spirit of man.

The African coasts, though washed on three sides with oceans, are nowhere indented with great bays and inlets. Near the shores the mountains rise, and through these the rivers, gathering their waters in the table-lands of the interior, burst out in cataracts, make a short and precipitous course to the foot-hills, and then sluggishly traverse the narrow strip of low and marshy land lying between the hill-country and the sea.

NORTHERN AFRICA is a mountainous district occupying the space between the Sahara and the Mediterranean. Near the western extreme the peaks of the Atlas range rise to the region of perpetual snow. Further to the east the mountains sink down into hills and finally terminate in the plain of Barca, which is scarcely a thousand feet above the level of the sea. The northern slope, between the Atlas and the Mediterranean, is occupied with ranges of hills, deep valleys—sometimes cleft by mountain streams and sometimes dry and barren—plains of greater or less extent, and morasses and flats, characterized by the luxuriant vegetation peculiar to the well-watered portions of Africa.

At the eastern extreme of this northern slope, looking out towards the Mediterranean, opens the VALLEY OF THE NILE, the largest in Africa and most fruitful in the world. It occupies the north-eastern corner of the continent, being separated from Arabia by a narrow strip of sea and guarded on the west by the fastnesses of the desert. Through this

valley, from south to north, flows the great river, famous from the earliest epoch in history and tradition. Here, on either side of the river, stretching almost from the Tropic of Cancer to the Mediterranean, lies the narrow belt of black alluvium known as EGYPT.

From the great lakes lying under the equator; from the spurs of the table-lands beyond the equator; from the slopes of mountains whose gorges are filled with glaciers and summits are covered with snow, the western branch of the river of Egypt, known as the White Nile or Bahr-el-Abiad, gathers its waters. Plunging down from the highlands, it reaches a country of swamps and morasses; infinite jungles; thickets of bamboo, tamarisks, sycamores; humid and sunless forests, where zebras, antelopes, and elephants abound; muddy banks covered with reeds, through which the hippopotamus heaves his huge bulk and crocodiles slide with a lazy plunge. Further on in its course the river enters a region of grassy plains, interspersed with tropical forests, and occasionally broken into hills.

Far to the south-east, out of the table-lands of Abyssinia, from the slopes and rivulets of the range called Samen, the Bahr-el-Azrak or Blue Nile takes its rise, and descends with a smaller volume of waters to join the White Nile at Khartoom, in 15° 30′ N. From this point onward, through several degrees of latitude, the ranges of hills lie almost at right angles to the course of the river, which breaks through the successive barriers in a series of cataracts, the last being at Syene.

The country on either hand has now become a desert, and begins to take on the peculiar character of Egypt. The river at the last cataract is a thousand yards in width. From this point to the sea is a distance of seven hundred and fifty miles; and in all this course the Nile receives no tributary of any importance. From Syene to the Mediterranean stretches a vast fissure in the rocky structure of the continent; and in the bottom of this fissure, more or less winding and irregular in its course, flows calmly and majestically the great river which is the fundamental fact of Egypt.

Out of the rock-bound depression through which it flows the Nile has created a narrow valley, which for fecundity of vegetation has no equal in the world. On the west the valley is protected through its whole extent by the range of hills, which, standing back but a few miles from the river and parallel with its course, form an effectual barrier against the drifting sands of the desert. Against these hills, rising from three hundred to five hundred feet in height, the clouds of dust which blow up from the blasted wastes of Libya and Barca beat in vain. Only now and then, where the hills press close to the river, do the blinding storms from the west fling a thin shower of sand into the valley.

On the eastern side of the river a similar rampart of hills stands from north to south between the bottoms and the desert flats and sand-dunes which border the Red Sea. But on this side of the river the valley is much narrower than on the west. In some localities the eastern range rises abruptly from the water's edge, and in only a few places does the river divide impartially the verdant strip through which it flows.

The greatest breadth of cultivatable land on the eastern bank of the river is about three miles, and on the western bank about ten miles; but the average breadth on either side is not so great. About seventy-five miles from the Mediterranean the Nile divides into two branches, which flowing, the one in a north-easterly and the other in a north-westerly course, inclose between them and the sea the triangular district called the DELTA.

The climate of Egypt is peculiar to itself. In no other country do the same conditions exist. The temperature hardly varies as much as fifty degrees during the year. For eight months of the twelve the heat is tempered by refreshing winds. In the upper parts of Egypt clouds are never seen; mist, rain, and snow are impossible. Further down the valley an occasional fleecy cloud floats silently southward. In the Delta the sea-breezes from the north not infrequently bring on their dripping wings the benevolent gift of showers.

Egypt is divided into three principal parts. The first division, called LOWER EGYPT, extends from the Mediterranean to latitude twenty-nine degrees and twenty minutes north.

MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MOUTHS OF THE NILE
Rosetta
Damietta
CANOPUS
ALEXANDRIA
Bahr Mareotis
L. Mareotis
Bahr Sheikh Ahmed
Bahr Sheikh Abd el Kurneh
Bahr Sheikh Abd el Kurneh
Bahr Sheikh Abd el Kurneh
L. Menzaleh
Port Said
HERMOPOLIS PA.
Bahr Sheikh Abd el Kurneh
Bahr Sheikh Abd el Kurneh
Bahr Sheikh Abd el Kurneh

MURCHISON WATERFALL.—UPPER NILE.

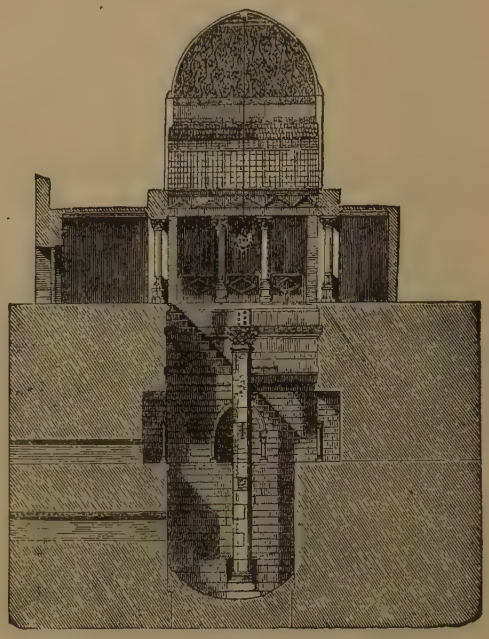
The second division, more recent than the other two, reaches from the southern limit of Lower Egypt to latitude twenty-seven degrees and thirty-eight minutes, and is called MIDDLE EGYPT. The third division extends from the southern boundary of Middle Egypt to the ancient city of Philæ, in latitude twenty-four degrees, and is known as UPPER EGYPT. The relative extent of these three great divisions of the country, as well as the course of the

river and the shape of the valley, may be accurately traced on the accompanying map.

In addition to the three major divisions of the country, and for convenience of civil administration, ancient Egypt was divided into provinces called NOMES. Mention of such divisions has been found as early as the First Dynasty, and in the subsequent inscriptions the name of *hesp*, or Nome, is constantly recurring. The number of the provinces differed at different periods, the lists of Herodotus and Diodorus being in several places incomplete or contradictory. The standard number of Nomes, according to Brugsch, was forty-two; and there is little doubt that the forty-two judges who constituted the High Court of Egypt, as well as the myth of the forty-two gods who presided over the tribunal of the dead, may be accounted for on the supposition of one judge for each Nome, called to a general council. Each of the Nomes had for its center a city and a temple, and here was established the seat of civil government for the district.

The possibilities of Egypt are all traceable to a single striking phenomenon—the annual inundation of the Nile. About the time of the summer solstice, when the sun looking down vertically upon the ice-gorges in the Abyssinian mountains melts the deposits of snow and pours them in yellow cascades to join their waters in the two great arms of the river, the first pulsations of the flood are felt in Egypt. Where the White Nile receives the Blue at Khartoom, the initial symptoms of the rise are sometimes felt as early as April; but the true swell of the waters does not generally begin until the middle or latter part of June. Then the volume of the river begins to increase; the channel fills to overflow; the current grows turbid, widens and deepens; by the middle of August the inundation proper pours into the valley, and by the autumnal equinox the flood is at its height. Then, after the maximum has been reached, the waters begin to recede.

The banks of the river are, in most places, higher than the adjacent valley-lands. To prevent a violent overflow, huge canals are cut into the bottoms at an angle with the course of the stream; and, during the recession of the flood, the mouths of these canals are closed and the retreat of the waters thus retarded. Almost five months elapse before the river finds his old bed, so that during nearly three-fourths of the year the manifestations of the swell are noticeable in Egypt.



NILOMETER.

The annual flood is by no means uniform throughout the whole course of the river. The greatest rise is in Upper, and the smallest in Lower Egypt. At the first cataract the inundation rises forty feet above low water. At Thebes, thirty-six feet is the maximum; at Cairo, twenty-five feet; while at the Damietta and Rosetta mouths of the Nile the average rise is only four feet. The volume of the annual overflow is, however, by no means uniform. In some years the flood is twice as great as in others. If the swell does not exceed eighteen or twenty feet the rise is regarded as scanty; from twenty to twenty-four feet is considered a meager Nile; from twenty-four to twenty-seven feet, a good Nile; while a flood of more than twenty-eight feet becomes destructive and dangerous. In a few rare instances there is no rise at all, which condition is a sure precursor of distress and famine. During the reign of the Caliph Mustansir a period of seven years (A. D. 1066–

1073) elapsed in which there was no inundation. A slight rise is sure to occasion dearth; and on the other hand a great flood, in addition to the usual disasters attending high waters, entails various infectious diseases, especially murrain and the plague. It thus happens that a variation of only a few feet in the annual overflow of the river produces the most important results.

From time immemorial the yearly prosperity of Egypt has been estimated by the periodic overflow of the Nile. At Er-Rodah, near Cairo, in Lower Egypt; at Memphis, a little further south; and at Thebes, graduated pillars, called Nilometers, register the height of the annual inundation, and from this the annual estimates are made.

COPTIC WOMEN FORDING THE NILE (MODERN).

The current of the Nile is sluggish, the average velocity being at low water no more than two miles per hour, and during the flood not exceeding three or three and a-half miles. The water of the river differs greatly in appearance at different seasons of the year. During the inundation the stream is exceedingly turbid. Afterwards for about two weeks it assumes a greenish tinge, owing to the presence of large quantities of vegetable matter brought down from the tropics. Again it takes the turbid appearance, and retains it during the period of subsidence, until the winter months, when the waters are comparatively clear. At all times, when not agitated, the earthy sediment is quickly deposited, and, except during the green stage of the flood, the water is pure and sweet.

Egypt is the "Gift of the Nile"—so called from antiquity. As the waters of the annual overflow subside, a film of the richest alluvium is deposited over the whole valley. No artificial methods of renewing the soil can equal what nature has here gratuitously provided. True it is that the annual layer, contrary to popular belief, is exceedingly thin, aggregating only about four and a-half inches in

a century; but, notwithstanding the small amount of matter actually deposited, the soil of the valley, lying for so long a period under the fertilizing water, comes forth after each inundation fresh and fecund as though still warm from creation. Such a soil no cultivation can exhaust—no abuse destroy. The cooling of the air by the immense body of water which rolls through the valley, and the complete saturation of the earth with the flood in the very crisis of summer, when all the circumjacent countries are burned to a crisp, constitute the two essential advantages which Egypt has immemorially enjoyed. To these facts she owes her preëminence in ancient history. Notwithstanding her rainless climate, and the gleaming blue of her cloudless skies, Egypt, nourished and sustained, watered and cooled, by the munificence of her solitary river, offered to the primitive race of men the most luxuriant and beautiful home of all the habitable globe.

CHAPTER II.—THE PEOPLE.

HE origin of the ancient Egyptians is involved in the same obscurity that clouds the early history of most races. One by one the ancient peoples emerge from the shadows, but the source of their emergence is hidden in the vapor and mist of the dawn. Races, like men, have no recollection of their own infancy and childhood.

It is now generally agreed that at a very remote period an aboriginal population, feeble in numbers and prowess, was displaced in Egypt by bands of immigrants from Asia; that these immigrants belonged to a white race, and that they were *not* Semites or Negroes. It appears that the incursive tribe came in full force, and that the invaders were not modified to any considerable degree by the influence of the original population of the country. The early inhabitants of the Nile valley and of the district drained by its tributaries were as clearly distinguished from the well-known Nigritian types of Africa as were any of the white peoples of Asia.

The motives for the coming of these white Asiatics into North-eastern Africa were the same which usually induce tribal migrations—namely, overcrowding in the original seats of the tribe, the predatory and adventurous impulse, and those strange cosmic influences which draw all the tendrils of animal and vegetable life towards the West. The law appears to be world-wide in its operation.

Be this as it may, there is no reason to doubt that the immigrant tribes that peopled Egypt were thrown into that country by the same impulses which in successive ages carried into Europe the Celtic, the Hellenic, and the Teutonic races; and the influence of the aborigines in forming the new nationality of Egypt was not greater than that of the primitive peoples north of the Mediterranean upon the invaders of those countries. Doubtless the principal motive which impelled the Asiatic bands towards Egypt was conquest, and the course of their movements from the lower part of the valley southward is distinctly marked. The record of their advances through Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt is unmistakable, and the evidence thus afforded gives a complete refutation to the theory that the ancient inhabitants of the country were the descendants of the Ethiopians. On the contrary, it is definitely established that the valley of the Nile and the greater part of the northern coast of Africa, as far south as the hill-country of Abyssinia, were settled by a people who in color, language, and institutions were wholly different from the black races of the interior.

It is probable, therefore, that the ancient Egyptians were, ethnically considered, a branch of that Cushite family of Asiatic origin which at a very remote epoch occupied and civilized the lower valley of the Tigris

and the Euphrates. The ethnic position of the Egyptians will accordingly be given as in the annexed diagram:

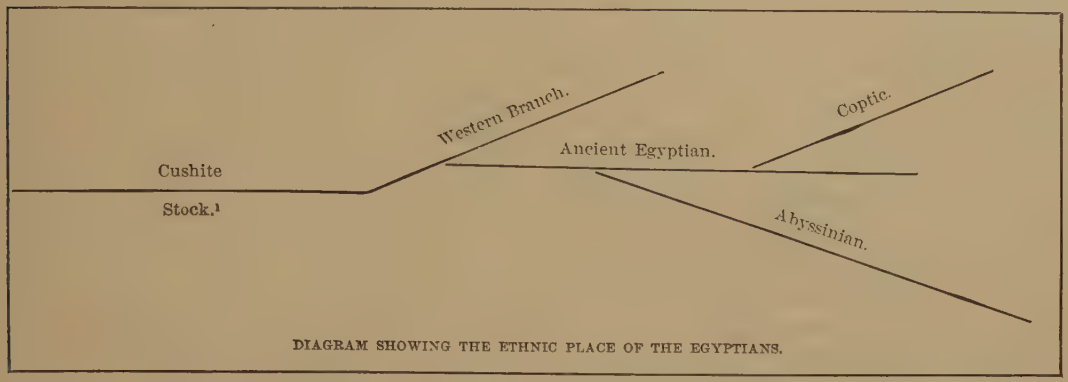


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE ETHNIC PLACE OF THE EGYPTIANS.

It must not be supposed, however, that the invaders of the valley of the Nile were uninfluenced in their primitive character by previous contact with other races. The language spoken by the ancient Egyptians gives unmistakable evidence of intercourse between them and both the Semitic and Aryan branches of the human family. But the ancient speech of Egypt was a distinct tongue, and the attempt to classify it as a Semitic dialect is as erroneous as to make the English language an offshoot of Latin, or German a derivative of Greek.

From the sculptures and inscriptions it is certain that as many as four races of men were known to the Egyptians—three besides themselves. In a tomb at Thebes, belonging to about the year 1500 B. C., a scene is depicted in which the god Horus is represented as leading a company of sixteen persons in groups of four, each group belonging to a different race. In the company the Egyptian, Semitic, Nigritian, and Aryan types of mankind are delineated with a clearness not to be mistaken; so that both before and after the original conquest of the Nile valley by the people called Egyptians, it is certain that they were ethnically modified by contact with other races.

The Asiatic invaders of Egypt, upon their entrance into the valley, found themselves in the midst of strange surroundings. Their previous life was in no manner *suited* to the new condition. The vocation of the hunter, the wild flight of the nomad, and the vigil of the shepherd were no longer practicable. Instead of the open plains and boundless deserts, they found here a narrow oasis, green, cool, and luxuriant. Here were no forests. Here were no storms of rain. Here nature restored the soil with her own riches, and yielded her abundance without labor. The first result of the new situation was that the immigrants abandoned the pastoral life for the pursuits of agriculture, and at a very early date acquired fixed habitations.

The first season after the invasion would bring to the new people the striking phenomenon of a flood in the river; and the regular recurrence of the same fact year by year would force upon their attention the advantages as well as the dangers of the overflow, and suggest the best means of protecting man and beast. Intercourse must be maintained dur-

[1] Scholars are divided in opinion as to the original stock from which the ancient Egyptians and the modern Copts are descended. One class of writers, headed by Bunsen, hold that the stem from which the Cushite races sprang was certainly Semitic—a judgment based on the fact of Semitic radicals and idioms in the Egyptian language. Another class, headed by Rénan, as stoutly maintain that the primitive stock of the Egyptian and Abyssinian races was Aryan or Indo-Europic. Each of these theories seems to be beset with difficulties quite insuperable. A better opinion is that the primitive people of southern Arabia, of the lower Tigris, of the ocean shores as far east as India, and, on the west, of the Nile valley and Abyssinia, were neither Semites nor Aryans. The Author has accordingly given to the original stem of these races the general designation of "Cushite Stock," without attempting to trace its Aryan or Semitic affinities.

ing the long period of the inundation, and the primitive dealings of the mart must be carried on by water. Supplies must be provided and landmarks must be firmly set, so that there shall be no displacement by the flood. The coöperation of man with man was a necessity of the situation. The range of hills on either hand, pressing upon the increasing population, stimulated the establishment of social order, and rendered necessary the organization of large communities. The situation favored the multiplication of villages, the projection of common enterprises, and the building of cities. In no country of the ancient world were there so many towns, great and small, crowded into so narrow a district as in the valley of the Nile. The existence of great civic communities sprang from the conditions here suggested.

Nature to the ancient Egyptians presented a fixed and unchanging outline. In no other region of the globe did natural phenomena recur in an order so monotonous. The few birds that frequented the plashy brink of the river gave forth an ominous cry. The landscape was solemn; the sky, still and cloudless. Man surrounded with such a scene and impressed by such associations must soon acquire a character stern, sedate, and passionless. The ancient Egyptians were the most unmirthful of all the peoples of antiquity. The environment was such as to blunt the mirthful sentiments and dwarf the fancy. Only a race unimpassioned and saturnine could inhabit and develop Egypt.

The sameness of nature had another and still more important influence upon the early inhabitants of the country. The unchanging aspect and persistent recurrence of the same phenomena strongly stimulated the natural disposition of men to follow the same pursuit from generation to generation, thus laying the foundation of the system of caste. Whenever a vocation is handed down from father to son for several generations, that pursuit becomes more honorable than others, and it is soon regarded as a misfortune and disgrace to fall out of the line of ancestral activities and achievements. In Egypt only a few pursuits were possible; and whenever a given family had become identified with a certain calling, as of agriculture, priestcraft, or war, it soon became little less than a scandal and a sacrilege in a member of that family to abandon the honored vocation or to affiliate with those who followed less favored pursuits. In but a few countries of the world were the antecedent conditions of caste so strongly operative as in Egypt, and in but a few were castes so early and firmly established.

The abundance soon acquired by the ancient Egyptians, the fertility of their lands, the clustering villages, and the facility of access to the valley, quickly aroused the predatory lust of the surrounding tribes. The nomads of the deserts and hills saw in the rich bottoms every inducement to foray and incursion. Those who were bravest to repel attacks and swiftest in punishing the marauders would soon be held as public benefactors, deliverers of the land out of the hands of brigands and robbers.

Property is always swift to reward its defender. The esteem in which the warrior is held increases with each successful defense of the fields and villages. The timid tillers of the soil willingly yield the palm of precedence and authority to the soldier who fights their battles. He grows strong, and stands high above those who build walls and gather harvests. The situation in Egypt was of a kind to call into constant requisition the services of a valorous soldiery, and consequently to establish and make preëminent a military caste in the country.

In the establishment of ancient states and kingdoms, he who stood as the interpreter of Nature was likewise held in great honor and esteem. The mysterious character of the duty which he was called to perform lent a charm to his office and gave to the priest—for such he was—a reputation for sanctity and wisdom. Popular respect soon grew into veneration, and the local repute of the seer quickly widened into general fame.

In proportion to the magnitude and mystery of the problems which the priest had to solve would be the reverential awe and respect with which he would be regarded by the people. If, at any time or under any conditions,

the phenomena of Nature seemed of manifest explanation, if the causes of things appeared to be easily traceable to other causes already explained by reason or tradition, to that extent would the office and influence of the priest suffer in popular esteem; and if, under other conditions, natural phenomena seemed to be specially involved and mysterious, if the causes of things appeared occult and far beyond the reach of human vision, to that degree would the character and office of the seer be held in veneration. In no other country of ancient or modern times were the aspects and processes of Nature clothed in such profound mystery as in Egypt. Here the one great striking phenomenon—the inundation of the Nile—seemed to be absolutely causeless. The absence of rain and snow left the popular imagination without even a vague hint respecting the origin of that great natural fact upon which his very life depended. The source of the river, being inaccessible by distance and the interposition of the cataracts which effectually barred up-stream exploration, seemed almost as remote and infinite as the origin of the annual flood. The solemnity of the procession of the planets and stars, unobscured by tree or mountain or cloud, heightened the effect of the mundane mystery. As the yellow, turbid waters swelled bank-full and silently overspread the valley, rising higher and higher without apparent cause, driving the flocks to the higher grounds and the people into upper compartments, the ancient Egyptians found themselves in a situation strangely combining the hurry and commotion of cities with the solitude of the seas. They who, in the midst of such phenomena, seemingly causeless and preternatural, assumed the task of accounting for the order and the cause of things—that is, of constructing a system of natural and religious philosophy—would from the beginning be regarded by the people with peculiar awe and veneration. Even the powerful soldier-class would do reverence to those who explained—and perhaps influenced—that hidden world of mystery from which proceeded both benefits and disasters. The natural environment in which the civilization of ancient Egypt was planted was exceptionally favorable to the development of a priestly caste, separated from the people and specially powerful in the affairs of the nation.

In a country of hills and rivers and forests, the people are easily divided into distinct communities, having diverse tastes and conflicting political interests. In such a situation there is a natural tendency to the development of popular institutions. Republics spring up and flourish under conditions of struggling personal interests and antagonistic political preferences. In countries where the physical and industrial situation of all classes is the same, institutions of an opposite sort are likely to prevail. Monarchy finds its natural soil in the sameness of the situation of its subjects. And this was peculiarly the condition in ancient Egypt. A great number of civic communities, some greater, some of less note, but all in like relation as to soil, industry, disposition, interest, and physical surrounding, could but suggest a strong centralized government, despotic in its nature and military in its methods. The situation was such as to foster and develop a race of warrior-princes, before whose ambitions the liberties of the Egyptians would fall an easy prey.

Such then was the ethnic origin of the people of Egypt, so far as it is understood; and such were the antecedent physical conditions by which that people was most deeply impressed during the formative period of Egyptian nationality. From these conditions arose the peculiar institutions which flourished for so long a period in the valley of the Nile.

The ancient Egyptians were a people of great power and vigor, but without the passions and caprices of most of the European tribes. The constitution of the race was at once elastic and conservative, energetic and restful, obedient and pertinacious. It was a race self-conscious without egotism, haughty without disdain, laborious without great motives, ambitious without enthusiasm, warlike without the spirit of conquest.

In physical form the Egyptians were closely allied to the Asiatic peoples with whom they were ethnically related. The person and countenance, however, soon assumed a distinct type under the influence of the peculiar climate to

which they were exposed. Judging from the mummies and sculptures, the expression of the Egyptian face was sedate, fixed, impassive. The forehead was symmetrical, but rather low and receding. The eyes were black, large, and longer than those of any other race. The nose was of unusual length and slightly

COPTIC MAIDEN (MODERN).

formed in the bridge. The mouth was calm and expressive; lips full, but not protruding; teeth, white and regular; chin, small and round; cheek-bones, rather high and prominent. The general outline of the face was oval, the features of the man being narrower than those of the woman. The hair was long, full, black, and crisp, like that of the Babylonians. The beard was scantier, and was either shaven or plaited and worn in a manner exceedingly artificial. The complexion varied from a pink flesh-color and light olive in children and girls to a darkish brown in men. The accompanying cut of the head of a modern Coptic maiden will serve to show to what extent ages of time and mutations of circumstance have modified the physiognomy of Ancient Egypt into the face of to-day.

The Egyptians were a lithe and active people, capable of considerable endurance, but by no means so heavy and muscular as the average of the European races. Judging from the recorded reigns of the kings, the

longevity was considerably above that of most peoples of modern times, though not greater than that of several ancient nations. Nor does it appear that the disposition of the Egyptian—albeit he was a grave and solemn being—was incapable of cheerfulness and pleasure. His courage and pertinacity, his persistent prosecution of life-long enterprises, his skill in architecture and valor in war, his industry and frugality in peace, his placid demeanor in society and undoubted preëminence in the greatest of ancient arts, will be abundantly shown in tracing the history of those mighty kingdoms founded and maintained by his genius in the valley of the Nile.

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY ANNALS.

THE chronology of the earlier ages of Egyptian history is confused and uncertain. The sources from which the dates are taken, though unusually abundant, are in many parts obscure, and in some conflicting. According to the Greek historians, the Egyptians were the oldest race of men. When Herodotus traveled in Egypt (about 450 B. C.), the priests recited to him traditions of the extraordinary antiquity of their people. They read to him from a roll of papyrus the names of three hundred and forty-one kings who had reigned over the country between the time of Menes, founder of Memphis and first mortal ruler of Egypt, and the reign of Seti[1]. Before this time the land was said to have been for thousands of years under the dominion of several dynasties of gods—first the Eight Gods, then the Twelve Gods, then Osiris, then Typhon, and last of all Horus, who immediately preceded Menes, the first mortal king. The priests also took Herodotus into the temple of Thebes, and showed him in one of the halls the wooden effigies of three hundred and forty-five priests who from father to son had exercised the highest priestly office during the reigns of the kings from Menes to Seti. Each in his own life had placed his statue there.

From these data Herodotus made up his estimate of the antiquity of Egypt. Allowing three generations to a century, he computed the whole time—three hundred and forty generations—from Menes to Seti at 11,340 years. From the accession of Seti to the conquest of Egypt by the Persians in 525 B. C. Herodotus reckons one hundred and fifty years; so that according to the Greek calculations, based as they were upon the traditional records kept by the Egyptian priesthood, the accession of Menes antedates somewhat the year 12,000 B. C.

Four centuries after the time of Herodotus, Diodorus traveled in Egypt, and to him also the legends of the priests were rehearsed. They now placed the number of their kings at four hundred and seventy, beginning with Menes; and Diodorus declares that of all these kings the priests had preserved in their holy books individual sketches, showing such minute details as how tall each king was, what he was like, and what he did. According to the computations of Diodorus, if the length of a generation be estimated as by Herodotus, the accession of Menes is thrust back to the year 16,492 B. C. If the estimate be reduced by allowing four instead of three generations to a century, the epoch of Menes is brought down, according to the data of Herodotus, to 9175, and according to Diodorus, to the year 12,500 B. C. Such are the fabulous aspects of the question.

From such extravagant recitals only thus much is clear: that the priests of Egypt possessed recorded lists of their kings, extending in a long series to an almost incredible antiquity; and that even of a mythical age preceding this, when gods and demi-gods ruled the people, accredited traditions were recited.

After the time of Alexander the Great, the

[1] In Greek, *Sethos*.

monuments of Egypt were opened to the researches of the Greeks. Eratosthenes, the famous librarian of Alexandria, transcribed from the sacred books of Thebes the names and histories of thirty-eight kings who had reigned in that city; and this list was afterwards carried out and completed by Apollodorus, who added the names of fifty-three additional Theban monarchs, making ninety-one in all.

A short time previous to this, about the year 250 B. C., a learned Egyptian, named Manetho, a scribe in the temple of Thebes, produced in three books a work on the history of Egypt. The book itself, in the confusion of after times, was lost; but fragmentary chapters of it were copied into the works of other historians, notably Josephus, Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus, and were thus preserved for posterity. According to Manetho, the rule of the Egyptian kings began with Menes and extended through thirty dynasties, down to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus, a period of 5,366 years. The date of the reign of Artaxerxes is 340 B. C., which gives for date of the accession of Menes the year 5706 B. C. This reckoning, however, is in Egyptian years, the same giving, when reduced to the Julian calendar, the year 5702 as the date of Menes.

The next view of the case is that presented by the historian Diodorus, already referred to. Further investigations among the priests and temples of Thebes revealed to him many sources of error in the traditional accounts first given of the lists of kings. The corrections and reductions of dates thus suggested, contracted the extravagant computations accredited by the priests, until the accession of Menes was brought down to a date somewhat more recent than the year 5000 B. C. One account gave Diodorus assurance that "for more than 4,700 years, kings, mostly native, had ruled, and the land had prospered greatly under them." Another narrative stated clearly that the oldest pyramid was built 3,400 years before the time of Diodorus's travels. The corrected view of this historian, therefore, fixes the date of Menes at about the year 4800 B. C.

It will thus be seen that the problem presented to modern research is this: Laying side by side the lists of kings given by Manetho and preserved by Josephus, Eusebius, Africanus, and Syncellus; the lists of the same as contained in the works of Diodorus; the lists of the same given by Eratosthenes; the lists of the same as preserved in what is known as the Turin Papyrus (belonging to a period somewhere between 1000 and 1500 B. C.); the lists of the same as deciphered from the existing monuments of Egypt—to determine by comparison and equation of dates the true chronology of the period. The chief difficulty which confuses the problem is this: Whether any, a few, or many of the kings belonging to the thirty dynasties extending from Menes to the subjugation of Egypt by the Persians were contemporaneous—reigning in different parts of the country at the same time, or whether all the dynasties were consecutive—succeeding each other in chronological order from first to last. For it is easy to conceive that one dynasty might have had dominion in Lower while another was reigning in Middle or Upper Egypt.

Some archæologists and historians have decided this question in one way and some in another. Some have held that a few of the dynasties were contemporaneous and most of them consecutive; while others have reversed the order. The lists given by Manetho were evidently *intended* to be given in consecutive order, and the same may be said of those of Eratosthenes, and of those transcribed from the monuments. But a comparison of one list with another always shows discrepancies. The archæologist Mariette, accepting the lists of Manetho, has placed the accession of Menes at 5004 B. C. The historian Brugsch has fixed upon 4400 B. C. as the true date of that event; and Professor Lepsius, following a somewhat different line of investigation, has reduced the latter estimate by 508 years, setting the era of Menes at the year 3892 B. C. This last date is accepted by Dr. Duncker as the best approximation which is possible in the present state of historical researches, though Baron Bunsen stoutly maintains that the Lepsian date ought to be reduced to

CELEBRITIES OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

the year 3643 B. C.—a difference of 243 years.

The system of Lepsius may be regarded as approximately established; and the following table will, therefore, present the best that is now known of the twenty-six Egyptian dynasties from the accession of Menes to the conquest of the country by the Persians:

EMPIRE.	DYNASTY	CAPITAL.	DATE B. C
Old Empire	I	This (Abydos)	3892
	II	"	3639
	III	Memphis	3338
	IV	"	3124
	V	"	2840
	VI	Elephantine	2744
	VII	Memphis	2592
	VIII	"	2522
	IX	Heracleopolis	2674*
	X	"	2565*
	XI	Thebes	2423
	XII	"	2380
	XIII	"	2136
	XIV	Xoïs	2167†
Middle Empire	XV	(The Hyksos)	2101
	XVI	" "	1842
	XVII	" "	1684
	XVIII	Thebes	1591
New Empire	XIX	"	1443
	XX	"	1269
	XXI	Tanis	1091
	XXII	Bubastis	961
	XXIII	Tanis	787
	XXIV	Saïs	729
	XXV	(The Ethiopians)	716
	XXVI	Saïs	685
	XXVII	(The Persians)	525

* Dynasties IX. and X., reigning at Heracleopolis, antedated somewhat the contemporaneous Dynasties VII. and VIII., reigning at Memphis.

† Dynasty XIV., in like manner, antedates Dynasty XIII., at Thebes.

The civil and political history of Egypt begins with the reign of Menes,[1] founder of the First Dynasty. He was a native of This, the modern Abydos, in Upper Egypt. To him belongs the distinction of having brought under one dominion the several Egyptian states. Selecting with great wisdom a site on the lower Nile, a short distance above the divergence into the Delta, he constructed a dam, turned the course of the river to the east, and in the district thus reclaimed laid the foundations of Memphis, the most splendid city of Egypt. Here he established his capital; here was built the temple of Ptah; and here the first recorded triumphs of Egyptian civilization were achieved.

[1] In Egyptian, *Mena*.

On the north and west of the city, Menes directed artificial lakes to be constructed as a part of the defenses of his metropolis. On the south side a huge dyke was thrown up as a protection against inundations of the river. The treasures of the government were established in the city; the laws were revised, and the methods of administration perfected by the king and his counselors. After a long reign of sixty-two years, Menes lost his life in a battle with a hippopotamus, and was enrolled by his countrymen among the gods of Egypt.

Menes was succeeded on the throne by Ateta,[1] to whom is attributed the building of the citadel and palace of Memphis. He is reputed to have been a physician and writer of works on anatomy, fragments of which have survived to the present day.

The third monarch was Kenkenes, of whom no traditions are preserved. The fourth was Uenephes, in whose reign occurred the first famine recorded in Egyptian history. To him is attributed the building of the pyramid of Kochomé, the oldest, perhaps, of all these marvelous structures. During the reign of Semenpses, the seventh king of the First Dynasty, a great plague is said to have occurred, and many accompanying portents are mentioned in the traditions of the time. The fact of a plague and a famine at an epoch so remote as the earliest dynasty is sufficient proof that the country was already old and thickly peopled.

The accession of Butan[2] marks the beginning of Dynasty II. During the reign of this monarch an earthquake is said to have opened a great chasm, swallowing up many people near the city of Bubastis, in Lower Egypt. The successor of Butan was Kakan,[3] who is celebrated for having introduced the worship of the bull Apis at Memphis, the calf Mnevis at Heliopolis, and the sacred goat at Mendes. The reign of the next king, Bainnuter,[4] was distinguished by the passage of a law making woman, equally with man, eligible to the crown of Egypt. During the reign of Nephercheres, the seventh sovereign

[1] In Greek, *Athotis*.
[2] In Greek, *Boëthos*.
[3] In Greek, *Kaiechos*.
[4] In Greek, *Binothris*.

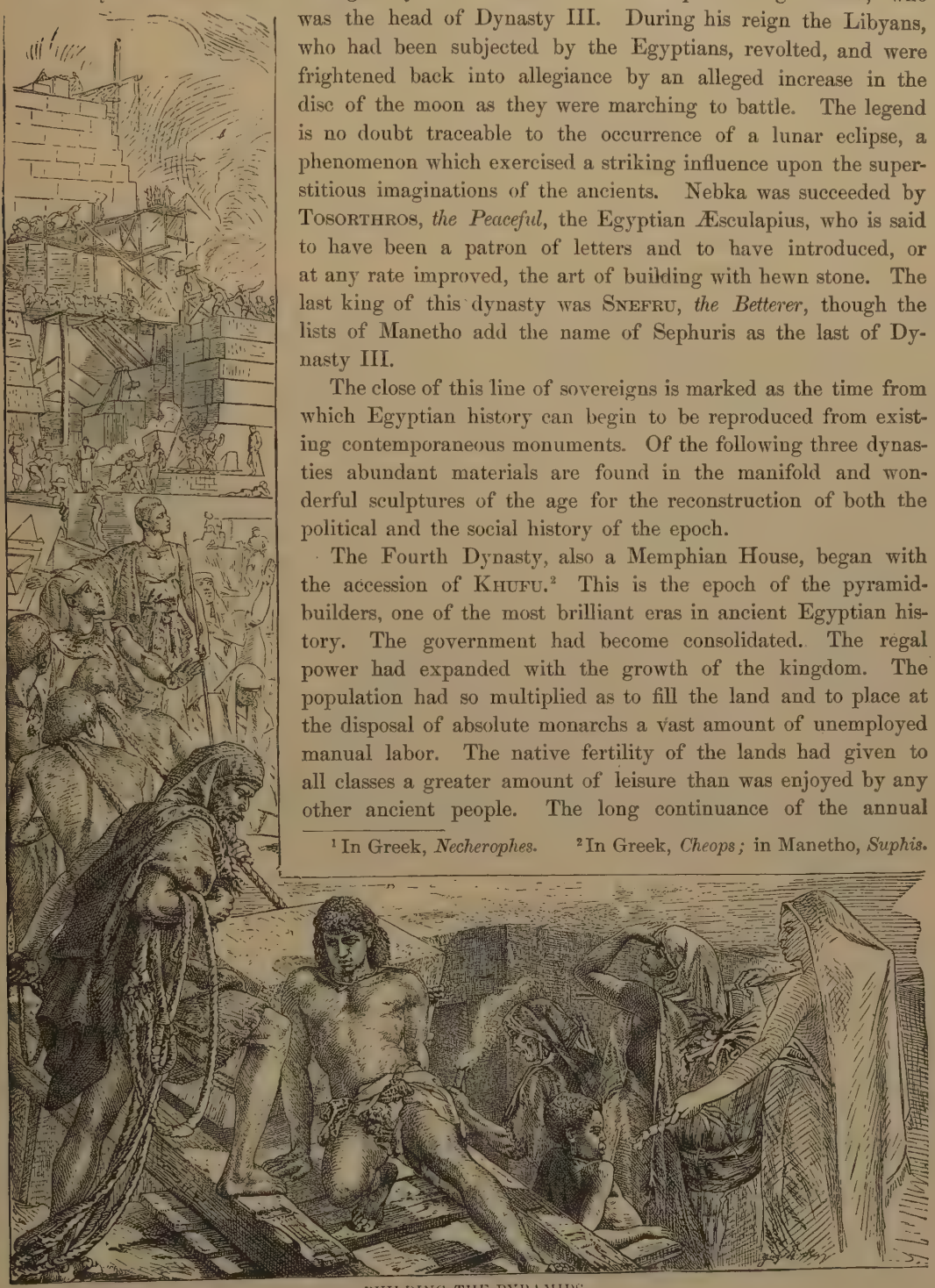
of this line, the waters of the Nile are said, in a tradition repeated by Manetho, to have been sweet like honey for a period of eleven days; and the eighth monarch, named LESOCHRIS, is reputed to have been a giant five cubits and three palms in height.

The royal house was now changed by the accession of the Memphian king NEBKA,[1] who was the head of Dynasty III. During his reign the Libyans, who had been subjected by the Egyptians, revolted, and were frightened back into allegiance by an alleged increase in the disc of the moon as they were marching to battle. The legend is no doubt traceable to the occurrence of a lunar eclipse, a phenomenon which exercised a striking influence upon the superstitious imaginations of the ancients. Nebka was succeeded by TOSORTHROS, *the Peaceful*, the Egyptian Æsculapius, who is said to have been a patron of letters and to have introduced, or at any rate improved, the art of building with hewn stone. The last king of this dynasty was SNEFRU, *the Betterer*, though the lists of Manetho add the name of Sephuris as the last of Dynasty III.

The close of this line of sovereigns is marked as the time from which Egyptian history can begin to be reproduced from existing contemporaneous monuments. Of the following three dynasties abundant materials are found in the manifold and wonderful sculptures of the age for the reconstruction of both the political and the social history of the epoch.

The Fourth Dynasty, also a Memphian House, began with the accession of KHUFU.[2] This is the epoch of the pyramid-builders, one of the most brilliant eras in ancient Egyptian history. The government had become consolidated. The regal power had expanded with the growth of the kingdom. The population had so multiplied as to fill the land and to place at the disposal of absolute monarchs a vast amount of unemployed manual labor. The native fertility of the lands had given to all classes a greater amount of leisure than was enjoyed by any other ancient people. The long continuance of the annual

[1] In Greek, *Necherophes.* [2] In Greek, *Cheops;* in Manetho, *Suphis.*



BUILDING THE PYRAMIDS.

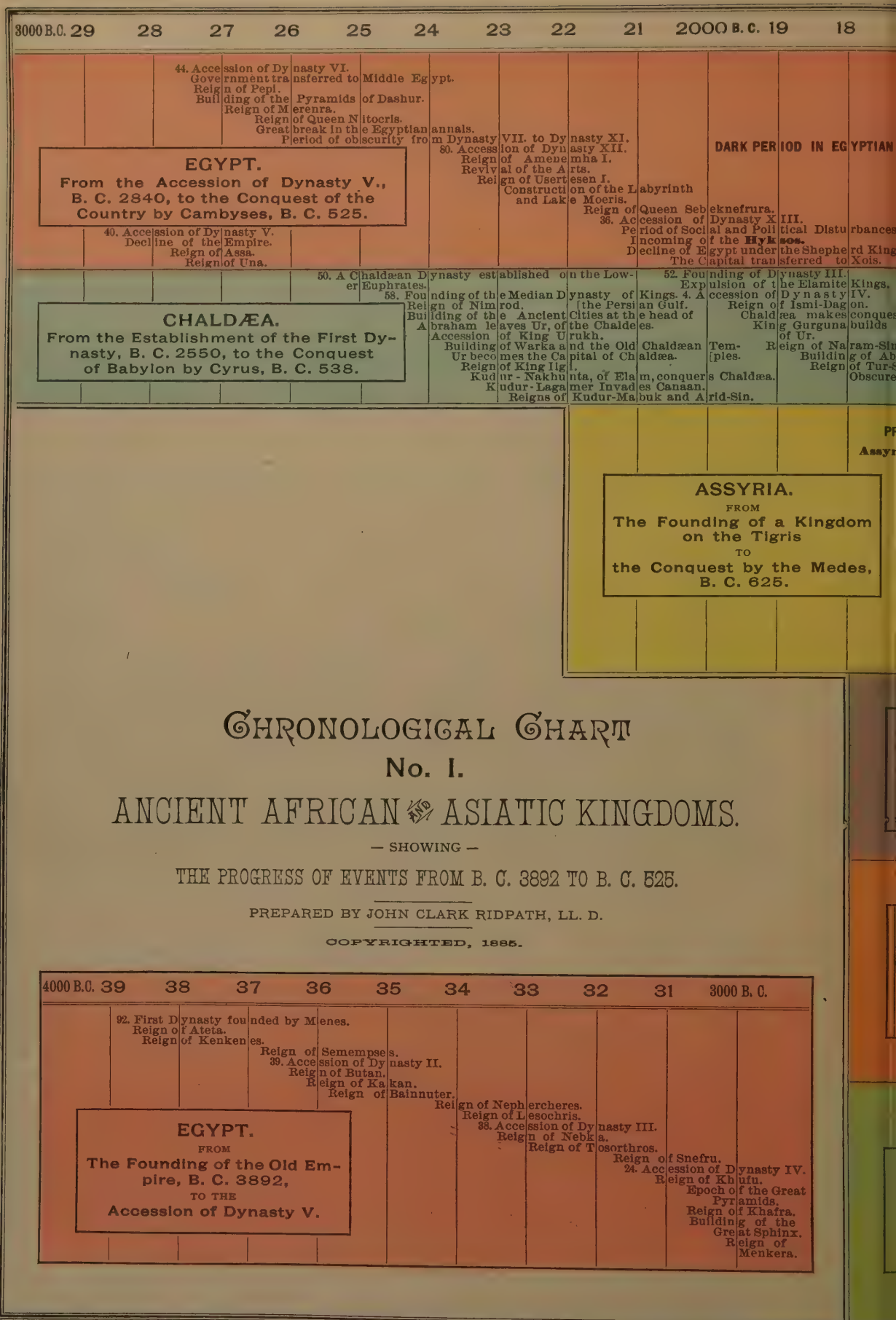
inundation, during which the ordinary vocations of industry were measurably suspended, gave additional opportunity to the kings to divert the labor of the populace to ends of personal fame and monumental vanity. Under these conditions, the peculiar ambition of the times was directed to the construction of magnificent sepulchers for the kings. The pyramids were the result of this monument-building impulse.

West of Memphis, at a distance of about ten miles and running parallel with the river, rises a barren plateau. The elevation is a hundred feet above the level of the Nile, and stretches north and south for many miles between the verdant valley and the Libyan desert beyond. Owing to the rocky character of the ridge, its elevation above the river-level, and the fact that the Sun, the chief deity of the ancient Egyptians, seemed to sink to rest behind it at nightfall, the kings, looking from their palace in Memphis, and musing upon the common fate which should soon call them to the abodes of the gods, naturally chose the western plateau as the most fitting place to build their tombs.

In the sides of this hilly elevation the bodies of the common dead were placed in chambers hewn out of the rock; and what more natural than that the king, who in life was lifted so high above his subjects, should in death be buried with a more magnificent sepulcher? So the royal sarcophagus was placed in a more spacious chamber under a grander monument of stone. By degrees the sepulchral heap grew into definite shape, taking the immovable form and severe aspect of a pyramid. The structure became more and more regular in its interior arrangement and external outline until, sharply defined against the sky, the finished pile stood forth the pride of the builders and the marvel of after ages. Along the plateau west of Memphis, between Abu Roash and Dahshur, about seventy of these mighty monuments were erected.[1] Among these three were preëminent on account of their size and magnificence. They are known as the Pyramids of Ghizeh, near which city they stand. They are certainly the work of the Fourth Dynasty, and were built in the twenty-fifth century before the Christian era. The three are the most conspicuous objects in a

PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH.

[1] In the district mentioned in the text, Professor Lepsius has traced the outlines of sixty-seven pyramids.


3000 B.C. 29 28 27 26 25 24 23 22 21 2000 B.C. 19 18
44. Accession of Dynasty VI.
Government transferred to Middle Egypt.
Reign of Pepi.
Building of the Pyramids of Dashur.
Reign of Merenra.
Reign of Queen Nitocris.
Great break in the Egyptian annals.
Period of obscurity from Dynasty VII. to Dynasty XI.
80. Accession of Dynasty XII.
Reign of Amenemha I.
Revival of the Arts.
Reign of Usertesen I.
Construction of the Labyrinth
and Lake Moeris.
Reign of Queen Sebeknefrura.
36. Accession of Dynasty XIII.
Period of Social and Political Disturbances
Incoming of the Hyksos.
Decline of Egypt under the Shepherd Kings.
The Capital transferred to Xois.
EGYPT.
From the Accession of Dynasty V., B. C. 2840, to the Conquest of the Country by Cambyses, B. C. 525.
DARK PERIOD IN EGYPTIAN
40. Accession of Dynasty V.
Decline of the Empire.
Reign of Assa.
Reign of Una.
50. A Chaldæan Dynasty established on the Lower Euphrates.
Reign of Nimrod.
58. Founding of the Median Dynasty of Kings. 4. Expulsion of the Persian Gulf.
Building of the Ancient Cities at the head of the Chaldees.
Accession of Abraham leaves Ur, of the Chaldees.
Building of Warka and the Old Chaldæan Empire.
Reign of King Urukh.
Ur becomes the Capital of Chaldæa.
Reign of King Igi.
Kudur-Nakhunta, of Elam, conquers Canaan.
Reigns of Kudur-Mabuk and Arad-Sin.
CHALDÆA.
From the Establishment of the First Dynasty, B. C. 2550, to the Conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, B. C. 538.
Accession of Dynasty III.
Reign of Nachunte.
Building of the Temples.
Reign of the Elamite Dynasty
Reign of Ismi-Dagon.
Reign of Gurguna conquers Chaldæa.
Building of Ur.
Reign of Nachunte builds
Reign of Kings.
Reign of Ram-Sin
Reign of Abi-Eshu
Reign of Tur-Sin
Obscure Kings.
ASSYRIA.
FROM
The Founding of a Kingdom on the Tigris
TO
the Conquest by the Medes, B. C. 625.
4000 B.C. 39 38 37 36 35 34 33 32 31 3000 B. C.
92. First Dynasty founded by Menes.
Reign of Ateta.
Reign of Kenkenes.
Reign of Semempses.
39. Accession of Dynasty II.
Reign of Butan.
Reign of Kakan.
Reign of Bainnuter.
Reign of Nepherchères.
Reign of Lesochris.
38. Accession of Dynasty III.
Reign of Nebka.
Reign of Tosorthros.
Reign of Snefru.
24. Accession of Dynasty IV.
Reign of Khufu.
Epoch of the Great Pyramids.
Reign of Khafra.
Building of the Great Sphinx.
Reign of Menkera.
EGYPT.
FROM
The Founding of the Old Empire, B. C. 3892,
TO THE
Accession of Dynasty V.

Chronological Chart

No. I.

ANCIENT AFRICAN AND ASIATIC KINGDOMS.

— SHOWING —

THE PROGRESS OF EVENTS FROM B. C. 3892 TO B. C. 525.

PREPARED BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

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16	15	14	13	12	11	1000 B. C.	9	8	7	6	5
pulsion of the Hyksos. 91. Accession of Dyna The capital trans The Reign ferred to Reign bes. Reign of Aahmes Reign of Amen Reign of Tut hmosis I. Reign of Qu een Hatas Conque st of Nine Reviva i of Archit Building g of Luxor Reign n of Amen Intr oduction o 43. Ac cession of Reign o The Ki Extra 22. A The	sty XVIII. and Nefru- ophis I. and Thut- mosis I. Queen Hatasu. Queen Hatshepsut. Architecture. Obelisk. Temple of Karnak. Amenophis IV. Eastern Dynasty IX. Dynasty X Ramses the Great. Wars make conquests in ordinary revival of Egyptian Ar accession of Menepta. The Hebrews are expel Reigns of Seti II and	ari. 69. Acc Dec Acc eh. For ressession of Ramses III. ay of Egyptian Art. ession of Dynasty XX eign influence control	91. Acces Egypt pal Ethi tro ses III. tian Art. nasty XXI. to Princi- ence con- rs of Egypt. ession of Dy- nasty XXII.	sion of Dyn divided in lities. opian influ ls the Affal 61. Acce nast s the King	asty XXI. to Princi- ence con- rs of Egypt. ession of Dy- nasty XXII. dom.	87. The N 29. Acce Reig 18. Bat 16. Th Be ew Empire ession of the n of Tainet tle of Raph e Ethiopia ginning of 93. Destruc tion of Sen 85. Accessi 79. Mem phis captur Reig n of Psame The Phœnician 8. B battle of Me 5. Battle of C Reign of P League f chadn Predom 25. Egy Cam Pe	established Saite Dyna kht. ia. n Dynasty. Assyrian i tion of Sen ion Dynasty phis captur n of Psame tik I. Phœnicians circumnavigate Af- battle of Megiddo. [rica. Battle of Carchemish. Reign of Psametik I. League formed against Nebu- chadnezzar. [fluence. Predominance of Greek in- 25. Egypt is conquered by Cambyses, and becomes a Persian Province.	at Tanis. sty. influence in Egypt. nacherib's army. y XXVI. ed by the Assyrians. tik I. s circumnavigate Af- giddo. [rica. archemish. sametik I. formed against Nebu- ezzar. [fluence. inance of Greek in- pt is conquered by byses, and becomes a rsian Province.
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AL PERIOD. led by Governors nt out from Chaldæa.		40. Reign of Assh 20. R eign of Ass The Early The Reign 1300	ur-Iddin-A hur-Bil-Ni Kingdom o s of Six Ki B. C. Tiglathi-A 30. Acc 10. R	khi. si-Su. f Assyria e ings cover t dar founds ession of B eign of Ni 90. Peace 50. Assh For eign Conq 30. Tig d ers of the 10. R	established he Period f the Assyri el-Kudur- n-Pala-Zir under Ass ur-Ris-Ili lath-Pileser eign of Ass 70. Break 30. Rei Dayan II. 11. R	on the Tigr from 1400 to an Empire. Uzur. a. hur-Dayan m makes uests. r I. enlarge Empire. hur-Bil-Ka in the succ eign of Assh Dayan II. eign of Vul	89. Accessi 83. Asshur- is. 58. Acce He c 23. Rei 10. Vu 10. E s the Bor- la. ession. ur- -Lush II.	on Tiglathi -Izir-Pal cu ssion of Sh onquers Ba gn of Sham l-Lush III. poch of Se 81. The E Reign 71. Acces 45. Tigla He su 27. Reign He be 22. Sar He p He c 5. Se He	-Nin II. ltivates the almaneser bylonia an as-Vul II. makes an I miramis. Destruc The Ki 81. Acce He m 68. Acc 25. Ov Empire begi of Shalma sion of Ass th-Pileser bdues Hos n of Shalm sieges Ty gon becom uts down t olonizes fo nnacherib captures B Battle of Eltekeh.	e Arts and II. d Syria. nvasion of tion of Sen ng subdues ssion of Es akes war o ession of A erthrow of ns to decli neser III. hur-Dayan makes war hea the Isr aneser IV. re. es King. he Babylo reign peop succeeds to abylon.	Sciences. Media. nacherib's army. Susiana. ar-Haddon. n Jews and Egyptians. sshur-Bani-Pal. the Assyrian Empire ne. [by the Medes. III. in Syria. aelite. nian revolt. les in Assyria. the throne.
MEDIA. FROM Establishment of the Kingdom TO onquest by the Persians, B. C. 558.			**The Country bey Zagros settled Iranic Tribes.**	**ond the by**			Media inv 20. Sh 9. T	aded by Sh amas-Vul r The Medes p Period of opment o **Median Nationality.**	aimaneser avages the ay Tribute the Devel- f **Median ality.**	II. Period country, to Vul-Lus 93. Accessi The King Magism The yo Ecba 58. Sub Empi to Assyria appears, a Independe reat Scythi axares ma olassar and n Empire. yaxares in	of Peace. n III. on of Astyages. g annexes Cadusia. established in Media. ung Cyrus resides at tana. version of the Median pire by the Persians. n Domination. nd the Medes gain nce. an Invasion. kes a League with Na- overthrows the Assy- vades Lydia.
BABYLONIA. FROM Assyrian Domination TO Conquest by Cyrus, B. C. 538.			**BABYLONI A A VICER OYALTY OF**	**For Two Hundred Years Babylonia Flourishes as a Dependency of the North.**	**ASSYRIA.**		80. Asshur 50. Civ	r-Izir-Pal i il War bet 70. Pul ru 47. The L 33. Reig 21. Ac 10. He 4. R	nvades Ba ween rival les as Gove ater Empir ns of three cession of e is overthr eign of Ha Assyria re 28. Ac 25. H 4.	bylonia. claimants t rnor. e establish obscure Pr Merodach- own by Sa gisa. stores her a cession of He captures Accession of He besieges Tyre. [ish Nation. 88. The King destroys the Jew- 70. He conquers Egypt. Epoch of the greatness of Babylon. [dach. 57. Accession of Evil-Mero- 55. Reign of Nabonadius. 38. Overthrow of the Empire by Cyrus.	o the Vice-royalty. ed by Nabonassar. rinces. Baladan. rgon. uthority in the South. Nabopolassar. Nineveh. of Nebuchadnezzar.
GDOM OF ISRAEL. FROM Colonization in Egypt TO Babylonian Captivity, B. C. 588.	50. The	**Hebrews are Colo Lower Egypt.** They are oppresse Moses a	**nized in** d by the E ppears. The Israel nepta an Under th Joshua Can	gyptians. ites rebel a d are expe e lead of they enter aan. Israel ruled by the Judges.	gainst Me- led. 95. The King dom esta by S 68. David anoint by Sa 55. Batt Moun 46. Dav Jeru 23. Re bellion of Ab salom. 15. Ac 4. D	80. The J 75. Rehob oam reigns in Ju 75. Revolt Jeroboa 55. Pro g- 53. Baa blished bo saul. 29. War is and ed 26. Bu t Gilboa. ld captures salem. cession of edication of omon's Te	ews relaps oam reigns dah. t of the Ten am King of sperous rei sha destro am. r of Zimri d Omri. lding of Sa- maria. reign of Ah and Jezebel. Time of El 88. Jerusal by the Philis- tines. Solomon. 25. Jer Sol- mple. 9. A	e into Hea 70. Invasi 47. Depo Tribes. Israel. gn of Asa. ys the Hou 42. Reig in The int Ti 26. Ext 21. Ca ijah. em taken oboam II. Damascus. zariah reig	thenism. on of Israe rtation of t se of Jero- n of Ahaz Judah. Jews fall o idolatry. irpation of me of Isaia ptivity of t Reign of 77. He is c 41. Josia Time 9. Re takes 6. J ns in Juda	l by Pul. he Israelit 88. Begin ian Time of the Prophet Daniel. 88. The J ewish rebellion ended by the destruction of Jerusalem. 36. Re storation of the Jews by Cyrus. idolatry by Hezekiah. h. he Ten Tribes. f the wicke arried to B destroys the Idols. of Jeremiah. h. of Jeho erusalem t nezzar.	es by Tiglath-Pileser. ning of the Babylon- captivity. ewish rebellion ended the destruction of Je- storation of the Jews Cyrus. Hezekiah. bes. d Manasseh in Judah. Babylon. akim. taken by Nebuchad-

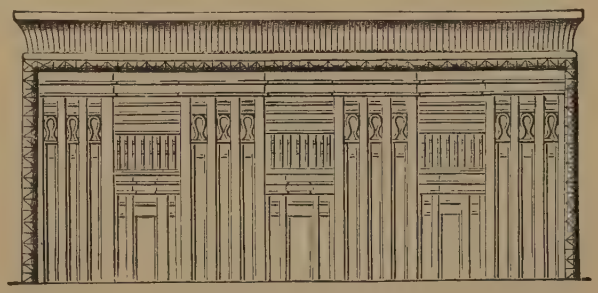
group of ten similar structures, the other seven in the neighborhood being of less magnitude and importance.

The largest and most ancient of these three great piles is the pyramid of Khufu, founder of Dynasty IV. It was originally four hundred and eighty feet in height; but the apex has been broken away, until it now measures only four hundred and fifty feet. Each side of the base is seven hundred and sixteen feet in length, the slant being five hundred and seventy-four feet. The structure contains nearly ninety million cubic feet of masonry. It stands precisely on the thirtieth parallel of latitude, and the four sides face the four cardinal points of the compass with geometric exactitude. On the north side, precisely in the middle, and fifty-two feet above the original ground-level of the pyramid, a rectangular opening is cut, being the door of a descending passage three feet broad and four feet high. This passage leads downwards at an angle to a chamber hewn in the rock of the foundation, more than a hundred feet below the ground-level of the base. The chamber lies in a perpendicular line six hundred feet directly under the apex of the pyramid and thirty-six feet above the level of the Nile. At certain points in the main passage to this chamber diverging ways are cut, leading to two other chambers, which also lie in the axis of the pyramid immediately above the first.

It was in the solemn stillness of these chambers that the stone coffins containing the royal mummies were laid to their final rest. Upon the walls round about was sculptured the story of the dead king's deeds. The door of the passage was sealed with a stone, and the name of the deceased monarch added to the lists of gods in the temple. It is said that three hundred and sixty thousand men were employed for twenty years in the building of the monument of Khufu.

The second of the three great pyramids in this group was built by Khafra, brother and successor of Khufu. It is on a level slightly above that of the first, and was originally four hundred and fifty-seven feet in altitude. The masonry is somewhat inferior to that exhibited in the monument of Khufu. The general proportion is the same, and the arrangement of the chambers within identical with that in the larger structure.

The third pyramid on the ridge of Gizeh was built by Menkera,[1] a successor of Khafra and fourth or fifth king of Dynasty IV. This structure is but two hundred and thirty-three feet at the base, and the slant height two hundred and sixty-two feet. The Menkera pyramid stands on looser soil than its more ambitious sisters, and the substructure is consequently of greater relative proportions. Part of the exterior consists of polished slabs of granite. The sepulchral chamber within is double, one apartment being behind the other. In the innermost vault the mummy-box of Menkera himself was found



SARCOPHAGUS OF MENKERA.
Found in the tomb of that king at Gizeh.

in recent times by General Howard Vyse, and the hieroglyphic legend written on the case, containing, in addition to the name of the king, the myth of the God Osiris, has been deciphered and rendered into English.[2] Until recently no other of the royal mummies had been recovered.

The pyramids are built of successive layers of stone varying from two to six feet in thickness, according to the size of the structure. Each layer is less in area than the one on which it rests, and thus the structure is made

[1] In Greek: *Mencheres*, or *Mycerinus*.

[2] The sarcophagus in which the mummy lies is blue basalt, and bears the following inscription: "O Osiris, King Menkera, ever living one; begotten of the sky, carried in the bosom of Nut, scion of Seb. Thy mother Nut is outstretched over thee; in her name of the mystery of the sky may she deify thee, and destroy thy enemies, King Menkera, ever-living one."

to present on either side the appearance of a series of stone steps narrowing and receding to the top. It is stated by Diodorus on the authority of the Egyptian priests that the immense masses of stone used in constructing the pyramids were brought *from Arabia*, and were put into place by building up beneath them huge mounds of earth from which the blocks could be slid into position as from an inclined plane. Certain it is that in many instances the stone used in the pyramids is not found within many miles of where the structures are erected.

Ancient fable and modern ingenuity have been put on the rack to explain the purpose of the pyramids on some hypothesis other than that they were the burial places of the kings. Some authors have found in the mechanical exactness with which the great structures were reared an evidence that their dimensions were intended as the basis of a system of weights and measures. Others have discovered that the pyramids were constructed with a geometrical design, and with the purpose of teaching astronomy. Others still, disdaining such humble theories, have declared that nothing less than a divine origin, plan, and purpose could account for the wonderful skill and hidden mystery of the great monuments. As it respects all such theories, the historian can say no more than that the pyramids are solely, plainly, and indubitably the sepulchers of the dead kings of Egypt. That they stand with their faces to the four cardinal points of the compass signifies no more than that men in all ages have by preference built their houses with the four sides set to the north, south, east, and west. That the tomb of Khufu stands on the thirtieth parallel, whether it was so placed fortuitously or with design, implies no more at most than that the thirtieth degree was known to the men who built the pyramid—a thing by no means marvelous.

The principal reigns of Dynasty IV. were of extraordinary length. According to Manetho, Khufu reigned for sixty-three years; Khafra, for sixty-six years, and Menkera for sixty-three years. But according to Diodorus the first is reduced to fifty and the second to fifty-six years. Even these figures are to be accepted with some caution, for it is related in an inscription that Queen Mertitef, who had been a wife of Snefru, last king of Dynasty III., was a favorite of both Khufu and Khafra—an impossible thing unless her charms survived for more than a century.

The reigns of the three great kings were marked by military exploits as well as domestic progress and architectural grandeur. Khufu made war in Ethiopia and completed the conquests which had been undertaken by Snefru. On the rocks of the Wadi Maghara, in the peninsula of Sinai, is a sculptured image of Khufu lifting on high a war-club over an enemy kneeling before him. To this king is also ascribed the authorship of a part of the *Funeral Ritual*—one of the few existing remnants of Egyptian literature.

To the great monarch, Khafra, is attributed the building of the enigmatical colossus called the Sphinx. This great image stands north of the second pyramid of Ghizeh, which bears the name of Khafra. The effigy is the symbolical form of the god Harmachu, meaning Horus the Resplendent, to whom the adjacent temple was dedicated. The figure is hewn out of the living rock, has the body of a crouching lion and the head of a man, capped and bearded, and is one hundred and ninety feet in length. Between the paws, which are extended to a distance of fifty feet, is a monumental stone bearing the name of Khafra, who is said to have dedicated the image. The shoulders are thirty-six feet in breadth, and the head measures from top to chin twenty-eight feet and six inches. The drifting sands of centuries have fallen around the mighty effigy until only the solemn visage, looking out toward the Nile, and a small part of the shoulders and back remain above the level of the desert.

The heavy drain made upon the labor and the public revenues by the monumental enterprises of Khufu and Khafra gave rise to the tradition, current in the times of Herodotus, that those kings were the oppressors of the people and enemies to the worship of the gods. It appears that the priests gave countenance to this report, as well as to that which made Menkera the restorer of the national religion

which had been despised and neglected by his predecessors. Careful examination of contemporaneous sculptures have shown both traditions to be without foundation in fact.

With the close of the Fourth Dynasty—even before its close—a decline is noticeable in the political power and architectural grandeur which had prevailed under Khufu and Khafra. The accession of Dynasty V. was without *éclat* or splendor. Of the reigns of the nine kings who are said to have comprised the line very little is recorded. The practice of giving a throne name or title to the sovereign began with ASSA, next to the last monarch of this dynasty. To this period also is referred the composition of one of the oldest works in Egyptian literature—a treatise on moral duties written by Prince PTAH-HOTEP, son of Assa. In the time of the last king of the line, named UNA, the form of the royal sepulchers was changed from the regular to the truncated pyramid, as illustrated in the great monument called "Pharaoh's Seat,"[1] north of the pyramids of Dashur.

The kings of the Sixth Dynasty belonged to a family from Elephantis[2] in Upper Egypt. It is probable that the seat of government was for a while transferred from Memphis into Middle Egypt. It is certain that during the period Memphian influence was less marked in the affairs of the kingdom than it had been previously. From this epoch begins the history of the foreign wars of conquest undertaken by the Egyptian sovereigns. National ambition began to take the place of religious solemnity, and the effect of this diversion of the public mind was immediately noticeable in the decline of art and the neglect of monumental enterprises. The period is marked by a less careful style in the sculpture, and less elaborate designs in the royal sepulchers.

[1] In Egyptian *Mastabat-Faraoön.*

[2] Elephantis is a small island in the Nile, opposite Syene.

The growth of the military spirit is attested by the famous inscription of Una, found in a tomb at Abydos, wherein it is set forth that great foreign wars had been undertaken and conquests made by the armies of the king. The conquered countries and nations are mentioned by name, from which it appears that the royal forces, levied from all classes of the population, and composed in part of Negroes enlisted from the surrounding tribes, had already carried the Egyptian dominion far into the deserts of Syria and Arabia. Una, himself, was general of five expeditions against the Amu and Herusha tribes, probably a Semitic race of the Sinaitic peninsula. Nubia was also subjugated and a stone pillar set up at the cataracts of Wadi Halfa commemorative of the conquest.

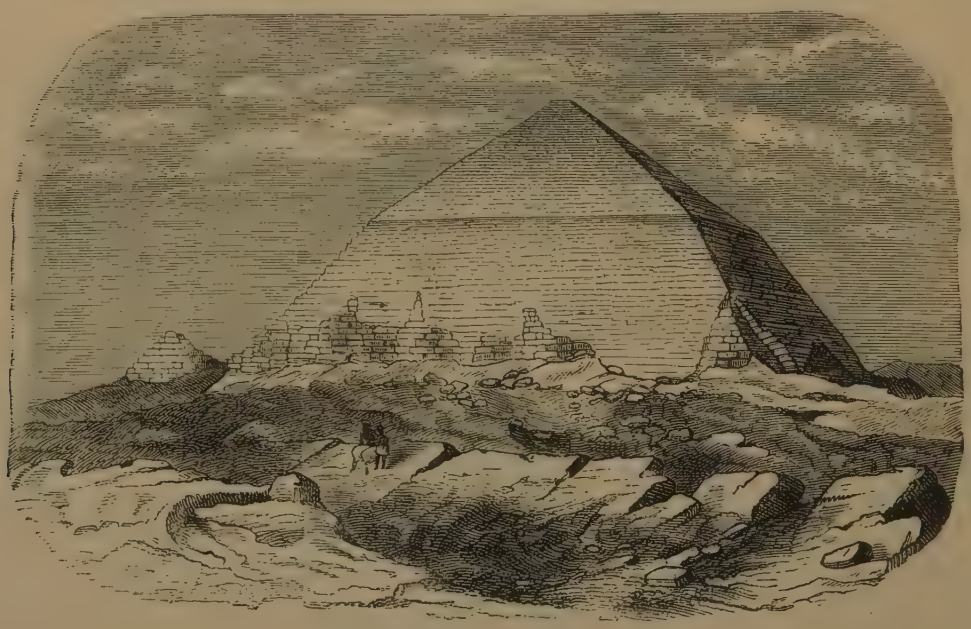
THE GREAT SPHINX.

The chief interest of Dynasty VI. centers in the long and glorious reign of PEPI.[1] He took the throne at the age of six and held it, according to the united testimony of Manetho, Eratosthenes, and the inscriptions, *for ninety-*

[1] In Greek, *Phiops;* in Eratosthenes, *Apappus.*

five years. It was during this extraordinary reign that the great conquests already referred to were made, and the dominion of Egypt extended to the Red Sea and the cataracts of the Nile. The inscriptions of Pepi are very numerous in all parts of the country from Tanis in Lower Egypt and the Wadi Maghara, where the king is represented on the rocks as striking down an enemy, to Nubia, where it is said his dockyards were established. In Middle Egypt he founded the "City of Pepi," the site of which is now unknown, and built for his tomb the second of the two great pyramids of Dashur.

At the close of Dynasty VI. there is a great break in the monumental records of Egypt. Of the next four dynasties no trustworthy contemporaneous inscriptions have been discovered. The lists of Manetho, however, cover the period, and a few names of kings succeeding the Sixth and preceding the Eleventh Dynasty have been deciphered from a tablet at Abydos and the Chamber of Kings at El-Karnak. According to Manetho, Dynasties VII. and VIII. belonged to a Memphian line, and Dynasties IX. and X. to a Heracleopolite family. Beyond this, little is known. Whether the dynasties occupying this gap of more than a century and a half (2592–2423 B. C.) were contemporary—some reigning in Upper and others in Middle Egypt—remains an undecided question. It is more than likely that some of the kings of the House of Heracleopolis, belonging to Dynasties IX. and X., were local and contemporary with the sovereigns of the Memphian line.



PYRAMID OF DASHUR.—Length about 200 feet.

The successor of Pepi was his son MERENRA. Una was made viceroy of Upper Egypt, and to him Ethiopia was a tributary province. In that country, beyond the Tropic of Cancer, timber yards were established for building ships. The copper mines of Arabia and of the peninsula of Sinai were developed, and the quarries of granite of Elephantis were opened to furnish stone for the monuments. Of the reign of NEFERKARA, brother and successor of Merenra, little is known; and the same may be said of Queen NITOCRIS, last of the line, though after times were filled with her fame.[1]

[1] The Story of Cinderella has been traced by curious antiquaries to a legend by Queen Nitocris.

The Twelfth Dynasty was introduced with the reign of AMENEMHA[1] I., 2380–2371 B. C. He had been a successful minister of a preceding king, and began his own career as a sovereign by imitating the civil and military policy of Pepi. All Egypt was under his do-

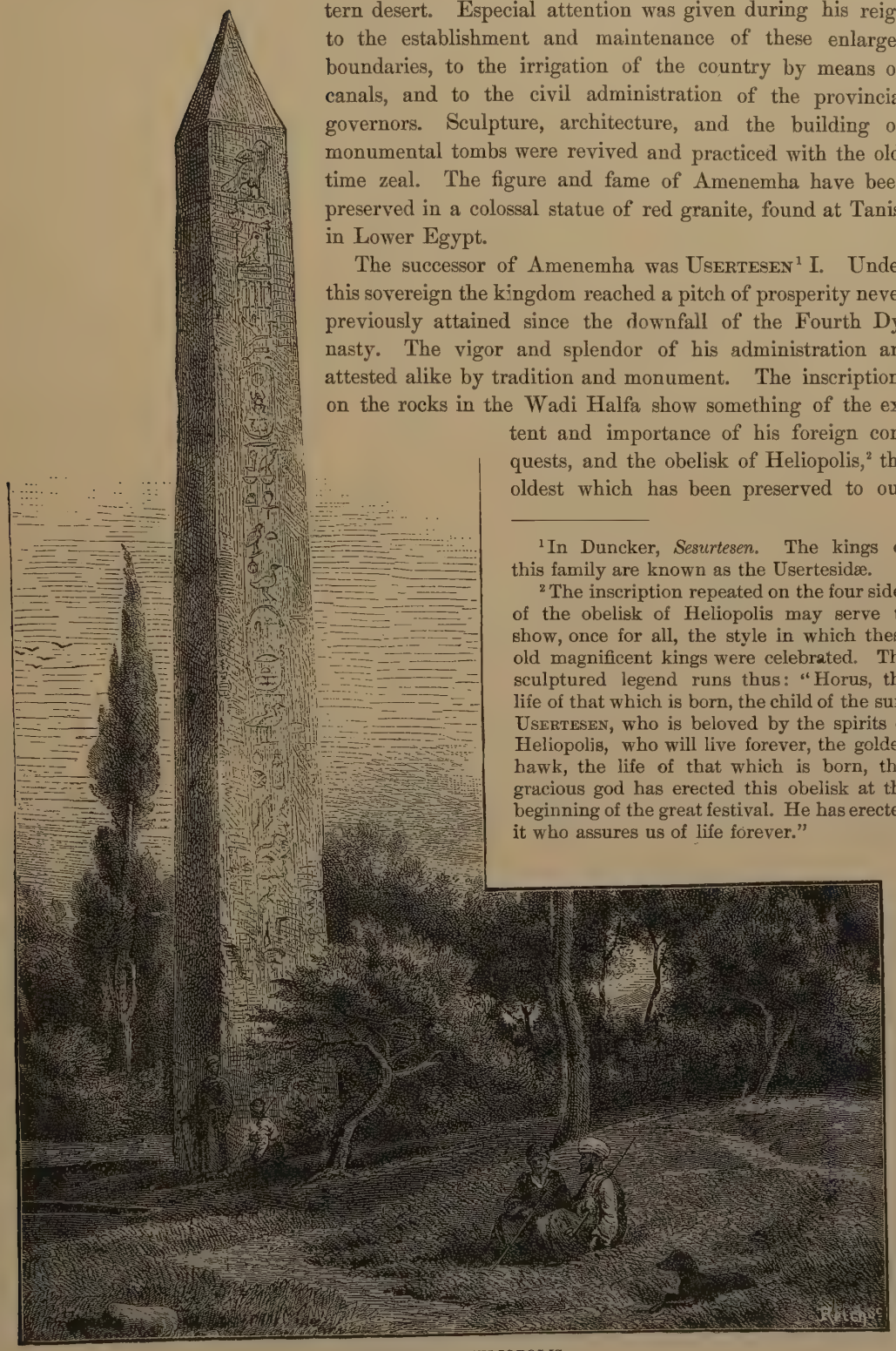
[1] In Greek, *Amenemes.*

minion, from Tanis to Nubia, from the Red Sea to the western desert. Especial attention was given during his reign to the establishment and maintenance of these enlarged boundaries, to the irrigation of the country by means of canals, and to the civil administration of the provincial governors. Sculpture, architecture, and the building of monumental tombs were revived and practiced with the old-time zeal. The figure and fame of Amenemha have been preserved in a colossal statue of red granite, found at Tanis, in Lower Egypt.

The successor of Amenemha was USERTESEN[1] I. Under this sovereign the kingdom reached a pitch of prosperity never previously attained since the downfall of the Fourth Dynasty. The vigor and splendor of his administration are attested alike by tradition and monument. The inscriptions on the rocks in the Wadi Halfa show something of the extent and importance of his foreign conquests, and the obelisk of Heliopolis,[2] the oldest which has been preserved to our

[1] In Duncker, *Sesurtesen.* The kings of this family are known as the Usertesidæ.

[2] The inscription repeated on the four sides of the obelisk of Heliopolis may serve to show, once for all, the style in which these old magnificent kings were celebrated. The sculptured legend runs thus: "Horus, the life of that which is born, the child of the sun, USERTESEN, who is beloved by the spirits of Heliopolis, who will live forever, the golden hawk, the life of that which is born, this gracious god has erected this obelisk at the beginning of the great festival. He has erected it who assures us of life forever."



OBELISK OF HELIOPOLIS.

day, bears witness to the grandeur of his works and reputation.

The policy of this great monarch was still further advanced by his successor, AMENEMHA II., and USERTESEN II., the details of whose reigns are not so fully known. But of the next king, USERTESEN III., the materials are again abundant. No former sovereign had a reign so glorious as this, the most illustrious of the Usertesidæ. The boundary of Egypt on the south was now fixed at Semneh and Kummeh, beyond the Second Cataract. Here were built outposts and fortresses, and stone tablets were erected, defining the established limits of the kingdom.

But these triumphs of political enterprise and military prowess were eclipsed by the great works of engineering belonging to this reign. The most noted of these were the great temple called the Labyrinth and the famous artificial lake of Moëris. Both of these wonders were constructed in the peculiar urn-shaped valley called the Feiyoom, a few miles south-west from Memphis. In this place there is a cleft in the Libyan hills, through which the valley of the Nile spreads out, bayou-like, for a considerable distance to the west. Through this opening in the hills the engineers of Amenemha cut a broad canal, leading from the Nile into the valley of Feiyoom, and there, by excavation and dykes, discharged the waters from the annual inundation into the artificial lake. A large part of the valley was inclosed within the strong dams which held this overflow. The western part of the Feiyoom was on a lower level, and to all the region the waters of the lake were distributed in season, making the whole a luxuriant garden throughout the year. The reservoir was abundantly stocked with fish, furnishing food and amusement to the people.

More marvelous than the waters of Moëris was the national temple called the Labyrinth, built near the entrance of the canal into the lake. Perhaps no structure of antiquity was more justly celebrated. Herodotus declares, after personal inspection, that its merits were greater than its fame, insomuch that not all the temples of the Greeks put together could equal, either in cost or splendor, this solitary wonder of Egypt. The Labyrinth contained twelve roofed courts, abutting on each other, with opposite entrances, six to the north and six to the south. The whole was inclosed with a vast wall. The temple was half above ground and half subterranean, each division containing fifteen hundred apartments. Those above ground were visited and examined by Herodotus himself, who seems to have been struck dumb with wonder at the elaborate magnificence of the structure. The subterranean chambers were the sepulchers of the kings and the halls of the sacred crocodiles. So great and complicated were the winding ways, the system of colonnades, and the hidden entrances, that a traveler without a guide could not extricate himself from the infinite complexity of the palaces around him.

In addition to the great monuments which mark the reigns of the Usertesidæ, the domestic life of the times was of a sort to excite equal admiration. In the tombs of Beni Hassan, belonging to this epoch, five varieties of plows are depicted. The farming life is shown in detail; sheep and goats treading the seed into the ground; wheat gathered into sheaves, threshed, measured, carried in sacks to the granary; flax bundled on the backs of asses; figs gathered; grapes thrown in the press; wine carried to the cellar; the overseer and the hands in the fields and gardens; the bastinado laid on the backs of laggards. The scene changes to herds and flocks; fine breeds of bullocks; calves, asses, sheep, goats; cows milked; butter made; cheese handled; fowls strutting in the yard; fine varieties of geese and ducks. In other sculptures we see the spinners and weavers at their work; the potter manipulating the clay or burning the ware in the furnace; the smith manufacturing javelins and lances; the painter with his colors; the mason with his trowel; the shoemaker at his bench; the glass-blower, with distended cheeks, plying his art.[1] In another part the interior of the Egyptian home is shown, furnished according to the wealth and taste of the occupant; servants at their work;[2] kitchen

[1] Duncker's *History of Antiquity*, Vol. I, p. 118.

[2] In these groups Negroes are easily distinguished from the natives.

utensils in use; domestic apes; cats and dogs. Public life is also displayed: soldiers exercising in arms; battles fought; walls battered; towns carried by storm. Sports have come in vogue: wrestlers with strained sinews; jugglers; musicians; dancers, both men and women; dwarfs and deformities exhibited; fishing parties with hooks and spears and nets; every phase of life depicted in imperishable tablets of stone.

After the short reign of Amenemha IV., the Twelfth Dynasty ended with Queen Sebeknefrura, and was succeeded by Dynasty XIII., of which no more is known than that the thirteen kings of this line occupied the throne for an aggregate period of but fifty years, and that the kingdom declined rapidly from the grandeur which it had attained under the Usertesidæ. The short reigns of the sovereigns of this house indicate an epoch of social disturbance and civil commotion. Another break occurs at this time in the monumental records, and it is probable that the first shocks of impending disasters had already disturbed and alarmed the country. For the first time the seat of government was transferred to the Delta and fixed at the city of Xoïs, from which circumstance the kings of the Fourteenth Dynasty are called Xoïtes. This house succeeded in maintaining itself, though hardly beyond the limits of the capital, during the whole of the stormy and lawless period of invasion which was soon to follow.

From causes not well understood Egypt was now no longer warlike and aggressive. On the contrary, the condition of the country was such as to invite assault. The armies of Khufu and of Amenemha III. had gone to dust. The national spirit and resources had withered to such an extent as to promise success to barbarian invaders, and the invaders quickly came.

Out of Syria and desert Arabia a swarm of men, belonging to tribes of no historic reputation, gathered on the eastern frontier and then burst into the kingdom. They overran Middle Egypt and captured Memphis. They sacked the towns, pillaged the villages, and broke the statues. They made prisoners of princes, put men to the sword, and sold women and children into slavery. The leader of the horde, named Salatis, took up his abode at Memphis as king of the country. Lower and Upper Egypt were both made tributary to the barbarian. He planted garrisons in various parts of the country, and along the eastern border built fortresses against Assyria. Eastward from Bubastis he founded the new city of Avaris,[1] fortified it with a strong wall, and placed therein the bulk of his army, numbering 240,000 men. Such was the founding of the new line of sovereigns known as the Hyksos,[2] or Shepherd Kings of Egypt.

After Salatis came in succession five of these barbarian sovereigns,[3] whose joint reigns covered a period of two hundred and forty years. Between them and the native Egyptian princes who, now in the Delta and now in Upper Egypt, raised the standard of revolt there was almost constant war. But the insurrections were unsuccessful; the Hyksos triumphed more and more, and the whole country falling under their sway sank into a state of semi-barbarism. The period of this dominion lasted, according to Manetho, for five hundred and eleven years, during which the fame of Egypt was virtually extinguished. Only a few monumental records of the time have survived the cataclysm; but the sketches of Manetho, Josephus, and the Turin Papyrus bear witness to the deplorable condition of the land while the invaders comprising Dynasties XV. and XVI. remained in power.

Finally a rebellion broke out in the district of Thebes. The insurrectionists, led by native captains, won a decisive victory over the Shepherds, compelling them to draw in their outposts and concentrate their forces at Avaris. This place was besieged by Tuthmosis, a Theban king; and when neither besieged nor besiegers were successful a compact was entered into in accordance with which the Hyk-

[1] At or near the site of the modern Pelusium.

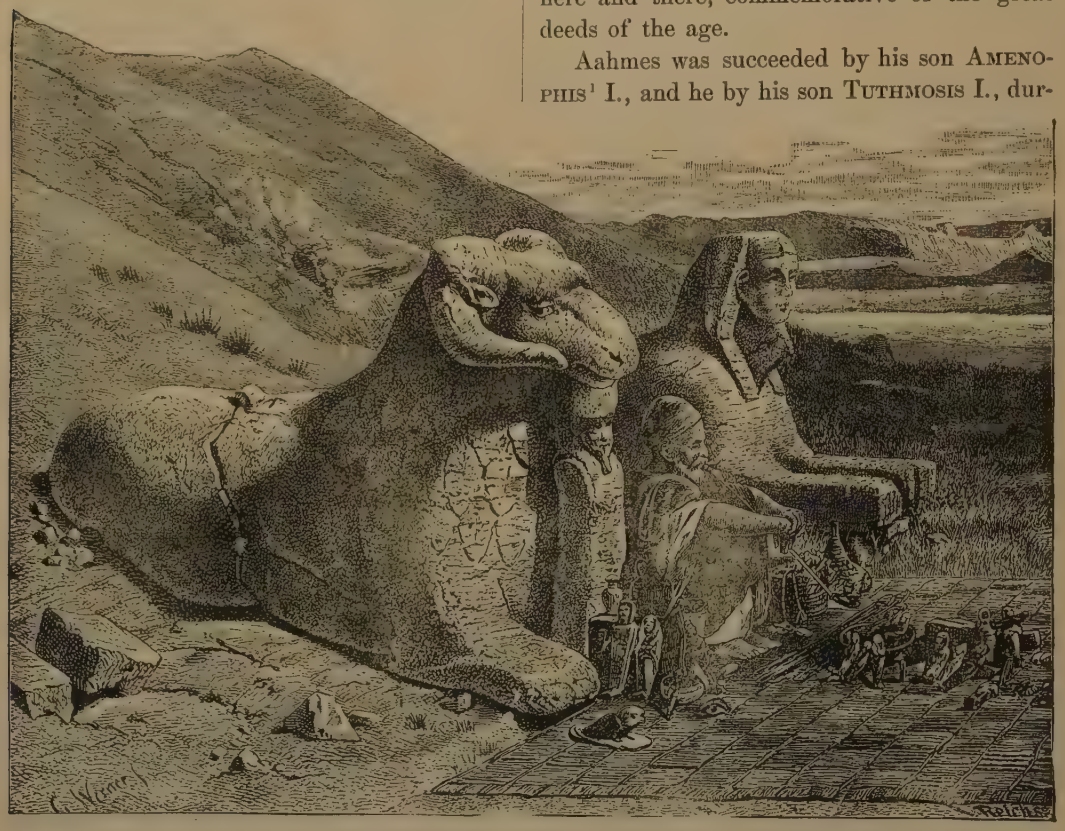
[2] The word is from *hyk*, meaning, in the sacred language, a king; and *sos*, in the vulgar dialect, signifying a shepherd.

[3] Names of Hyksos after Salatis: Beön, Apachnas, Apophis, Annas, Assis.

sos were to take their flocks and herds and leave the country forever. So the fierce invaders who had held Egypt in terror withdrew into the deserts of Syria.

After the overthrow of the Hyksos, the Theban House became dominant in all Egypt. This, the Eighteenth Dynasty, began with the accession of AAHMES,[1] about 1591 B. C. Upper and Lower Egypt were again consolidated under one crown. Aahmes secured the influence and favor of Ethiopia by marrying the king's daughter, the princess Nefru-ari, famous for her dusky charms, her wealth, and her accomplishments. Egyptian supremacy over the surrounding nations was again acknowledged or forced by the sword. The decayed and ruined temples were restored to their old-time richness and splendor. The military spirit, stirred into activity by the struggle for independence, burned for the excitements of war. It is the epoch of the introduction of the horse into Egypt and of the war chariot. It is the age in which the relative places of the priestly and the military caste in Egyptian society are reversed, and the soldier made preëminent. In sculpture and monumental elaboration there was a renaissance of the art of Dynasties XI. and XII. The famous temple-palace of Amun-Ra at Thebes was built, and obelisks were erected here and there, commemorative of the great deeds of the age.

Aahmes was succeeded by his son AMENOPHIS[1] I., and he by his son TUTHMOSIS I., during whose reign the first great campaigns were undertaken against Assyria and the East. Phœnicia and Syria were subdued, and the arms of Egypt borne to the banks of the Euphrates. Late in his reign, Tuthmosis associated with himself on the throne his daughter HATASU, who, after the king's death, reigned jointly with her elder brother TUTHMOSIS II. Her rank and influence in the state furnish another proof of the high estimation in which women were held by the ancient Egyptians.



SPHINXES OF AMMUN-RA.—THEBES.

[1] Frequently written *Amosis*.

[1] In Egyptian *Ammun-Hotep;* sometimes *Ra-Hotep*.

Hatasu outlived her brother, and then associated with herself her younger brother TUTHMOSIS III. Him she outranked in the government, and public affairs she directed at her will. By her the temple of Amun-ra was completed, and her fame is recorded in the great obelisks at Thebes.

After a happy and prosperous reign of twenty-one years, Queen Hatasu was succeeded by Tuthmosis, who obliterated as far as practicable his sister's name and inscriptions from the monuments, dating his own reign from the beginning of hers. The Assyrian wars were still carried on, and a great battle, in which the Egyptians were victorious, was fought at Migiddo. Kadesh, the chief city of the Kheta tribes, was twice taken by the Egyptians, and the king marched his armies as far as Nineveh. The entire reign of fifty-five years was characterized by military activity and civil enterprise.

The next king of the dynasty was AMENOPHIS II. In the beginning of his reign the Egyptians captured Nineveh. On his return from one of his eastern campaigns, he is said to have brought back the bodies of seven kings whom he had slain in battle, and whose heads he put up as trophies on the walls of Thebes. After a short reign he was succeeded by his son TUTHMOSIS IV., who, according to Manetho, held the throne for nine years, and was in turn succeeded by his son AMENOPHIS III. He, like Aahmes, married a foreign princess, Queen Taï, perhaps out of Arabia. He began his reign by abandoning warlike enterprises, and devoted himself and his empire to works of peace. Architecture again flourished. New temples were built at Thebes, and two great statues, both of himself, with his mother and the queen in relief as the front of the die, were erected in the adjoining plain.

These two huge effigies in granite, standing in front of what was once the sanctuary of Osiris, have survived the wreck of centuries, and still rise above the flat in solemn state by the edge of a forest of palms. The northern colossus is the most famous, being the statue which was known to the Greeks by the name of the *Vocal Memnon*. According to the Greek tradition, based on the narrative of travelers who had visited the spot, the figure was said to give forth at sunrise a musical strain resembling the twanging of harp-strings. From the base of the pedestal to the crown it is fifty-nine feet in height. The ruined palace of Luxor likewise bears witness to the grandeur of the reign of Amenophis. This gorgeous temple was connected with a similar palace at

QUEEN TAI.

El-Karnak by an avenue guarded by a thousand sphinxes, and at Thebes a colonnade in the same style was lined with colossi of the goddess Pasht. In the inscriptions of his times this monarch is known by the distinguished title of *Pacificator of Egypt*.

Next in the succession was AMENOPHIS IV., son of the preceding king. He seems to have inherited from his foreign mother a taint of heresy, together with a person of extravagant

AMENOPHIS III.—RA-HOTEP.

ugliness. Both he and his family are figured in the monuments with bodies unnaturally attenuated and features of abnormal repulsiveness. He began his reign by introducing the adoration of the sun with a ceremonial unknown to the national worship. Hymns were chanted by an orchestra of harpers, and the altars and aisles of the temples were strewed with flowers in a manner utterly at variance with the long established forms, and suggestive of the religion of the Vedas. The king changed his name to Khunaten,[1] and abandoning Thebes transferred his capital to Middle Egypt. Leaving seven daughters and no son he transmitted his crown to a dynasty of sons-in-law, who were presently overthrown in a reactionary movement headed by Haremheb, a descendant of Amenophis III. By this king the heretical work of the fourth Amenophis was obliterated as far as possible, and the dynasty ended with his reign in B. C. 1443.

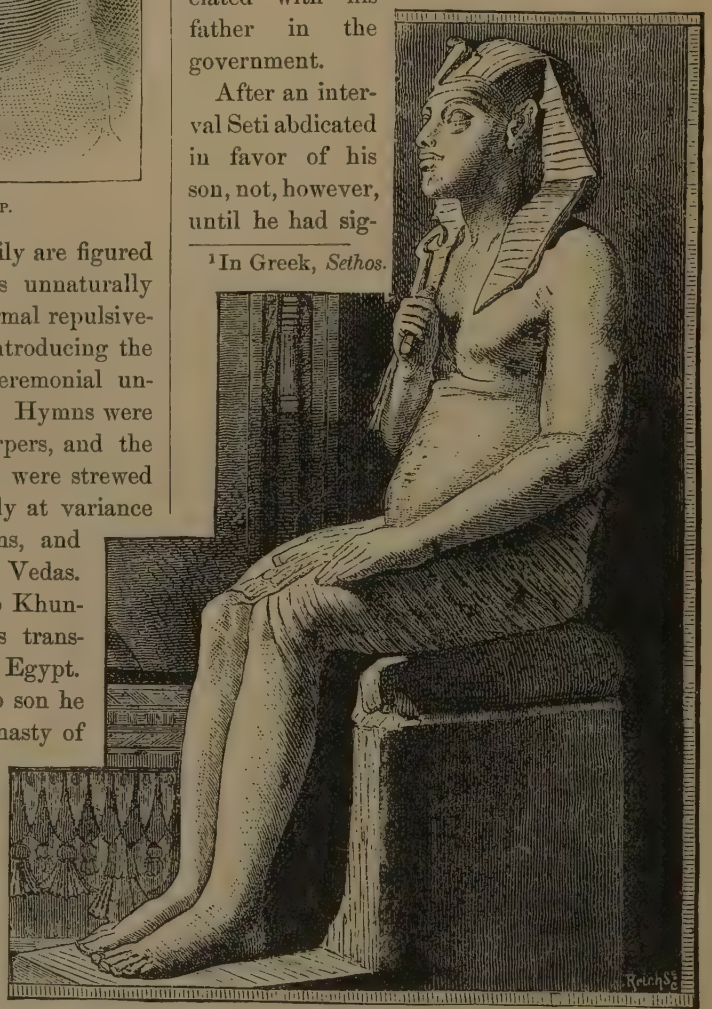
[1] *Aten*, being the name of the solar disc.

Dynasty XIX. was founded by the great House of Ramses. The first sovereign of this name was perhaps related by descent with the Shepherd Kings, whose warlike qualities he seems to have inherited. He began his career by conducting some successful campaigns in Ethiopia, and Syria. He concluded a treaty with the nation of Hittites, and after a short reign died, leaving the crown to his son Seti[1] I.

This monarch took care to strengthen his claim to the throne by marrying the Princess Taï, granddaughter to Amenophis III., thus uniting his rights with those of the preceding dynasty. The offspring of this marriage was Ramses II, who on arriving at years was associated with his father in the government.

After an interval Seti abdicated in favor of his son, not, however, until he had sig-

[1] In Greek, *Sethos*.



STATUE OF AMENOPHIS IV.

nalized his reign with some of the finest architectural works of Egypt. Chief among these may be mentioned the great Hall of Columns at El-Karnak, containing in a series of magnificent sculptures the story of Seti's campaigns and victories.

Ramses[1] II. (1388–1322 B. C.) was the most illustrious of all the kings of Egypt. He is surnamed the Great. Already at ten years of age he took part in his father's wars. After the death of that sovereign the young prince, fired with military ambition, began to meditate the conquest of the world. According to Herodotus, Diodorus, and Manetho—though the narratives are by no means consistent throughout — Ramses first brought into subjection what neighboring nations soever had shown signs of rebellion against the domination of Egypt. Then dividing the country into thirty-six Nomes, and appointing his brother Armaïs to the regency in his absence, he collected a vast army of six hundred thousand foot soldiers, twenty-four thousand horse, and twenty-seven thousand war chariots, and set out on his campaign for the conquest of the nations.

SETI I. BURNING AN OFFERING OF INCENSE.

Over the grand divisions of his army King Ramses placed in command certain military comrades who had been educated under his father's direction in the same discipline with himself. First of all, he directed his forces into Ethiopia, and subduing the country imposed a tribute of ivory, ebony, and gold. On the Red Sea he built a fleet of four hundred ships—the first war vessels ever constructed by the Egyptians—and subdued by land and water the islands and sea coasts as far as India. The whole of Asia to the Ganges and beyond yielded to his arms, whereupon, turning to the north, he conquered Scythia as far as the river Tanaïs, dividing Asia from Europe.

Thence passing into Thrace the king continued his career until the severity of the climate and scarcity of food brought him to a pause. Everywhere in his triumphant course he set up pillars bearing the inscription: "This land Sesostris, king of kings and lord of lords, conquered with his arms." After nine years the victorious monarch returned laden with the untold spoils of war and captives taken from many nations.

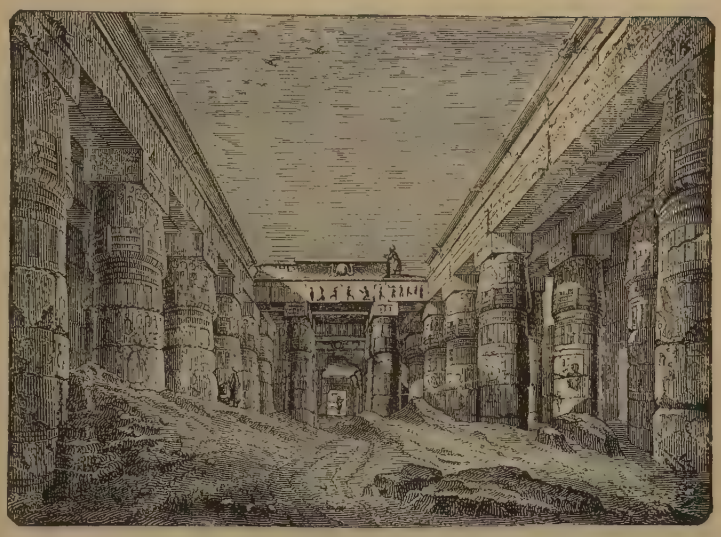
Such is the rather florid account left by Herodotus and Diodorus of the foreign campaigns of Ramses II. Modern research has shown, by deciphering the inscriptions on the rocks of Beyrout, in the ruins of Tanis, in the Ramesseum at Karnak, and in a temple built by Ramses in Nubia, that the praises of the great monarch's wars have been sounded in too high a key, and that his real exploits were less prodigious than they are painted in the pages of the Greek historians. It appears that his chief campaigns were into Ethiopia, Syria, and Arabia. No doubt his conquests were carried as far as Mesopotamia, and perhaps the larger part of Western Asia owned

[1] In Greek, *Sesostris, Sesosis,* or *Sethosis.*

his sway; but the written traditions of the great king are contradictory in many parts, and in not a few are evidently the result of fulsome eulogy. The building by Ramses of a great wall from Pelusium to Heliopolis, in order to protect his eastern frontier against the onsets of the Syrians and Arabs, can hardly be regarded as the work of a con-

HALL OF COLUMNS AT EL-KARNAK.

queror; and the cutting of a system of canals from Memphis downward to the sea was in all probability an enterprise intended to impede the movements of an invading enemy. None the less, the monuments of the Second Ramses, even when interpreted with a liberal allowance for exaggeration, prove conclusively the greatness of the king and the glory of the age which produced them.



TEMPLE OF CHESNU AT KARNAK, BUILT BY RAMSES III.

By this monarch was completed the celebrated Hall of Columns, which had been begun by his father at Karnak, as well as the temple of Amenophis III. at Luxor. Before this magnificent edifice were placed two sitting colossi of himself and two obelisks of red granite, one of which still stands with its everlasting legend as sharply cut as in the day of its creation, and the other in like splendor displays its quaint hieroglyphics in the Place de la Concorde, at Paris.

Almost everywhere—in Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt, and far beyond—the monuments

THE TEMPLE OF ABYDOS.

remind us of the exploits and glory of the great king. High up in Nubia, at Abu Simbul, in a valley with perpendicular walls of yellow sandstone, two temples, the one dedicated to Ra by Ramses and the other to Hathor by his queen, are cut in the native rock. Before the temple of Ramses are four gigantic colossi of himself. The statues are seated on thrones, and are over seventy feet in height. The shoulders are twenty-five feet in breadth, and from the elbow to the finger-tip the measure is fifteen feet. In calm serenity

RAMSES THE GREAT.

of expression, truthfulness of proportion, and austere dignity of posture, these great statues are hardly surpassed—perhaps not equaled—in the whole range of ancient art. On the walls of the great temple at Abydos, in a long procession of deified kings, Ramses, as a god, stands glorious; and before the altar, as a mortal, he offers sacrifices to his ancestors and *to himself*.

Under the munificent patronage of the House of Ramses, the city of Thebes, now the capital of the empire, eclipsed the old-time glory of Memphis. Here the marvelous works of Tuthmosis, of Amenophis, of Seti, of Ramses II. and III., rising in massive forms on both sides of the Nile, towered in majestic outline around a horizon of more than fifteen miles. Structures of so much solid grandeur have nowhere else, perhaps, been reared by the genius of man.

Ramses the Great was succeeded in 1322 B. C. by MENEPTA, who reigned for twenty years. This king has now been generally accepted by historians as the Pharaoh of the exodus of Israel. The story of this remarkable race begins with the call of Abraham from his home in Ur, near the Euphrates, to his promised abode in Canaan. Here his descendants multiplied to the fifth generation, when Jacob, the grandson of Abraham, with his children and grandchildren to the number of about seventy,[1] "went down into Egypt." For a famine had arisen in Canaan, and Jacob dispatched his sons to the Egyptian granaries to purchase supplies. Joseph, one of the sons of Jacob, had previously been sold by his brothers into bondage, and had come to fill an important position in the government of Egypt; and thus it happened that the wicked clansmen were brought face to face with the injured brother, who, instead of punishing, forgave them, and sent for the aged father and his house.

The family of Jacob was thus established (B. C. about 1550)[2] in Lower Egypt, east of

[1] It seems a matter of surprise that an event of so much importance (viewed from the Hebraic side of history) as the Exodus should have been so difficult to recognize and fix chronologically in the Egyptian annals. The difficulty in question has mostly arisen from the erroneous date of 1491 B. C., given by the Hebrews as the time of their departure. This date would throw the Exodus back to the time of the Shepherd Kings—a view of the case no longer entertained.

[2] The date of the going down of Jacob has been sharply contested. The event could not have occurred *before* the time of the Hyksos (2001–1591 B. C.), for in that case the Hebrews would have been expelled along with the Shepherds. It could not have occurred *during* the dominion of the Hyksos, for the position of Joseph in Pharaoh's service, the manner of administration, and the type of Egyptian life described in Genesis preclude such a supposition. It must have occurred *after* the expulsion of the Shepherd Kings—that is, subsequent to the year 1591 B. C. The Author has, therefore, taken the middle of the sixteenth cen-

the Delta and on the borders of Syria. Here they grew and multiplied in "the land of Goshen," or Ramses, as it was called by the Egyptians. The period of the stay of the Hebrews in the land of their sojourn was about two hundred and forty years. For a time the growing tribe was held in honor by the government and people; but under Seti I. and Ramses II. the ruling class began to look askance at the strangers, and then to oppress them. They were set to work at building and digging. The treasure-cities of Pithom and Ramses were enlarged by their labor. Perhaps the great canal projected by Seti from the Nile at Bubastis to the Arabian Gulf was carried as far as the Lake of Crocodiles by the toil of the Hebrews. They were sent to sweat in the brickyards, and were beaten by task-masters until they broke out in insurrection.

In the course of time, denial of religious privileges complicated and intensified the rebellion. Moses appeared as a leader of his people, and demanded, in a personal interview with the king at Tanis, the privilege of conducting them a three days' march into the desert to sacrifice to Jehovah. But Menepta replied by charging the Hebrews with a purpose to escape their tasks under a pretense of piety. Whereupon Moses, by signs and wonders done in the king's house and kingdom, humbled the monarch and compelled him "to let the people go."

RUINS OF THEBES.

After some delays the Israelites departed along the bank of the canal, touching the principal Hebrew towns, and gathering their population as they went. The route then lay through the Wadi Tumilot, reaching the Gulf of Suez a few miles south of the present city of that name. Here the fugitives were hemmed in by the forces of Menepta, which

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tury as the best approximation to the date of Israel's colonization in Egypt. He is not unaware that this construction seems to allow too short a period for the development of the great race of the Exodus.

had been sent after the retreating host. At this point in the gulf there is a shallow, stretching from shore to shore, almost fordable at low tide. By "a strong east wind," the waters of the sinus were, on the night of Israel's encampment there, driven back to the head of the gulf, leaving bare the sandy bottom. Over this the hosts of the Hebrews, numbering, it is said, six hundred and three thousand men of the soldier age, or more than two million in all, crossed to the other side in safety, which the Egyptians in pursuit essaying to do were drowned. For, the waters re-

MENEPTA.

turning to their place, the Pharaoh's horsemen and chariots, with wheels clogged in the mire, were panic-stricken and overwhelmed.

The story of the Exodus is told by Manetho, and quoted by Josephus, in terms quite different from the Biblical narrative, though in the main corroborative of the event. Manetho's account is to this effect: That after the accession of King Amenophis (Menepta) he was seized with a desire to see the gods. To this end he took counsel of a certain priest also named Amenophis, who advised the king that if he would see the gods he must clear the land of Egypt of the leprous and unclean.

The Pharaoh accordingly collected all the diseased to the number of eighty thousand and threw them into the stone quarries east of the Nile. Among the victims of this peculiar quarantine were certain priests and learned men, which fact coming to the knowledge of the son of Papius alarmed him lest he should be visited with the anger of the gods for having conspired to drive holy men into shame and servitude. Albeit he saw in a vision that others would come to the help of the lepers and would hold dominion over Egypt for thirteen years. This he wrote on a roll of papyrus, and then committed suicide.

Pharaoh now became alarmed and liberated the lepers from the quarries. He gave them Avaris, which had been left in ruins since the expulsion of the Hyksos. Repairing the city, the lepers chose one Osarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, as their leader. He gave them laws, enacting among other things that his people might kill and eat the gods, that is, the sacred animals of Egypt. He then bade them fortify Avaris, and at the same time send an embassy to Jerusalem to inform the expelled Hyksos of the situation of affairs, to invite them to an invasion of the country, and to promise them the keys of Avaris on their coming. The Shepherds eagerly accepted the invitation, and came down with an army of two hundred thousand to reconquer the kingdom of their forefathers. Hearing of the invasion the superstitious Amenophis, after gathering a force of three hundred thousand soldiers, forebore to fight, choosing instead to retire into Ethiopia until the thirteen prophetic years of leper domination should pass.

So Egypt was given up to the unclean. The latter held high carnival in the sacred places of the Egyptians until in process of time Menepta came back with a combined army of Egyptian soldiers and Ethiopian mercenaries, and drove the leprous hordes and their allies in a common rout out of the land. And meanwhile the name of Osarsiph, leader of the lepers, had been changed to *Moyses*.

The next Pharaoh after Menepta was SETI II., who was succeeded by MENEPTA II. Then,

in 1269 B. C., came the accession of RAMSES III., who, in a reign of thirty-two years, brought back the empire to something of the glory which it had under the elder kings of the dynasty. Naval battles are pictured among the inscriptions of this reign. The Hittites and the Amorites are mentioned among those whom Ramses III. conquered in war. The Nubians, the Negroes, and the Libyans each in turn felt the terror of his arms. Ten successful campaigns attested his prowess and ambition.

From 1222 to 1091 B. C. the throne of Egypt was occupied by eleven kings, all by the name of Ramses. This period covers the remainder of the Nineteenth and all of the Twentieth Dynasty. The latter began with the accession of SETNEKHT, a certain obscure Pharaoh, descendant of Ramses the Great. But the kingdom was again entering a decline. The day of warlike exploits was past. The inscriptions no longer tell the story of grand deeds and heroic enterprises. Art—except the art of copying—expires, and architecture languishes. Of King Ramses XII. a quaint legend is recited, how, having married the daughter of the king of Bachtan, and her sister being sick unto death, the father besought Ramses to send him some priest or god of Egypt who should be able to save the life of his child. Whereupon the Pharaoh dispatched up the river in a fleet of boats an image of the moon-god Chunsu, before whom the evil spirit that possessed the maiden was banished and sent to his own place. So great was the covetous ecstasy of the king of Bachtan that for three

EXODUS OF ISRAEL.

years and more he would not permit the effigy of the moon-god to be returned to the sender. Finally, he himself was seized with an illness, and thereupon, being in alarm, he hastened to send back Chunsu to his place in the temple at Karnak.

This epoch in Egyptian history is marked for the presence of foreign influences in the civil affairs of the kingdom. The Pharaohs now generally chose in marriage princesses from distant courts. Foreign settlements became common in Egypt. A Semite colony was established at Bubastis. The presence of Semitic names—Assyrian, Babylonian, Phœnician—gave token of constant intercommunication between the Egyptians and the nations of the East. Several kings of Dynasty XXII., reigning at Bubastis, bore names indicative of foreign descent. Of this sort was SHESHANK I., the Shishak of the Biblical narrative, who founded the Twenty-second Dynasty.

Meanwhile the influence and power of the religious order had increased as the national spirit expired, insomuch that Dynasty XXI., reigning at Tanis in Lower Egypt, was a dynasty of priests. They appeared in public clad in the sacerdotal robes worn by the ministers of Amun-Ra. It was PSIUEN-SAN, one of this priestly line, who gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon. But the dynasty was distinguished by no important enterprise.

The daughter of the last king of this House was married to OSORKON, son of Sheshank. The latter became a partisan in the struggles between Judah and Israel. To him fled Jeroboam, escaping from the wrath of Solomon. Later in his reign, after the revolt of the Ten Tribes, he made war on Rehoboam, and despoiled his temple and palace. In one of the inscriptions at El-Karnak is given a list of a hundred and thirty towns and districts which were taken by Sheshank on his expedition through Syria. After his return an important modification was made in the constitution of the empire, by which the office of high-priest of Amun-Ra was made hereditary in the king's family.

The process of disintegration was now everywhere apparent. The employment of Libyan mercenaries in the army in preference to the native soldiery increased the tendency to decay. A number of semi-independent principalities arose in different parts of Egypt. No Pharaoh seemed able to maintain the unity of the nation. A lethargy, like that which preceded the invasion of the Hyksos, paralyzed both king and people.

The Twenty-third Dynasty, with capital at Tanis, held the throne of Lower Egypt for a brief and inglorious period. At length TAFNEKHT, prince of Saïs, leading Pharaoh of Dynasty XXIV., rallied his powers and revived, in some measure, the waning energies of the empire. But the princes ruling in some of the Egyptian provinces, in alliance with the priest-king of Napata, called in the aid of the Ethiopians, who were already in the ascendant in Upper Egypt as far north as Thebes, overthrew Tafnekht, and established Dynasty XXV., called the Ethiopian. The capital was nominally at Thebes. PIANKHI, the priest-king under whose leadership the revolution had been accomplished, himself a descendant of the Theban house, was established on the throne. But Egypt was really ruled from Ethiopia; and in the next reign the logic of events was recognized by giving the seat of the Pharaohs to KASHTA, a native Ethiopian, who had married a princess of Thebes.

Meanwhile, the claims of the Saïte House were maintained by BOKENRANF, son of Tafnekht, who seized the occasion of the Ethiopian usurpation to raise a revolt in Lower Egypt. But the insurrection was only temporarily successful. For a short time he held the throne, but the Ethiopian powers were rallied by SHABAK and led against Lower Egypt in a victorious campaign. Saïs, the capital of Bokenranf, was besieged and taken, and himself burned to death.

In the troublous times that followed the Ethiopian conquest, the country was broken up into petty principalities, ruled for the most part by native governors, who were virtually vassals of Ethiopia. At one time Queen AMENIRITIS, sister of Shabak, reigned at Thebes; but the power of the local princes was limited, and only for a season. Later in

his reign Shabak, instigated by Hoshea, king of Israel, was drawn into a confederacy of the princes of Syria and promised his aid in a campaign against Sargon, king of Assyria. But the latter, more rapid in his movements than his enemies, bore down upon the confederates, struck Shabak's army at Raphia, only a short distance from the eastern borders of Egypt, and inflicted on him a disastrous defeat, 718 B. C. The Ethiopian king fled into his own dominions, retaining only Ethiopia and a part of Upper Egypt. In Lower and Middle Egypt the native princes transferred their allegiance to Sargon, and thus

EGYPTIANS IN BATTLE WITH THE ETHIOPIANS.
Drawn by C. F. Klimsh.

the influence of Assyria was established in the country.

During the reign of SHABATOK, son and successor of Shabak, the Ethiopian ascendancy was restored for a time throughout Egypt. But at the same time Shabatok lost the Ethiopian crown in a struggle with his rival, TAHRAKA. Soon afterward the native Egyptian princes made an alliance with Hezekiah, king of Judah, and joined battle with Sennacherib, the successor of Sargon. The allied army was defeated in Southern Palestine and the princes, one by one, made their submission. Soon, however, they were again in arms, instigated and supported by Tahraka, of Ethiopia. A second time the army of Sennacherib advanced against the confederates; but when the Assyrians, one hundred and eighty-five thousand strong, had come into the vicinity of Pelusium they were destroyed by some peculiar visitation or panic which the Egyptians, in common with the Jews, regarded as miraculous.[1] (B. C. 698.) Sennacherib fled to Nineveh and abandoned his Egyptian wars. In the lull that followed the Assyrian discomfiture, Tahraka invaded Egypt, killed Shabatok, and again brought the whole land under Ethiopian domination (B. C. 692).

On the accession of Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib, to the throne of Assyria, the struggle began anew for the mastery of Egypt. In the year 672 an Assyrian army invaded the country, captured Memphis and Thebes, and drove Tahraka into his own dominions. Egypt was divided into twenty provinces under as many princes, the leader of whom was NEKU, of Saïs. In a few years, however, Tahraka returned, drove out the Assyrian garrisons, and reëstablished his authority. But he, in turn, was speedily put down by Ashur-bani-pal, the successor of Esarhaddon. Several revolts were suppressed, and after a time the native princes of Egypt were won over to the Assyrian interest. Left with some measure of local independence, they accepted the yoke of Assyria, which,

[1] See Second Kings xix, 35–36.

on the whole, was less galling than that of Ethiopia.

The dominion of Assyria was already waning in the East. On the North the ferocious Scythians were breaking through the borders of the empire. The Assyrian forces were called home to ward off the threatened danger. Egypt, for the time being, was relieved from the menace of foreign arms. Quick to seize the opportunity, PSAMETIK, prince of Saïs, raised a revolt, quelled the native rulers who opposed him, drew to his banner an army of Egyptians, Tyrians, and Greek mercenaries, set up the standard of nationality, and in a short time established Dynasty XXVI. (B. C. 685).

Under his vigorous rule and that of his successors the spirit of the Egyptians rapidly revived. But the new culture which sprang up after the revolution was no longer distinctly Egyptian. War, colonization, and commercial intercourse had filled the cities, especially the seaport towns of Egypt, with a new class of citizens: foreigners, Ethiopians, Ionians, Carians, Phœnicians, Jews. The new art was no longer the classical art of Old Egypt. The Egypt of the Pharaohs was dead. The language was infected. The outlandish jargon of dragomans was already heard among the ruins of the ancient civilization. None the less, the age of Psametik I. was a genuine renaissance, imitating the styles of Dynasties IV. and V., and adding something to the monumental glory of the past.

Even for warlike enterprises the reign of Psametik is distinguished. Lower Nubia was recovered in a struggle with Ethiopia. In an expedition across the eastern border the power of the Philistines was broken. Nor is it certain to what extent the dominion of the king might have been extended had not a mutiny in his army destroyed his prospects. The native soldiery became jealous of the Ionian and Carian mercenaries, on whose influence the king especially relied, and broke out in a successful revolt. All efforts to reconcile the mutineers proved unavailing, and Psametik was obliged to witness their departure into Ethiopia, where they took service and received lands from the king. The opportunity which thus for a time seemed within the grasp of Egypt to become again influential in the affairs of the East faded suddenly away.

In the year 611 B. C., NEKU II., son of Psametik, succeeded to the throne of the country. The first years of his reign were occupied with the decayed project of constructing a canal from the Red Sea into the Nile. Commerce was patronized. A navy was built, manned by Phœnician sailors, and sent by way of the Red Sea to explore the coasts of Africa. In the first summer of their voyage, and again in the second, the seamen landed, pitched a camp, sowed grain, and gathered a harvest. In the third season they returned to Egypt by way of the Mediterranean, having accomplished what, after twenty-one centuries, Vasco da Gama, sailing in the opposite course, did with so great toil and peril—the circumnavigation of Africa.

But the monarch in whose reign the famous voyage was made was less fortunate in his schemes of war. Covetous of the prize offered in the East by the decay of Nineveh, he organized an army, marched to Megiddo, joined battle there with Josiah, king of Judah, whom he slew, and then advanced to Carchemish, on the Euphrates. The epoch was in the ebb between the collapse of Assyria and the rise of Babylon. After three years, however, Nabopolassar, the Babylonian monarch, sent out a powerful army, commanded by his son, Nebuchadnezzar, to drive the Egyptians from the land. The decisive battle was fought in 605 B. C., on the field of Carchemish. The army of Neku was utterly defeated, and the power of Egypt in the East forever extinguished.

PSAMETIK II. came to the throne in the year 595. His short reign was distinguished by no event except a fitful expedition undertaken against the king of Ethiopia. His son and successor, UAHABRA,[1] inherited the crown in the year 590, and attempted to carry forward the ambitious designs of his grandfather. Under his influence a confederation, embracing Egypt, Palestine, and Phœnicia, was formed against Nebuchadnezzar, and the fleet of the latter, manned by Tyrian mercenaries,

[1] In Greek, *Apries;* in Hebrew, *Hophra.*

was defeated by the fleet of Uahabra. But the land forces of the Babylonian, advancing into Palestine, besieged and captured Jerusalem, sacked the city, pillaged the temple, and broke the confederacy to pieces.

A still greater calamity soon overtook Uahabra and ruined his house. Undertaking an ill-advised war against the Greek colonies of Cyrene, his army was defeated; and the native soldiers thereupon charged their defeat to a concealed purpose of the king to destroy them and to put Hellenic mercenaries in their place. A violent revolt followed, headed by AAHMES, who was chosen king by the insurgents; and in 571, the forces of Uahabra were routed in battle and himself dethroned.

It is probable that this sudden and comparatively bloodless revolution was conducted by Aahmes under the instigation and direction of Nebuchadnezzar, and that the crown of Egypt was held by Aahmes as a tributary of the Babylonian king. Nevertheless, the Egyptian prince at once proceeded to legitimate his line by taking in marriage the heiress of the Saïte dynasty, Queen Shapertap, granddaughter of Psametik I. He endeavored to arouse the national spirit by cleansing and restoring the temples, encouraging art, and patronizing learning. The Greek influence, however, was clearly in the ascendant, and triumphed more and more. Naucratis became a Greek town with Greek privileges, and the guards of Memphis were for the most part Ionian and Carian mercenaries.

This encouragement of Hellenic influences was a part of the foreign policy of the king. For he saw with ever-increasing alarm the rising power of Persia, and recognized the instant necessity of preparing for the inevitable onset. This he did with commendable energy. With all of the Greek states he established relations of amity. Crœsus, king of Lydia, and Polycrates, prince of Samos, he joined in an alliance against the Persian. But before the storm broke out of the East upon the West, Aahmes died and bequeathed the crown to PSAMETIK[1] III., his son.

Cambyses, king of Persia, was already on the march against the Western confederates. The Egyptian army was drawn out to Pelusium to stay the coming invasion. Here Psametik, who may be styled the last of the Pharaohs, was met by Cambyses, defeated in battle, and driven back to Memphis. In this, the ancient capital of his country, the Egyptian concentrated his forces, and was besieged by the victorious Persians. The city was taken, after a brief investment, in the year 525 B. C. The king was captured and led to death. The triumphant soldiery of Cambyses marched over the prostrate gods of Egypt, and the New Empire, which through centuries of glorious achievement had been the pride of the world, was extinguished. The land of the Pharaohs became a Persian province.

CHAPTER IV.—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

ONLY a few Egyptian books have survived the wreck of ages. And the few that do exist are treatises on Death rather than pictures of Life. The funeral procession, the sepulcher, the ordeal of the soul, the judgment of the gods—these are the choice themes of the literature of Egypt. Whereas other civilized nations have given us in their literary works a transcript, more or less complete, of the daily life of the people, the Egyptians have left us little more than the ceremonial of the tomb.

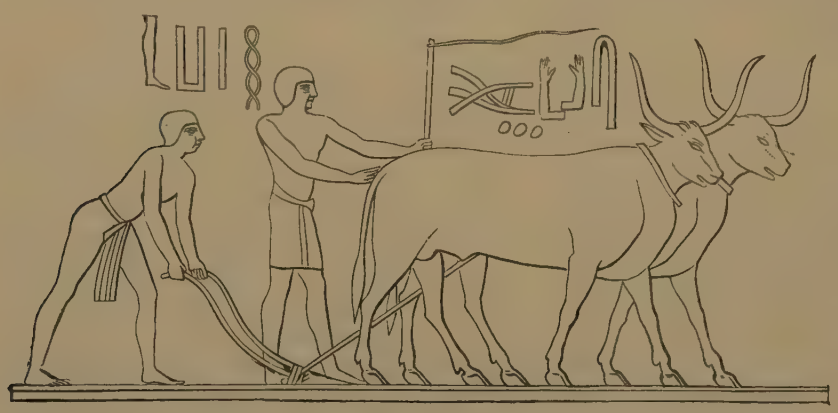
But in a graphic pictorial delineation of Manners and Customs the Egyptians surpassed all other races, whether ancient or modern. On monument and temple-wall, on polished tablet and face of the native cliff, on granite obelisk and red-stone sarcophagus—

[1] In Herodotus, *Psammenitus*.

everywhere were pictured the quaint details of common life. From the stony pages of these imperishable records the hopes and fears, the toils and sorrows, the purposes and aims of the people of the villages and fields of Egypt can be gathered as from the open book of yesterday.

In the society of ancient Egypt the king was first and greatest. Above the common throng he was immeasurably lifted up. He was the one source of political life to the nation. From him flowed all the civil and official rights of the people. He only was not bound by authority. He was not subject, neither indeed could be. The double crown which he wore was no meaningless symbol.[1]

In Egypt every circumstance of the environment conspired to augment the influence of the KING. The monarchy, once established, rapidly developed into a despotism. Herodotus declares that the Egyptians could not have lived without a king. He was alike the principle of social coherence and the fountain of political power. Before his feet commander and nobleman, magistrate and priest bowed in abject attitude. The custom of universal kneeling in the presence of the sovereigns of the East acquired in Egypt a peculiar significance. In other courts it was an act of reverence, respect, humility; in Egypt it was an act of worship.



EGYPTIANS PLOWING.
From a Bas-relief of the Oldest Dynasty, Memphis.

The Egyptian king was a god. He was defined and invoked by all the divine appellations and epithets. He was not merely like the gods, but was one of them. He was not the minister of the sun, but the sun himself, dispensing life and light. He was the mighty Horus; the good god; the master. On all the monuments and temples in perpetual rhythm of repetition the attributes divine are carved with infinite pleonasm. Everywhere the king is the outpourer of life, the mighty god, son of Ptah, beloved of Amun, offspring of Ra, child of the sun, the eternal. The young Ramses draws the milk of life from the breast of Isis, and the goddess Anuke nurses the boy-king Horus into strength and beauty.

To the Egyptians all this was very real. They believed profoundly in the godhead of their sovereign, and because they believed, worshiped. Before his death he was enrolled with the spirits of his ancestors; priests were appointed to his service; and he himself bowed in worship before his own effigy. Between him and the higher powers no human agency could interpose; for who could mediate between the gods and one of their own number? The priesthood was only common clay before the glory of Pharaoh.

In the discipline and duties of his official life the king of Egypt was quite another creature. In the great work of ruling his people he was the slave of traditional ceremony. Every part of his daily life was guarded by form — each moment apportioned to its place in the royal programme.

How each day the king must live and act is curiously related by Diodorus. The royal ritual is complete. In the morning, first of all, the monarch read the communications and

[1] The high miter or royal cap of the king (see the picture of Ramses the Great, page 64) was the crown of Lower Egypt; the low miter, of Upper Egypt. After the consolidation of the monarchy the two crowns were combined in a peculiar fashion so as to preserve the outlines of both.

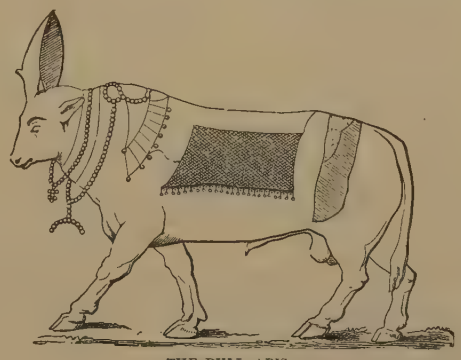
reports sent in from different quarters of his empire. Then the sacred person must be purified by ablutions and the kingly robes put on. Next came an offering to the gods—a sacrifice made by the priests in the name of their sovereign. The high-priest himself offered prayer while the sacrificial beast was brought to the altar. He recounted that the king was a righteous ruler, honorable, just, and pure. He was gentle in demeanor, kind to his friends, terrible to his enemies. If any fault had been committed it was not the king who did it, but the officers of his court; himself was incorruptible. He rewarded honest men and punished liars. He was a sovereign faithful in every duty and pious towards the gods. Might the higher powers, therefore, grant him long life, a prosperous reign, and great glory hereafter.

As soon as the ceremony was ended, the priest read to the king, out of one of the sacred books, the wise sayings and great deeds of his ancestors, and exhorted him to emulate their wisdom and virtue. At other hours histories and poems were rehearsed for the monarch's pleasure and profit. Anon he walked abroad accompanied by his retinue, but must return at the prescribed moment. At the table he must be abstemious to the last degree. Only the flesh of calves and geese might be eaten, with a fixed portion of wine. All crude and vulgar articles were strictly excluded from the royal board. Pure food was essential for the preservation of the purity of the king's life. Even the priests ate no other. How much more must he who is greater than all priests so live as to expel all disorder and evil?

Equal—even greater—care and circumspection were taken to preserve the king from social contamination. Those who composed his household and servants were all persons of distinction. No menial was allowed to enter his presence lest some low word should pollute the royal ears. Educated priests and noblemen conversed with him and with each other in his hearing. They went with him about the palace and on his walks abroad, reciting evermore his father's praises and his own, and laying upon others the sins and mistakes of his administration.

On public occasions the pageants were oriental in their magnificence. The king was borne to his coronation on a throne under a canopy of purple. A score of priests, carrying censers and the statues of the gods, with trumpeters in the van, led the procession. A scribe made proclamation of the great event. Fan-bearers stood on the right and left, and high officers of state bore the weapons and insignia of the king. Behind the throne followed the body-guard, soldiers, and priests, with the white Bull Apis led by his attendants and nurses.

The court of an Egyptian king was composed of a numerous retinue of officers. The government was one of centralized authority.



THE BULL APIS.

At the head stood the Supreme Court, composed of thirty, or sometimes forty-two judges. Ten of these were chosen from each of the priestly colleges—the first at Memphis, the second at Thebes, and the third at Heliopolis. From the thirty a supreme justice was chosen, who presided at the sessions of the court. Upon his front he wore a breastplate called "TRUTH," garnished with precious stones and suspended by a chain of gold.

Before this reverend assemblage were heard and decided all grave questions of state, of administration, of law. The proceedings were characterized by the utmost regularity and judicial fairness. Eight great volumes of statutes at large contained the laws and precedents of the kingdom, and to these the judges scrupulously adhered. After the high officers of the court came a multitude of others. There were bearers of the fan, bearers of the parasol, keepers of the king's bow, officers of the guard, stewards of the palace, treasurers,

overseers of buildings, masters of the horses, keepers of the records, stewards of the granaries, stewards of the royal flocks, butlers, and attendants.

The chambers and apartments of the king were furnished with the gorgeous profusion of the East. The furniture was decked with silver and gold. The horses were richly caparisoned, and the king's barges were trimmed with many-colored sails and gilded till they flashed in the sun. The lounges and beds of the palace were trimmed and cushioned in luxurious patterns, and the royal kitchen was furnished with utensils as costly as they were curious and quaint.

Every thing thus conspired to maintain the popular faith that the kings and the gods were one. When the Pharaoh died he was mourned for seventy days—as though Apis were dead. It was a time of fasting and sorrow. Wine might not be drank or flesh eaten in these days of lamentation. But when a new king, son of the dead monarch perhaps, ascended the throne, then indeed "the sun gave light again"—a new Horus had risen on the world.

Generally the crown descended to the children of the king, with little or no discrimination against the daughters. The constitution of the oldest empire of the world did not admit that it was a misfortune to be born a woman. In a few instances the line of hereditary descent was broken by revolt and usurpation.

Besides the king and his retinue of princes there were few eminent Egyptians. There were no distinguished families in the land, no great generals, no orators, no poets, no statesmen. Even the priests were noted as a class, not as men. All grandeur proceeded from the sovereign—was derived from him. In no other great nation of the world has there been such a dearth of individual achievement. The great names of Egypt are the names of the Pharaohs.

The military caste in Egyptian society was not distinguished for the warlike grandeur of its leadership or the personal heroism of its soldiery; it was strong *en masse*—victorious by its impersonal momentum. The army was well disciplined rather than well organized, and war was carried on with some degree of scientific skill. The weapons were provided from the royal armories. Helmets, shields, bows and arrows, lances, and swords with curving blades, were served forth to the battalions according to the exigency of the service. The trumpet sounded the march, the battle, the retreat. In attacking towns the battering ram and protecting shed were employed in the manner of the Roman siege.

In the Old Empire the cavalry service was unknown, and war-chariots were not used until after the expulsion of the Hyksos. There were two great military orders—the one called the *Hermotybians*, so named from the peculiar apron which constituted the feature of their uniform; and the other, the *Kalasirians*, from the linen coat which they wore. The former were the soldiers of Upper Egypt and the western part of the Delta; the latter of the eastern Delta and the province of Thebes. For it was a resident soldiery, living independently on lands granted by the king. Each family of the warrior caste had an allotment of about twelve acres—a homestead, the products of which belonged to the occupants. In times of emergency this military order could bring into the field a force of five hundred thousand men.

The favored rank of Egyptian society was the PRIESTS. To them belonged one-third of the lands of the kingdom. They were the holy order in whose hands rested the maintenance of the national religious faith, the conduct of the ceremonies in the temples, the direction of the sacrifices, the work of education, and the general culture of the Egyptians.

By the priests no secular duties might be performed. They were expected to devote themselves exclusively to the business of their sacred office, and to this end they were guaranteed a liberal support. The revenues from their lands, together with certain taxes and contributions of corn, wine, and animals brought for sacrifice, furnished abundant maintenance, and gave the priests unlimited command of time for their religious duties. The performance of the sacred ceremonies was accordingly elaborate and expensive. The ritual was followed with great exactness and regularity, and every minute detail of wor-

ship and sacrifice attended to with punctilious respect for the scriptures and traditions.

The Egyptian priests were divided into several ranks or classes, according to the dignity and importance of the services rendered. In every temple was one High-priest, who ministered only in the greatest things. After him came the Prophet, who was overseer of the temple; a Scribe, who was proficient in writing and had charge of the property; a Chamberlain, who took care of the images, vestments, and sacrifices; an Astronomer, who recorded the phenomena of the heavens; and the planets were named and the stars mapped with wonderful accuracy. Here were made the beginnings of that sky-lore which in the middle of the second century B. C. astonished Hipparchus as he studied the heavens in the observatory at Alexandria.

Among the priestly rank the hereditary principle struggled with the principle of fitness. Priests might be, and were, promoted from one rank to another, according to the merit of service; but in general the office was handed down from father to son in regular succession. Five orders were recognized in

TEMPLE OF ISIS, PHILAE.

a Minstrel, who conducted the chants. After these in rank were the image bearers, the nurses of the sacred animals, the embalmers, and ordinary servants of the temple.

The most famous shrines in the kingdom were the temples of Amun at Thebes, of Ptah at Memphis, of Ra at Heliopolis, and of Isis at Philæ. The high-priest of Amun at Thebes was the high-priest of Egypt—next to the Pharaoh in glory. In the temples colleges were established, and were for centuries the chief centers of the intellectual life of the nation. Here were the seats of "the learning of the Egyptians," famous throughout the East. Here the sciences grew and flourished. Here the temples—first priests, second priests, etc., the fifth being the lowest rank. It is recorded of one Baken-Chunsu that, beginning service in the third order, he rose in distinction until he became high-priest of Amun at Thebes.

The discipline of the priest's life was exceedingly exacting. The rules for the purification of the body, for food, and for conduct were rigorous in the extreme. The ritual prescribed that every priest must perform ablutions twice by day and twice by night. On every third day the whole person must be shaven, especially the beard and eyebrows. No clothing could be worn except of linen. The shoes were of papyrus. Woolen goods were abominable. No

priest could touch the hair or skins of beasts without defilement. The animals for sacrifice must first be purified by the attendants.

The priest's food was ordered in accordance with the same strict regulations. No flesh, except that of calves and of geese, might be

HIPPARCHUS IN THE OBSERVATORY OF ALEXANDRIA.

eaten. Fish might not be touched. Peas and beans were absolutely interdicted—might not be looked upon. The least excess brought defilement and disgrace. The layman might eat what he would, but the priest must be pure and holy. Fasts were frequent and severe. Sometimes for six weeks together the priest would mortify his body in order that the roots of deadly sins might be destroyed. Celibacy was not a part of the discipline, but multiplicity of wives, permitted to the Pharaoh and his noblemen, was forbidden to the priests.

The common people—the Third Estate—of Egypt were divided into three classes: husbandmen, artisans, and shepherds. The lines of division were not very clearly drawn, nor is there much ground for believing that one of these classes outranked the other in social reputation. There is no doubt that the mili-

FELLAH PLOWING.

tary and priestly orders stood much higher in general society than did the handcraftsmen and laborers; but it does not appear that as between artisans and husbandmen there was much distinction of rank. The shepherds and swineherds are declared by Diodorus to have been the lowest stratum of Egyptian society—a class held in aversion and contempt by all the other orders.

A man's place as a citizen in the social scale was for the most part determined by the rank in which he was born. It was not *impossible* that this order should be broken and the artisan become a husbandman, or even the shepherd an artisan; but such transfer of social rank was the exception—not the rule.

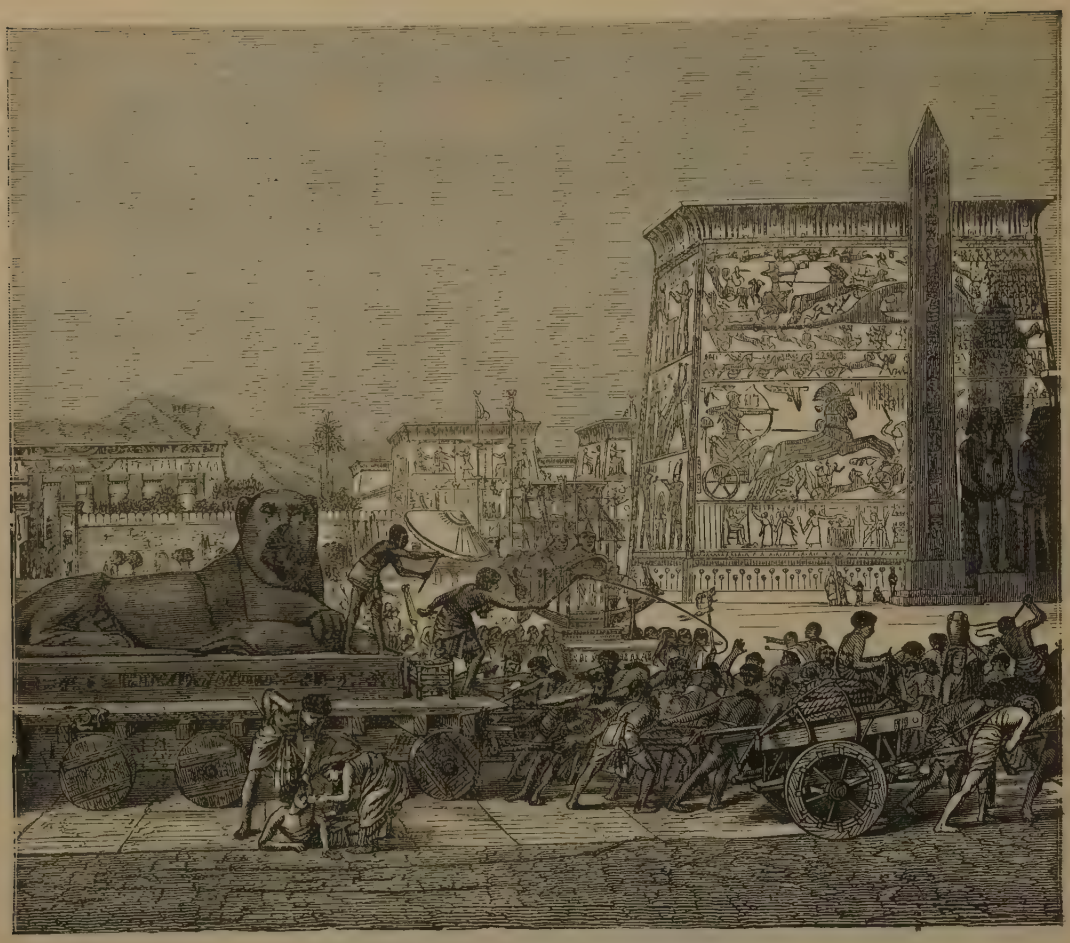
In no other country, perhaps, did the hereditary principle go so far towards fixing the industrial pursuits of men as in Egypt. The vocation of the father was followed by the son. One inscription bears witness to the fact that the profession of architect had been practiced in a given family *for twenty-three generations.*[1]

The naturally conservative character of the people coöperated with hereditary influences to limit certain occupations to certain families, and certain families to certain occupations; but it is nevertheless true that in the strictest sense of the term the *castes* of Egypt were not rigid. Intermarriages between the various orders of society were never prohibited, and without exclusiveness in this regard there can be no true caste.

Transitions from one social and civil rank to another were common, or at least not infrequent in all periods of Egyptian history. The inscriptions on the tombs never ascribe any merit to the birth of the occupant, but rather to what he did. Nor was it impossible, or even improper, for an Egyptian to belong to two castes at once. He might be farmer and mechanic, or priest and soldier, without destroying his social rank. The disrepute of the shepherd life has been traced to the fact that the *keepers* of the flocks (not the *breeders* of herds, who were well esteemed) were mostly Libyan and Arabian nomads, and not native Egyptians.

The life of the common people of Egypt was passed with the usual vicissitudes of toil and rest. To the farmer and gardener the fertility of the soil gave abundant rewards for their labor. The greatest drawback on the

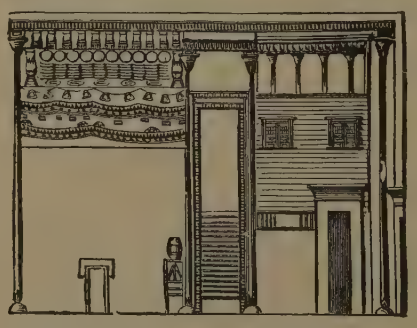
[1] It would be an interesting inquiry to determine how far the superior excellence of ancient art is traceable to genius accumulated by the force of heredity. The transmission of skill is a fact that can not be denied; and it is easy to see that if the hereditary impulse were allowed freely to work out its results through many generations, a degree of power in the direction of a certain activity might be reached which would astonish and bewilder by the beauty and precision of its work. Is it not possible that the inferiority of art and design in our own times is in a large measure traceable to the fact that herein the force of heredity is constantly thwarted and broken up by the multifarious and ever shifting pursuits of modern life?



THE ERECTION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS (EGYPT).

comfort and independence of the lowly populace was the fact that the lands belonged to Pharaoh. The husbandmen held their homesteads only by lease, and were thus virtually the tenants of the king. Even the labor of the people might be commanded by the monarch who, for his own caprice and pride did not hesitate to squander on the vainglorious pile that was to guard his withered mummy the toil of generations. It was by the confiscated labor of the people that the pyramids were built. The tasks of those who toiled at the public works and in the mines and quarries were many times cruel and severe. The laborer might be driven to his work with rod and whip, or beaten for imperfect service. The private employer and public taskmaster alike might exercise the right of chastisement over those who were employed by them, and a thousand sculptures show that the overseers did not neglect to vindicate their right.

Bating the occasional severity of their labor and the fact that Pharaoh owned their lands, the common people of Egypt, for the



EGYPTIAN DWELLING.
From a Bas-relief.

most part, lived a happy and prosperous life. The domestic tie was strong, and the pleasures

of home of a higher order than in any other nation of antiquity. The monuments furnish numberless examples of the tenderness shown by parents to their children, and the manifestations of courtesy and affection between man and wife are so common as to show that the rule was kindness—the exception cruelty. Even where the sculptures bear witness to family jars and social scandals the delineation is generally given in the spirit of humor rather than in satire and bitterness.

As a general rule, the Egyptian home was by no means the abode of squalor and despair. Comforts as great as those found in the peasant-homes of modern Europe were enjoyed by the people of the Nile valley four thousand years ago. The houses of the artisans and husbandmen were generally of brick, and were as well furnished as the houses of the workingmen of to-day, and perhaps better built. In humbler homes the stools and benches and cots were of primitive patterns and rude workmanship; but in the houses of the well-to-do and wealthy the tables, beds, and chairs were elaborately finished and ornamented in the highest style with foreign woods and quaint devices of workmanship.

Though sedate, the Egyptians were fond of amusements, and the various games in which the people delighted are fully delineated on the monuments. The juggler's art was carried to great perfection. It was the delight of the performer to deceive the senses of the beholder of his tricks. Wrestling, jumping, and tumbling were sports greatly enjoyed by the people. The figures of athletes performing feats of strength or boxing for the amusement of the bystanders are delineated in many of the sculptures.

EGYPTIAN DANCER.
After the Painting by H. Makart.

On one of the walls of Beni Hassan the different phases of a game of ball, involving running and leaping, are pictured; and in another part the performers are throwing a set of balls into the air, catching them in their fall. Of the indoor games, draughts or checkers was the most popular contest. All classes, from the Pharaoh to the swineherd, found delight in this amusement. Dice were thrown, as in modern gaming, the cubes being numbered as at present, but the numbers differently arranged. Many other contests of chance and skill, or both combined, are represented in the paintings and sculptures of Thebes and Beni Hassan. The children were well provided with such home amusements as were calculated to develop the body and divert the mind. Dolls and wooden manikins, with a jointed anatomy operated by strings, gave infinite amusement to the solemn-eyed urchins of the Egyptian household.

Among the higher classes music was the chief delight. Musical instruments of almost every conceivable pattern—harps, guitars, lyres, sistra, flutes, pipes, triangles, horns, trumpets, and drums—are found plentifully distributed among the sculptures of the tombs, temples, and palaces. The attitude of the player is carefully delineated. The military band leads the cohort. The dancers take their places, step to the strains of their own instruments, follow the cry of the caller, or whirl to the clapping of hands. The dance of ancient, as of modern, Egypt, was accompanied with graceful postures of the body and pleasing gesticulations on the part of the performer.

Many styles of dancing were cultivated by the Egyptians according to the diverse tastes of the different classes of society. The dance of the priests differed from that of the townsmen and peasantry, while the upper orders of Egyptian society danced not at all or only in private parties. Nor was the voice of song unheard in the Egyptian home. Though poetry was less cultivated in Egypt than in the countries settled by the Aryan races north of the Mediterranean, the musical talent was perhaps more highly developed by the former than by the latter peoples; and the songs of Egypt, though lacking in poetic inspiration, were melodious and beautiful.[1]

The people of Egypt bestowed unusual care upon the bodies of the dead. The races of men have held two theories in regard to the proper disposal of the human body after death. The first is that the mortal part should, as speedily as practicable after the extinction of life, be reduced to ashes; the second is that the body should be preserved and honored as a living guest.[2] Those races among whom

[1] An old Egyptian myth relates the playing of a game of dice by Mercury with the Moon. It was before the birth of Osiris. The stake was the five days necessary to make out a full year in the Egyptian calendar. Fortunately Mercury won, and the five days were accordingly added to the three hundred and sixty.

[1] In the fields men sang at the harvest or following the plow. The appended stanza from an "Ox-Song" was sung at the threshing-floor, and has been preserved in one of the inscriptions:

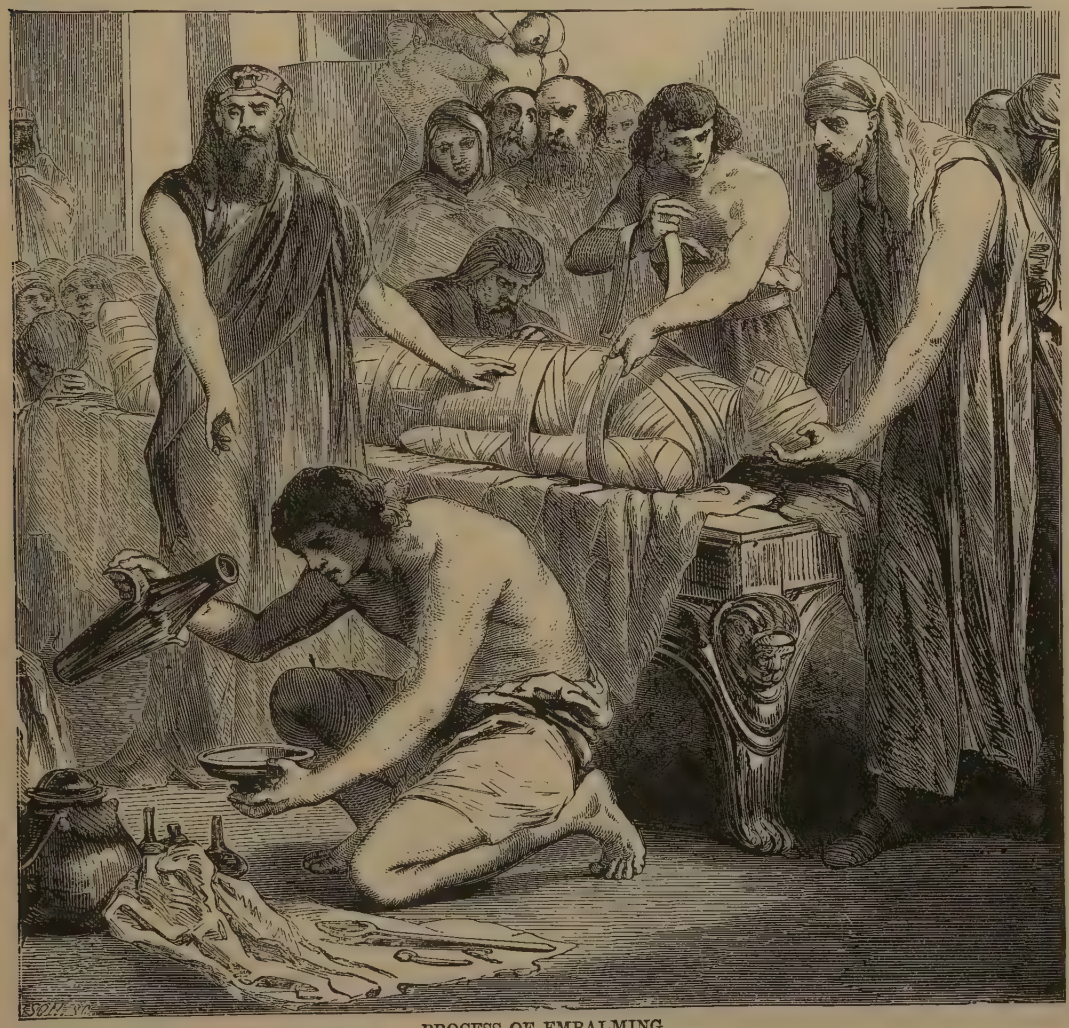
The following is the translation of this song:

Thresh for yourselves,
Thresh for yourselves,
O Oxen!
Thresh for yourselves,
Thresh for yourselves,
Measures for yourselves,
Measures for your masters.

The marks ⊙ 𝍐 to the left of verses 1 and 3 signify *repeat*.

[2] It may be truly said that the system of earth burial adopted by the nations of modern times has preserved all the objectionable features of cremation and embalming, without the merits of either. It is a poor compromise between superstition and science.

the worship of ancestors has prevailed, have adopted the latter view, and for this reason have embalmed their dead. The art of thus preserving the remains of the departed was practiced more generally and successfully by the ancient Egyptians than by any other people. Embalming was as much a profession as the practice of medicine, and the bodies of



PROCESS OF EMBALMING.

all except the poorest of the poor were in some measure preserved against decay.

When an Egyptian died the friends of the deceased went at once to the embalmer. By him they were shown a set of models, that is, wooden images painted and wrapped in imitation of the different styles of mummies prepared at the establishment. The models were divided into three classes; first, second, and third; and among these the friends selected according to their rank and means.

The dead body was then delivered to the embalmers, by whom the brain was removed through the nostrils. Then an incision was made in the left side with a sharp stone. Through this opening the entire viscera were removed, and being thoroughly cleansed by washing with palm wine, were covered with pounded aromatics and deposited in four urns. The cavity of the body was filled with powdered myrrh, cassia, and other fragrant substances, and the wound carefully sewn up. The whole body was then packed for seventy days in salt and carbonate of soda, at the end of which time it was washed and then wrapped in linen bands anointed on the inner surface

FUNERAL PROCESSION CROSSING THE LAKE OF THE DEAD.

with a certain gum which acted as glue. The mummy was finally put into a wooden case in the form of a man, and delivered to the relatives, by whom it was set upright against the wall in one of the rooms of their house.

MUMMY CASES.

The cost of preparing a mummy in the first style is said to have reached as high as twelve hundred and fifty dollars. In the second style the expense was about three hundred dollars, and the third was so cheap as to be within the reach of all.

In the second method of embalming, the body of the deceased was filled with the oil of cedar, which was of such strength as to dissolve the viscera. After this was done the body could be easily cleansed and preserved by the action of soda and salt. The cavities of the head and trunk were generally filled with aromatic spices, resins, or bitumen—but the latter was used only in preparing the bodies of the poor. When a priest or one of the wealthy classes was embalmed the mummy was prepared with great elaboration and expense. Sometimes the linen bandage employed measured a thousand yards in length; the case was tastefully painted and ornamented with gold-leaf; and the sarcophagus of wood or stone was profusely adorned and sculptured. Such was the fantastic figure of the actor as he quit the stage for the sepulcher.

In every thing relating to the fact of death the ancient Egyptians had peculiar and solemn rites. The ceremonies of the hour were directed not only to the body of the departed and its careful preservation from decay—not

only to its honorable establishment among the ancestral effigies of the household—but also to such forms and ceremonies as might properly induct the spirit of the dead into the realms of blessedness. The funeral ritual was solemn and elaborate. Prayers were offered for the repose and chants recited for the happy reception of the dead among the immortals. The day of sepulture was a time of great lamentation. As the mummy of the dead was placed in a barge to be taken across the Lake of the Dead—for it was the manner of the Egyptians to bear the bodies about to be entombed across the water to the place of sepulture—the members of the household, especially the women, were wont to follow in another barge, and with uplifted hands and unbound hair to cry out for the lost.[1]

CHAPTER V.—RELIGION AND ART.

IN the present chapter a sketch will be given of the religious system of the ancient Egyptians and of the arts which they invented and practiced. The first topic will, it is believed, prove of unusual interest as embodying the ethical and philosophical beliefs of the oldest race of mankind; and the second will hardly fail of like interest as presenting the artistic concepts and achievements of those who were in many respects the greatest people of the ancient world.

The primitive religious beliefs of the Egyptians have not been clearly determined. The oldest monuments reveal the worship of many gods; but the eminent Egyptologist, De Rougè, has been led, from a careful study of the religious systems of Egypt, to affirm that the original principle in them all is the idea of one god. Other scholars, equally distinguished, have decided that the fragments of inscriptions and manuscripts which have been preserved to our day do not warrant De Rougè's conclusion. Certain it is that, however monotheism may have originally prevailed in Egyptian philosophy, the idea at a very early date grew into a polytheistic development; but it is also true that the spiritual concept in the religion of Egypt suffered less by polytheistic degeneration than among almost any other people worshiping a multiplicity of gods. It was the moving spirits, rather than the material forms, of things that were adored by the Egyptians. Only in a few instances, as under Dynasty XVIII. (see p. 58), was the attempt made to introduce the idolatry of material forms.

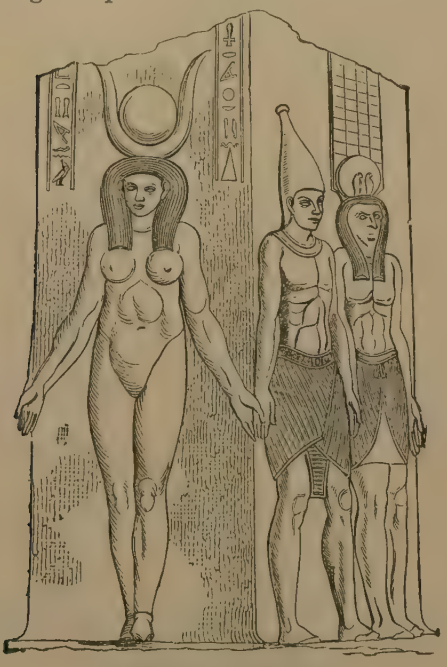
Notwithstanding this high form under which the religion of the Egyptians was presented, it was none the less a system closely allied with natural philosophy. The deities worshiped were regarded as the moving powers of Nature. A knowledge of the deities was therefore necessary in order to interpret the processes and phenomena of the external world.

The first and greatest of the Egyptian gods was PTAH. His principal sanctuary was at Memphis, and here his worship is said to have been as old as the city itself. Nearly all of the Pharaohs contributed to enlarge and adorn the great Memphian temple where Ptah was adored. He was the god of light, of heat, of fire, and as such was worshiped by the Greeks under the name of Hephæstus.

The fundamental theory of the Egyptian religion was that whatever gave life was worthy of adoration. The sun, or the spirit that ruled the sun, was preëminently the giver of life; therefore, the sun, or the spirit of the sun, was a god, and worthy of worship in the highest. This spirit of life and light and truth was Ptah. He stood at the head of the dynasties of the gods. His names were sublime. He was the lord of truth, the ruler of the sky,

[1] The usage of ferrying the dead over the water to the tombs was much practiced on Lake Moëris, nor is it improbable that the custom originated with the priests of the Feiyoom.

the king of both worlds, the weaver of the beginning, the producer of the egg of the sun and the moon. He was a creative spirit, having the power of both sexes within him-



THE EGYPTIAN TRINITY.
From a Column at El-Karnak.

self. Therefore was he the Double God, and therefore was the sacred beetle[1] which, according to the tradition of the land, brought forth without the agency of sex, placed on Ptah's shoulders as his head. His body was painted green, for he was the giver of vegetation. In his hands he bore a Nile gauge and a scepter. On a Memphian pillar (now preserved in the Berlin Museum), Ptah is defined as the god who made himself to be god, the double being, who exists by himself, the only unbegotten begetter in heaven or in earth. He was the spirit of intelligent creative power, and as such was the nearest approach to the one God known in the symbolism of Egypt.

THE SACRED BEETLE.

[1] *Scarabæus sacer.*

After Ptah came Ra. He was the chief divinity worshiped at Heliopolis. He was more particularly the god of the sun, the Helios of the Greeks, and as such gave his name to the city. Sometimes he is represented as a child, sitting on a leaf of lotus; for in the Egyptian fancy the sun of the winter months was a little child. Afterwards, at the vernal equinox, he was a youth; then, in summer, a bearded man; and, at the autumnal equinox, an old man, gray and decrepit. The allegory of human life furnished a symbol for the god. He was borne daily around the world in a boat navigated by spirits who, hour by hour, drew the growing deity to his destined place in the west, and thence over the waters of the under world to his renewal in the morning. "The old man becomes again a child," is the language of the monuments.

In the sculptures of Egypt Ra is represented as a red god, having the head of a hawk. Upon his crest he bears the solar disk. His symbol is generally the hawk—emblem of watchfulness. The sun sees all things. He drives away all darkness. Ra struggles against the gloomy powers, and overcomes them. He is accordingly adored as the victorious, the vanquisher. The worship of Ra was more general than that of any other deity except Osiris, and was frequently combined with the worship of other gods, such as Amun, Num, and Sebek. Thus were produced the compound systems of Amun-Ra, Num-Ra, Sebek-Ra, etc., in which both deities were adored together. At Heliopolis two animals were sacred to this god: the black bull, Mnevis, and the famous Phœnix. For it was from

THE WINGED SUN.

the temple of this city that the fabled bird began its annual flight around the world. The cat and the hawk were likewise sacred to Ra, and the two-winged globe of the sun his emblem. It was from this great solar deity that the kings of Egypt derived their power and glory: they were all the sons of Ra.

While the system of Ptah and Ra—the

Beginner and the Sustainer of Life—was in process of development at Memphis and generally throughout Lower Egypt, the same myths in a modified form appeared at Thebes. The Memphian Ptah became the Theban AMUN. The peculiarity of the latter deity was that he was the invisible one. He was accordingly worshiped as the concealed or veiled god. He is represented as sitting on a throne, a scepter in his hand and two feathers rising from his crest. By his side stands the goddess Mut, who is styled the Mother and the Lady of Darkness. The vulture was her symbol. In the sculptures representing battles the vulture is often seen hovering over the head of Pharaoh—the genius of protection. In the later development of Upper Egypt the god CHNUM was associated with Amun, and the latter thus came to bear the symbolism of the former—being the head and horns of a ram.

Just as Amun was the Theban development of Ptah, so the Theban ATMU was the counterpart in Upper Egypt of the Memphian Ra. Atmu was a special form of the solar deity. With a slight variation of attributes, the names TUM and MENTU were applied to the same divinity. Tum was the setting sun, the sun hidden behind the west, the sun of the under world. Mentu was the sun of the eastern horizon, the sun of morning and the day. Atmu, like Ptah, was called the father of the gods. He was the spirit of the primeval floods, out of whose mists and vapor the sun was born. Therefore he was called the egg of Ra. His emblems were the sun-dial and the horologe.

Next in the Egyptian theonomy stand the deities SHU and SEB. They were the gods alike of Upper and Lower Egypt, being worshiped with equal zeal at Thebes and Memphis. Shu was light personified. He was the genius of celestial force, and is represented as supporting heaven. In his human form he bears the ostrich feather, the symbol of truth; for light and truth are inseparable. His consort, TEFNET, goddess of heaven, was represented with the head of a lioness—a symbol holding the same relation to the female deities as did the hawk-head to the gods. Seb, with his consort, NUT, was the founder of the great family of Osiris. Seb was the genius of the earth and Nut of the heavens, and both were worshiped in human form, as were Kronos and Rhea by the Greeks.

The greatest of all the Egyptian myths—the most popular and universal—were those of OSIRIS and ISIS.[1] Isis was the receptive and Osiris the fructifying power in Nature. They were the spirits of Blessing and of Life. Their color is green; for the living earth is green; and the sacred tamarisk, with its perennial verdure, is the emblem of that indwell-

OSIRIS.

ing life which was given by Osiris and born of Isis.

The primitive seats of the worship and lore of Osiris were at Philæ and Abydos. Opposite the former city, on a little island in the Nile, whose every sand was sacred, was Osiris's grave, hidden under the tamarisks. An oath taken by this grave was the most solemn thing known to the Egyptian. Other traditions recorded his burial at Abydos, and the priests of the temple in that city prayed to rest near the tomb of their god. In Lower

[1] In Egyptian, *Hesiri* and *Hes.*

Egypt the worship of Osiris was maintained at Memphis, at Saïs, and in the towns of the Delta.

The most famous sanctuary of Isis was situated at Busiris, in the district lying be-

ISIS.

tween the branches of the Nile, and here the goddess, together with Osiris, was adored in prayers and praises. At the annual festival great lamentation was made for Osiris's death. While the supplications of the priests were made a bull was flayed; the thighs were cut away; the body was filled with bread, honey, and incense. Then the whole was drenched with oil and set on fire. While the flames ascended the people lamented, and what remained of the sacrifice was eaten.

Blessing and Life were good; but there was also Evil in the world. There was a spirit of evil. He was the serpent called Typhon by the Greeks, but the Egyptians called him Set.[1] He was the genius of malevolence. He slew Osiris, his kinsman, on the seventeenth day of the month Athyr.[2] Isis lamented the death of her lord; and at the great commemoration a gilded heifer covered with a black veil of linen was exhibited for four days as a symbol of the sorrow of the queen of Life for the god of Blessing. At the end the priests brought out a chest, and the people cried "Osiris is found!" A serpent was slain in effigy, and libations were poured out to the living deity.

Among the sculptures Isis generally appears as a maiden with the horned disk of the moon for her head. She has a scepter with flowers, and the emblem of life is in her hand. In the inscriptions she is honored with the titles of the great goddess and the royal spouse. As to Set, he was burning red in color, and the ass was his sacred animal. He was called the almighty destroyer and blighter. He filled the world with forms of evil—serpents and crocodiles and hippopotami, beetles and dragons and asps. The hot wind that blasted the trees was the breath of Set. The mildew and the blight were flung by his hands upon the gardens and orchards.

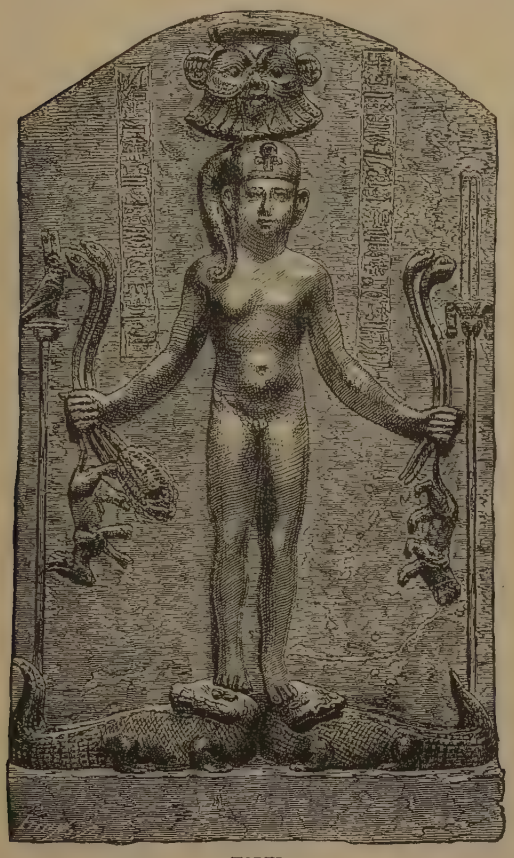
COLUMN OF OSIRIS.
From Medinet Habu, Time of Ramses III.

Of Osiris and Isis was born the child Horus. He came into the world to avenge his father. As a child-god he sits on a lotus-leaf, his finger on his lips. As a youth he takes the name of Buto. Then he becomes the strong Horus, the great helper, the pillar of the world. He does honor to the spirit of his father. He is the genius of light. He rides in the sun-boat and stabs the serpent Apopis. He treads the crocodiles under his feet, and in the form of the winged disk of the sun triumphs over the hippopotamus. The wor-

[1] In Hebrew, *Satan*.

[2] On this day the sun—Osiris—passes through the sign of the scorpion.

shiper of Horus cried out in his supplication: "Come to me quickly on this day to guide the holy bark, to force back all lions from the land of Egypt and all crocodiles into the Nile. Shamelessness and sin come and appear upon



HORUS.

earth; but when Horus is invoked he destroys them. All mankind rejoice when they see the sun. They praise the son of Osiris, and the serpent turns and flees." Horus was the god of light, turning the gloom of winter into the verdure and life of spring. He was the Apollo of the Greeks.

Associated with Horus was the goddess HATHOR, the Aphrodite of the Greek myths. The principal seat of her worship was at Aphroditopolis. She is represented as the queen of the dance and revel. To her was attributed the power of maternity and the mystery of love. On the monuments she stands with a tambourine, sometimes in fetters. Like Isis, she wears the horned crescent, the moon's disk between. In the sculptures of the temples no fewer than three hundred and sixty local forms are given to this goddess, the queen of the passions of Egypt.

Among the deities worshiped by the Egyptians the god THOTH[1] held a place inferior to Ra. He was the chief Moon-god, and was represented with the head of an Ibis. To him is attributed the introduction of letters and the reckoning of time. In the conflict which Horus had with the dragon Set, Thoth by his wisdom aided in destroying the serpent. He was the god of knowledge and of art. At the last, when the souls of the dead are brought before the judgment-seat of Osiris, it is Thoth who records the sentence of eternal doom.

COLUMN FROM THE TEMPLE OF DENDERAH, WITH HATHOR MASKS, TIME OF CÆSAR.

After Thoth, who may, perhaps, be regarded as the last of the principal gods of Egypt, came a number of others of less reputation. Among these minor divinities may be mentioned MAT, the goddess of Truth, and her son, the jackal-headed ANUBIS. Next were the four genii called the AMENU, who presided over the process of embalming. Chnum has already been mentioned as associated with Amun in the system of Upper Egypt. KHEM was the Greek Pan, and NIT was a local divinity of Saïs. To these should be added the NILE, who, under the name of Hapi, was believed in and worshiped as the god of fertility and abundance. In times of low water, especially when the annual flood was scanty, portending famine, offerings were made to the great river with the hope of increasing his benevolence. Traditions exist that at such times a maiden, bound in fetters after the similitude of Hathor, was thrown

[1] Variously written, *Thaut, Taut, Tanut, Toth.*

THE SACRIFICE TO THE NILE.
Drawn by W. Gentz.

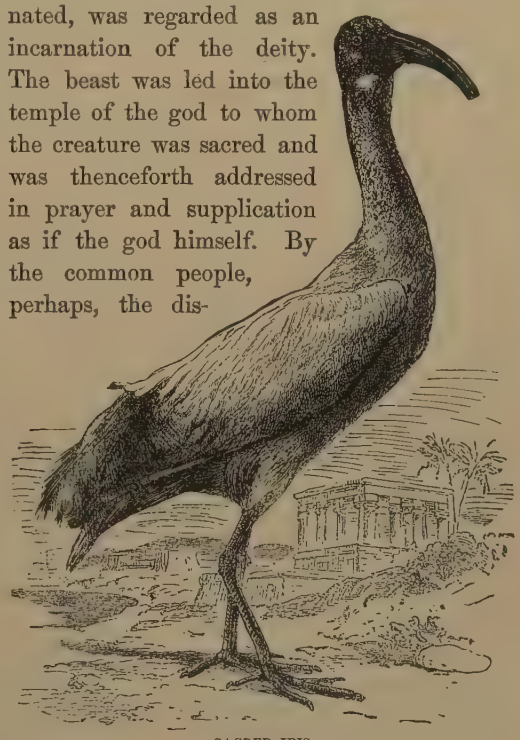
into the tide as a sacrifice of life to a deity that might not be otherwise appeased.[1]

Much has been written of the adoration of animals by the Egyptians. It is hardly correct to say that any beast was worshiped. Certain animals were sacred to certain gods. They were the symbols of the deities—the bodily presence of the invisible principle or power. Perhaps no intelligent Egyptian worshiped the bull or the goat; but the theology of the land, as formulated by the priests and the philosophers, indicated these animals as the best living embodiment of the gods to whom they were sacred. It was through the symbol that the god was worshiped; and since the gods were many, many were the symbols.

To the creative deities—the robust gods of power and mastery—the sacred animal was the bull; and correlative with this the cow was sacred to the goddesses of birth and receptivity. To Amun and Chnum the ram was sacred; to Ptah the beetle; to Osiris the heron; to Ptah and Isis the vulture; to Ra and Horus the hawk and the cat; to Thoth the Ibis; to Anubis the ape; to Set and his later counterpart, Sebek, the crocodile.

Here superstition found abundant material. The sacred animals had a portion of the divinity within them. Any offense to the beast was an offense to the god of whom the creature was the symbol. The sacred animals must be treated as deities. If the city was burning the cats must be saved—they were the creatures of the guardian Horus, who rose to light the world. To honor these animals in the presence of all the people—to cut up bits of flesh for the hawks and stand calling for them to come, or to coax the cats, already replete with delicacies, to take more milk and bread—were acts of profound piety, as it respected the supernal powers. To kill one of these sacred creatures, whether intentionally or unintentionally, was a deed worthy of death. Diodorus relates that as late as the time of the Ptolemies, when the Egyptians were exceedingly anxious to secure the favor of the Cæsars, a Roman visitor in Egypt had the misfortune to kill a cat, whereupon, in spite of all authority and all fear of consequences, a mob gathered and took his life.

Among the various races of animals set apart to the gods, certain individuals were preëminently sacred. These were known by the priests, and were detected by marks and signs which distinguished them from the common herd. An animal, when once thus designated, was regarded as an incarnation of the deity. The beast was led into the temple of the god to whom the creature was sacred and was thenceforth addressed in prayer and supplication as if the god himself. By the common people, perhaps, the distinction between the deity and the sacred animal was not much regarded; but by the priests the discrimination was, no doubt, maintained between the spirit and the material form of their god.



SACRED IBIS.

As it respected the bull sacred to Ptah and Osiris, the Egyptian theology declared that the first Apis was conceived by the influence of a ray of light from heaven. After this, Apis procreated his own kind, and the priests were able to detect the true god from the undivine herd with which he pastured. Apis was black. He had a triangular spot of white on the forehead, and under his tongue a fleshy growth in the form of the sacred beetle

[1] According to the best historical opinion the belief that human sacrifices were made to the Nile by the ancient Egyptians is without foundation—a fact which seems to render mythical Gentz's striking sketch of *The Sacrifice to the Nile.*

of Ptah. His back was marked with spots of white in the shape of an eagle, and his tail was streaked with party-colored hairs.

When Apis was found he was put for forty days in the meadows of Nilopolis. He was then conveyed in a boat to the temple of Ptah at Memphis. There he was bathed and anointed and clad in the finest garments. Distinguished priests fed him with the costliest food, and precious frankincense smoked ever before him. When, at last, death put an end to the elaborate mockery, the extinct god was honored with a gorgeous funeral upon which wealthy noblemen and kings squandered their fortunes. But the soul of Apis had gone into another, whom the priests were not slow in discovering and restoring to his place in the temple. If Apis refused to die, at the end of twenty-five years he was drowned in a sacred fountain; for the imposing ceremony of a new installation might not be too long postponed.

At that season of the year when the inundation of the Nile began, promising peace and plenty for the year to come, a peculiar heron, bearing upon his crest two long black feathers, appeared in Egypt. The coming of this bird, called BENNU, seemed to announce the fertilization of the land and the return of life. Doubtless, therefore, the heron brought the blessings of abundance; and to Osiris, the god of blessing, the bird was sacred. In the great temple of Heliopolis the heron was consecrated as the great Bennu of On, the self-begotten creature who caused the divisions of time to men.

Closely connected with this myth was the more famous one of the PHŒNIX. The legend recites that, once in every five hundred years, a great bird, gold-colored and red, and shaped like an eagle, came out of Arabia to the temple of the sun in Heliopolis. Here in the sanctuary of the sun-god the winged creature buried the corpse of his father, embalmed in myrrh. On reaching the age of five hundred years, the phœnix prepared a funeral pile and burned himself upon it. Then out of the ashes he rose by recreation of himself and bore away the remains of his old body to Heliopolis. The phœnix was sacred to Osiris; and the fable is no doubt the mythical expression of the completion of some astronomical cycle, perhaps the return of the planets to a given aspect. The planet Venus is called on the Egyptian monuments, "the Star of Bennu-Osiris."

To Ra of Heliopolis the male cat was sacred, and the female to Pasht—the divinity of Bubastis.[1] In like manner the vulture of Mut, the ibis of Thoth, and the hawk of Horus, were set apart as objects of popular veneration and priestly care. When these animal gods died their bodies were generally embalmed with as much care as those of men of the highest rank. The mummies of the holy creatures—bulls, cows, jackals, dogs, cats, vultures, hawks, ibises, herons, and even crocodiles—are found abundantly scattered among the sacred rubbish of Thebes, Abydos, Memphis, Bubastis, and Hermopolis.

The faith of Egypt was not, however, wholly given up to incongruous myths and absurd symbolism. Mixed with the materialistic degeneration of the national religion were many concepts approximating the best beliefs of the ages. Everywhere there was the recognition of a difference between soul and body. The spiritual nature of man was clearly apprehended. Immortality was accepted as a thing taken for granted. Osiris had the power of awakening life out of death. He was the god of the human soul and of everlasting life. There was an invisible world where the spirits of men, eternal and indestructible, dwelt under the dominion of Osiris.

After death the human soul was believed to descend with the setting sun under the world. Here, in a place called the hall of Double Justice, on the Day of Justifica-

[1] As a specimen of the hymnody of Egypt the following chant to the male cat of Ra may be given: "Thy head is the head of the Sun-god; thy nose is the nose of Thoth, the twice mighty lord of Hermopolis. Thy ears are the ears of Osiris, who hears the voice of all who call upon him. Thy mouth is the mouth of Tum, who has preserved thee from every stain. Thy heart is the heart of Ptah, who has purified thee from every taint of evil in thy parts. Thy teeth are the teeth of the Moon-god; and thy thighs are the thighs of Horus, who avenged the death of his father, and retaliated upon Set the evil which he purposed against Osiris."

tion, the soul is examined and its actions weighed. Osiris is on the throne. With a crown on his head, surrounded with lotus-flowers springing out of the water of life, he holds the whip and the crosier. Anubis, the leader and keeper of the dead, and Horus, the god of life, handle the balance, while forty-two spirits, sitting beside Osiris, watch the weighing of the spirit and its deeds. The heart of the dead is put into one scale and an ostrich feather—symbol of truth and justice—into the other; and while one of the gods stands ready to record the result, the dead himself recites the acts which are likely to justify him in the presence of the deities. None of the forty-two sins has he committed. He has done no wicked thing; he has not murdered; he has not stolen; he has not prayed that he might be seen; he has not been a hypocrite, or a liar; he has not taken the property of the gods; he is not a drunkard; he has not slandered his neighbor; he has not slighted his father or the king; he has not babbled; he has not despised the gods, or stolen the wrappings of the dead. If the heart in the scale outweighs the feather, the soul is acquitted. His heart is given him again. His body is deified. Hathor and Nut, goddesses of life and the sky, pour upon him the living water, and he passes into the dwellings of the immortals. As it respects the fate of the soul when the heart of the dead was outweighed by the feather, the Egyptian monuments are silent. No clue has as yet been found to throw light on this important part of the national faith; but a legend recited by Herodotus points to metempsychosis as the destiny of the wicked. The impure

THE TEMPLE OF ISIS.—ISLAND OF ELEPHANTINE.

soul is driven into an animal, and thence into another, in earth, or air, or sea, until after three thousand years of transmigrations it is again admitted into a human body and a second time born into the world.

In the practical ethics of life the ancient Egyptians do not suffer by comparison with the other nations of antiquity. Affairs of business appear to have been transacted with more than the usual care and honesty. The people were cautious in incurring obligations, and generally punctilious in fulfilling them. There was nearly always something of a religious sanction to the business of man with man. The duties and courtesies of life, especially such as appertained to domestic ties and social relations, were observed with more sincerity and good faith than among most other nations of antiquity. In the Egyptian villages and towns there was very little brawling and disorder. The administration of justice, in both civil and criminal causes, was speedy, regular, and impartial. Affidavits and pleas were carefully prepared in writing, and the pettifogger was frowned out of court.

Albeit, it was the religious bias of the law which complicated and embarrassed its practice. The lawyer must necessarily be versed to a certain extent in the lore and traditions of the priests. It was religious considerations, indeed, rather than conflicting secular interests, that broke the harmony of the Egyptian state, and introduced the spirit of faction. The enmities between the towns were generally based on hostile religious creeds. In one city the people would slay and eat the animal which in another was held most sacred; and the people of the second city would return the compliment by killing and eating the gods of the first. In a third town the sacred beasts of a fourth would be destroyed as a pest, and so on through the whole round of counter idolatries. The goat of Mendes was hardly regarded as sacred beyond the limits of that city. At Cynopolis the dog was worshiped, and at Lycopolis the wolf; and the Cynopolites and Lycopolites mutually murdered each other's deities. The people of Dendera hunted and destroyed the crocodile, sacred at Kom Ombo; the Mendesians ate the holy sheep of Thebes; and the Lycopolites did the same thing, following the example of their god, the wolf. These sacrilegious acts were the basis of innumerable feuds and mutual

JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD.
From the Turin Papyrus.

detestation between the different sections of the country. A people who could build the pyramid of Khufu and carve the statue of Amenemha III. could not purify their creed from folly, or their practices from gross superstition.

TEMPLE OF DENDERA.

The ART of a people is generally closely related to their system of religion. In the earlier stages of civilization the imaginative sense in man is deeply impressed with the mysteries of the national faith, and this sense, struggling for expression, carves in the rock the forms of the gods—the symbols and emblems of the powers unseen. The generations following improve upon the first rude models, and the coming ages copy and imitate the work of the ages that have preceded them.

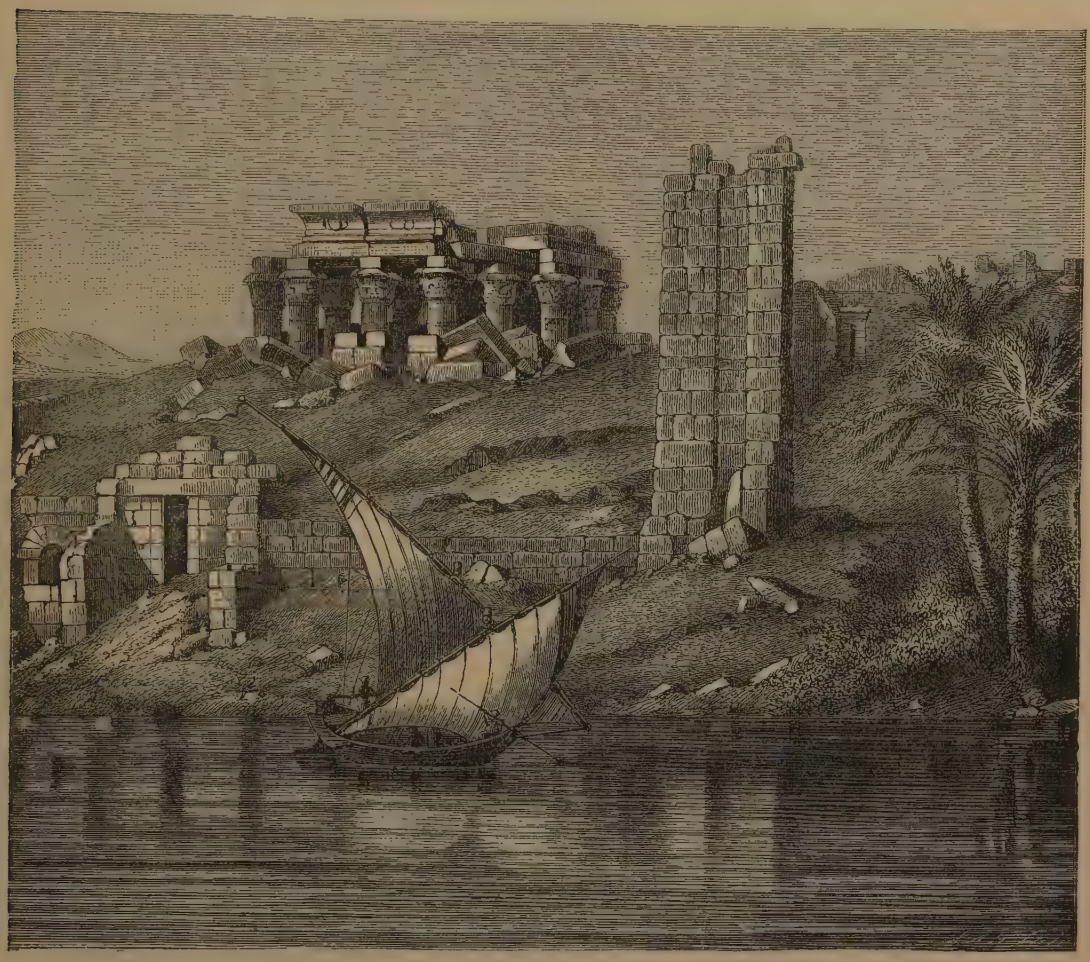
Moreover, the houses of the gods must be

grander and nobler structures than the houses of men. Magnificent temples, such as that at Thebes, of whose splendor the ruins of El-Karnak and Kom Ombo still preserve the dim and glorious tradition, spring up, exhaled from the pious spirit of the epoch, and the lofty fresco, with its infinite allegories tells the story of aspiration and hope. It is only in the later developments of ancient societies that art was in some measure divorced from religion and made to do service in the secular affairs of men. These tendencies are well illustrated in the art-history of ancient Egypt.

RUINS OF THE TEMPLE AT KARNAK.

Among the Egyptians, ARCHITECTURE held the most important place. The art of building so as to secure permanence and beauty was successfully cultivated from a very early epoch. In the construction of ordinary houses the Egyptians displayed no small degree of good taste and skill. The dwellings of the common people were generally square and two stories in height, with an open gallery above. The materials used were sun-dried bricks laid in bitumen, the columns of support and related parts being generally of wood. The rooms were ranged around the three—sometimes all four—sides of an open square or court-yard. In this trees were planted, cisterns digged, and fountains constructed according to the wealth and taste of the owner. In the more aristocratic mansions were inclosed two courts, an outer and an inner—the latter being for the use of the women of the household and their intimate friends. Without, the entrance to the dwelling was between two pillars and by way of a porch, which generally contained

the name of the proprietor and the traditions of the family sculptured in hieroglyphics. The roofs of the houses were flat, and through these ventilating shafts, provided with large, square fans to catch the wind, were carried into the apartments below. The ceilings of the better sort of houses were frequently stuccoed with a considerable degree of skill, and



RUINS OF KOM OMBO.

ornaments were employed in the various parts according to the fancy and wealth of the owner.

The public edifices of Egypt were built of stone. In these structures were attained a grandeur and magnificence hardly surpassed in ancient or modern times. The valley of the Nile, especially in its upper course, was rich in quarries. Those at Syene have given name to the famous crystalline rock called *Syenite*, one of the best building materials in the world. Others furnished porphyry, limestone, and sandstone, and still others inexhaustible stores of granite. It was of these well-nigh imperishable materials that the builders of ancient Egypt reared their temples and palaces and tombs.

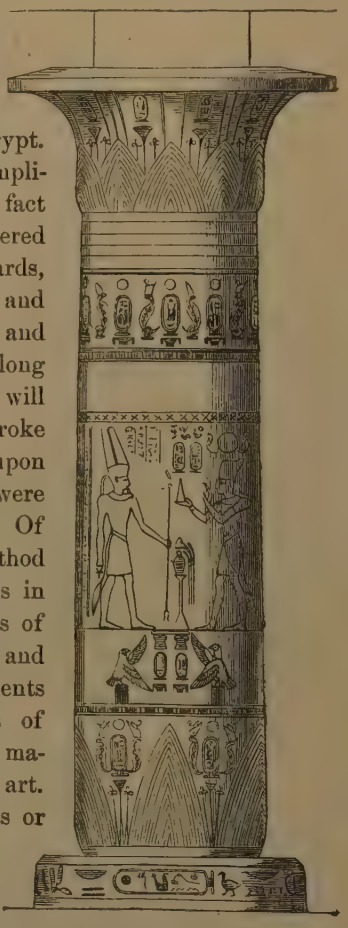
The ability to work in stone was preëminently an art of the Egyptians. No other people have handled the obdurate strata of Nature's rocky bed with equal ease and skill. In most countries the carving of granite has been regarded as a difficult or impossible work; but to the ancient Egyptian sculptor this hard and unyielding rock was only as so much soapstone which he carved and figured at his will. Sculptures and hieroglyphics were scattered everywhere with a profusion

FAÇADE OF AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE (RESTORED).

indicative of perfect ease in the management of the hardest substances; but the means by which such marvelous results were reached have never been ascertained. It is not even known that the Egyptians were acquainted with the use of iron and steel. To suppose that they were not, heightens our wonder at the work which they achieved. To suppose that they were, seems inconsistent with the fact that no steel implement has been found among the ruins of Egypt. And what still further complicates the problem is the fact that the bronze chisels discovered in the quarries and stone-yards, though perfectly edged and sharp as new when found, and battered on the top from long service under the hammer, will not now bear a single stroke against the very granite upon which it is evident they were formerly used, without turning the edge and becoming useless. Of the many conjectures which have been offered to explain the method employed by the Egyptians in cutting the hardest varieties of stone, not one seems clear and satisfactory. The monuments furnish ample illustrations of the manner in which the masons and sculptors plied their art. The workman kneels or sits or stands before the block; he lifts the hammer in his right hand, and with the left holds the chisel to the face of the stone; but how should a chisel of bronze make any impression on a slab of granite?

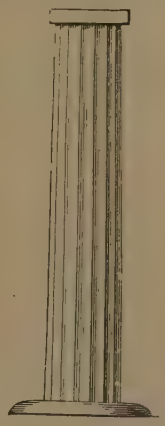
COLUMN FROM BENI-HASSAN.

COLUMN FROM KOM OMBO, 200 B. C.



COLUMN FROM THEBES.

COLUMN FROM MEDINET-HABU.



PROTODORIC COLUMN FROM BENI-HASSAN.

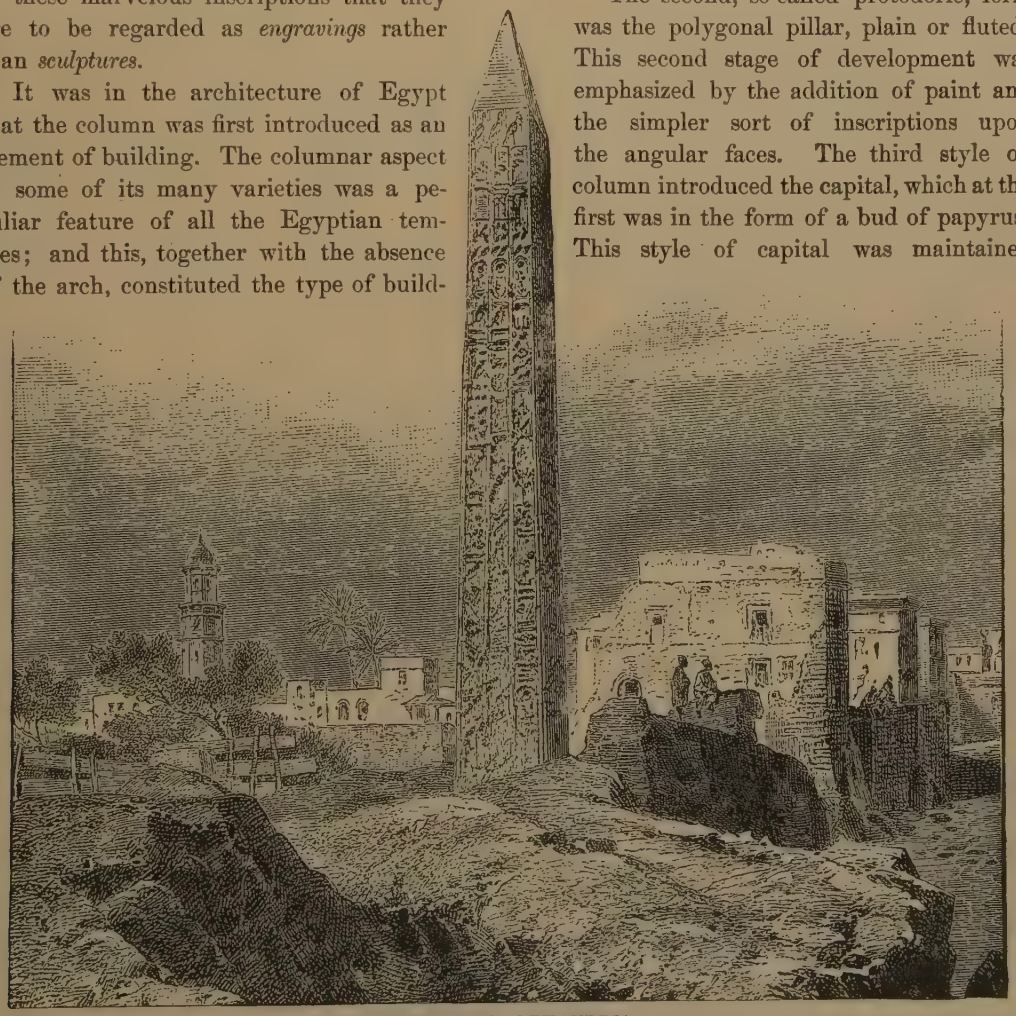
The public buildings of the Egyptians were elaborately, even profusely, sculptured. The monuments, likewise, bore upon their exposed parts, as

on the faces of obelisks, and still more notably in their chambers and vaults, an endless variety of carved figures and inscriptions. Nor were these sculptures and hieroglyphics so executed as to leave the impression of great labor expended and time consumed in the work. On the contrary, every thing points to the conclusion that these seemingly impossible carvings were regarded as easy and commonplace achievements. The figures and hieroglyphics are elaborately embossed and counter-sunk in a manner which is astounding to a modern worker in granite; and the edges of the inscriptions, after the disasters of forty centuries, are as sharp and beautifully delineated as though they were the work of yesterday. Such is the perfection of these marvelous inscriptions that they are to be regarded as *engravings* rather than *sculptures*.

It was in the architecture of Egypt that the column was first introduced as an element of building. The columnar aspect in some of its many varieties was a peculiar feature of all the Egyptian temples; and this, together with the absence of the arch, constituted the type of building which prevailed in the Nile valley for more than two thousand years.

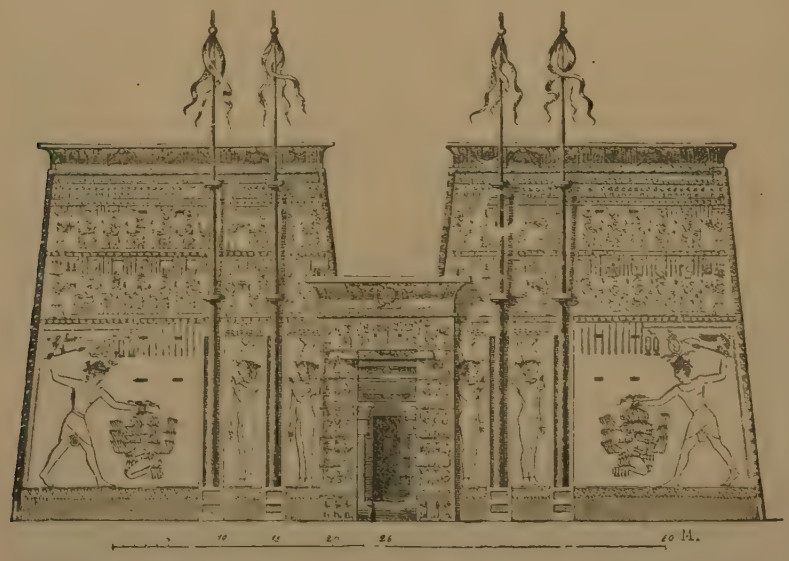
It is a matter of great surprise that a people so skillful in architectural work should have been unacquainted with the uses of the arch as an element of beauty and strength; but with a few rare exceptions of the minor sort—and these generally in the vaulted passages of tombs or other subterranean structures—the arch seems to have been unknown. Of columns there were eight varieties, all traceable in their ultimate analysis to the square uncarved pier or pillar. This, indeed, when ornamented with a single line of hieroglyphics running down the middle of the faces, may be regarded as the first and oldest style of column found in Egypt.

The second, so-called protodoric, form was the polygonal pillar, plain or fluted. This second stage of development was emphasized by the addition of paint and the simpler sort of inscriptions upon the angular faces. The third style of column introduced the capital, which at the first was in the form of a bud of papyrus. This style of capital was maintained



OBELISK OF ALEXANDRIA.

through several dynasties, during which time the column itself passed through successive modifications, until, in the epoch of Amenemha III., it became a round shaft rounded in at the base. In the fourth order the capital, known as the lotus capital, took the form of an inverted bell, with ornaments so undercut as to be seen only from immediately beneath; and this style in turn gave place to the palm-tree column, so named from its resemblance to the palm with the lower branches lopped away. In the sixth order the crown of the palm used in the capital gave place to the head of Isis, or that of Hathor, the Egyptian Venus. This style was much employed



SCULPTURED FAÇADE OF THE TEMPLE OF EDFU, TIME OF THE PTOLEMIES.

under the House of Ramses, whose architects sometimes substituted for the head of Isis or Hathor that of a cow with long reverted horns. The seventh order was composite, the columns being round, and the capitals a mixture of former types—the bell, the palm-crown, and the Isis-head being frequently combined in a single capital. The eighth order is known as the Osiride variety, so called from the figures of Osiris set in the front of the pillar which served as a column of support. Sometimes the statues of other gods or of kings were substituted for the figure of Osiris.[1]

In statuary the Egyptian artists have never been surpassed. Not, however, in carving the graceful forms of airy sprites and nymphs, but rather in the colossal grandeur of heroic figures did Egypt surpass the art of other nations. The great statues of the kings—colossi, sphinxes, gods—have been already mentioned and described in the different parts of the history to which they more particularly pertained. It need only be added that in giving to figures in stone an air of solemn dignity and everlasting repose the Egyptian sculptors have excelled the artists of every other age and clime.

As related to the other monuments, the obelisks of Egypt are deserving of special mention. They were in the nature of memorial stones, set up to commemorate some important event—the coronation of a new Pharaoh, a proclamation by him, a victory over invaders, the building of a city or temple. The obelisks are of granite or syenite, four-square, tapering, polished, covered with hieroglyphics, and from eight to over one hundred feet in height. They generally stand in pairs before the city gate or entrance to temple.

In the spoliation of Egypt these quaint monumental stones have been taken by gift, purchase, or robbery to distant climes and nations. The Roman emperors carried some of them to the Eternal City; one stands in the Place de la Concorde, at Paris; one interests London; and another, its mate—both from Alexandria—adorns the Central Park at New York.

Of those arts which tended to humanize the people, WRITING held the highest place among the Egyptians. The system which they employed, though extremely complicated

[1] The height of the Egyptian columns varied from fifteen feet to sixty feet, and the diameter from two feet four inches to about twelve feet—the largest being of the fourth order, found in the temple at Karnak.

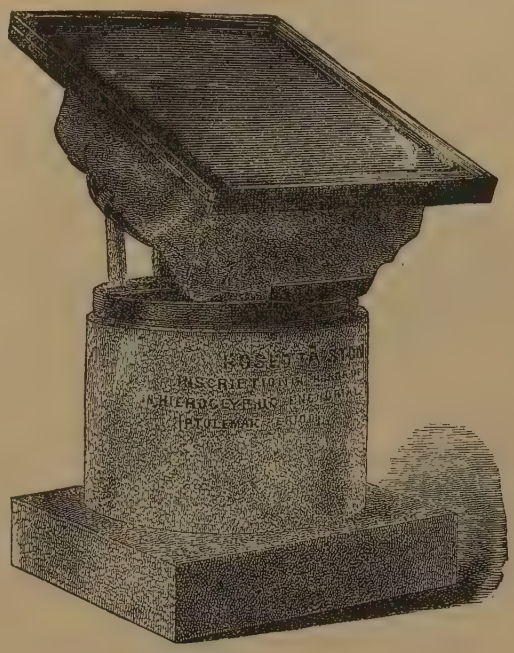
and laborious, was cultivated at an earlier date and to a fuller extent than by any other race of men. Within the present century the treasures of the hieroglyphics have been unlocked, and the mystery which surrounded

EGYPTIAN ALPHABET.

them dispelled by the patience and ingenuity of French, German, and English scholarship.

It is now known that in the course of Egyptian history down to the time of the Roman emperors four systems of writing were successively employed. Further back than the oldest of these it is evident that pictorial symbols were used to represent ideas; but at what date the ideographs or picture-writing proper flourished, and under what circumstances it gave place to an improved style of conveying thought, can not now be known.

The oldest system, then, employed within the historic periods of Egypt was the so-called Hieroglyphics, or sacred carvings. It was long supposed that the pictorial symbols used in this famous writing were true ideographs or actual pictures of the things intended to be represented, and that the system was, there-



THE ROSETTA STONE, BRITISH MUSEUM.

fore, analogous to that employed in the writing of the Mexicans and North American Indians; but the investigations of Champollion, De Rougé, Young, and Mariette have shown conclusively that the opinion is unfounded, and that the hieroglyphics are true phonetic writing, in which the words are spelled out just as in any of the Aryan languages. It is to Champollion in particular that this discovery is due.[1]

[1] In 1799 what is known as the ROSETTA STONE was discovered by some of Napoleon's men while making an excavation at Rosetta, in Lower Egypt. The stone contained an inscription written in three different characters: First, *Hieroglyphic;*

The difference between hieroglyphic and alphabetic writing has thus been shown to be only this: that in the hieroglyphic system the sounds of the language are represented by *pictures*, many of them no doubt adopted from an older ideographic symbolism, whereas

CHAMPOLLION.

in the alphabetic system the sounds of the language are represented by arbitrary characters which have lost all resemblance to the objects of which they were no doubt originally pictures. It has thus transpired that that which was so long supposed to be the picture-writing of Egypt is really not picture-writing at all, but a system of pictorial phonetics in close analogy with other ancient writings.

Nevertheless the hieroglyphics constitute a system so exceedingly complex and obscure as to be extremely difficult to master, even by scholars of profound attainments in language.

Owing to the slowness and painstaking elaboration demanded in writing the Egyptian tongue in hieroglyphics, the priests at an early date introduced a modification of the symbols by which the pictorial figures were abbreviated and turned into a system of cursive signs running readily into each other in formation and constituting the second general variety of Egyptian writing called the *Hieratic*. The system was introduced as early as the Eleventh Dynasty. It was in this style that the great body of the Egyptian literature was composed; and it is by the resolution of the cursive hieratic forms back into the hieroglyphics of which they were the abbreviated characters, that we are enabled to translate the few rolls of papyrus which the ages have spared to modern times.

Meanwhile, a vulgar or non-literary language arose in Egypt. This tongue grew into importance and encroached upon the archaic and obsolescent forms of speech employed by the priests and literati. As early as the times of Psametik (B. C. 600) it was found necessary to concede something to the common speech. The people at large no longer understood the sacred language; and the Pharaohs found it expedient to translate proclama-

SPECIMEN OF EGYPTIAN WRITING.

tions, edicts, and finally the sacred papyri into the vulgar tongue. Thus arose the third system of composition known as the *Demotic*, which came into general use and maintained its place in Egypt until the second century of our era.

With the new ethnic development of the

second, *Demotic*, or common character of the Egyptians; third, *Greek*. From the Greek it was discovered that the inscription was tri-lingual; that is, each of the writings was a translation of the other. Beginning with this clue, Dr. Young finally succeeded, in 1815, in deciphering from the hieroglyphic character the single word *Ptolemy;* and, to the profound amazement of the scholars of the age, the spelling was found to be *Phonetic*, and not *ideographic*. The learned antiquarian also made out the name of *Berenice* among the pictorial writings in the frescoes of Karnak; and in 1822 Champollion deciphered the word *Cleopatra* from an obelisk found at Philæ. Afterwards, continuing his researches, he completed the translation of the Rosetta Stone, thereby opening up the whole field of Egyptian writings to the long-baffled scholars of the West.

Egyptian race, about the date last mentioned, we pass into the Coptic or last phase of the language. Coptic holds about the same relation to ancient Egyptian as English does to Anglo-Saxon. The Demotic character of the preceding era gave place to the Coptic alphabet, and the use of the old systems entirely ceased. An acquaintance with the Coptic language and literature, diligently cultivated in recent times, has been the basis of the profound erudition which has opened the treasures of ancient Egypt, and constitutes the special branch of learning known as EGYPTOLOGY.

In writing, the Egyptians used a sharpened reed and a palette containing two small wells, the one of red and the other of black ink. The black was used for the ordinary text, the red being reserved for initial letters, the first words of chapters, and other emphatic or critical parts. For paper the leaves of the papyrus were used, being joined together in strips trimmed to the width of ten inches, and frequently as much as a hundred and fifty feet in length, the text being written in vertical lines from one end to the other.

In mimetic art the Egyptians had little skill; but in the composition and management of colors they were more expert than any other people of antiquity, except the Greeks. The hues in which the artists of Thebes most delighted were red, green, and blue. In the laws of color-harmony the Theban painters appear to have been as well versed as those of modern times. It was an imperative rule with Egyptian artists to produce pleasing effects by contrast of color. Strong colors were rarely used without the employment of some complementary tint to soften the glare.

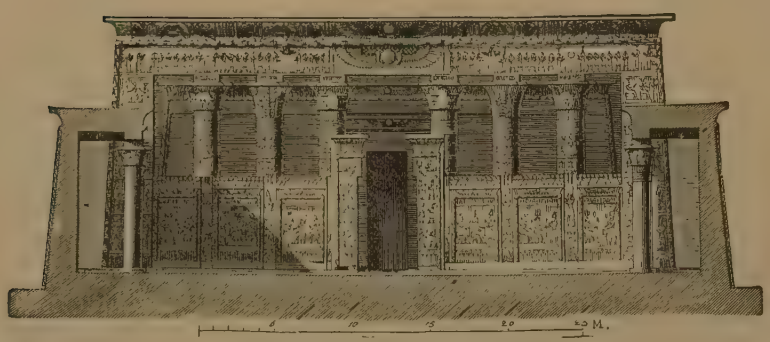
Painting as an art in Egypt was closely related to architecture. In common with the early Greeks and Etruscans, the Egyptian artists *painted their sculptures*. Color was an invariable concomitant of statuary and of the reliefs and intaglios with which the temples and tombs abounded. Columns, and especially capitals, were highly ornamented with the colors which were added, and the infinite figures and inscriptions covering façades and halls were in like manner carefully painted. So skillful was the work that the alleged incongruity of color and form in sculpture little offended the taste of the beholder. Though this style of work is repugnant to that dictum of modern criticism which requires in sculpture the exposure of the native stone, the Egyptians chose to combine the effects of color with the charm of outline; and it can not well be doubted, when we take into consideration the severe aspect of all Egyptian structures, that a certain cheerfulness and life were given thereto by the addition of paint.

Perhaps no better idea of the combined effects of sculpture and painting can anywhere be obtained than in the great palace-temple of Ramses III., at Medinet-Habu. On the northeast wall of this famous ruin is depicted the king seated on his throne under a gorgeous canopy. The throne is inscribed with a hawk-headed figure leading a lion and sphinx. Behind the monarch stand the winged effigies of Truth and Justice. The shrine is borne by twelve princes of the realm. High officers of state wave their *labella* before the mighty Ramses. Priests carry his arms and insignia. The sons of the king follow, bearing the footstool of their father's throne, and accompanied by scribes and great warriors. In another part is seen a procession of scholars, fan-bearers, and soldiers. A great scribe makes a proclamation from a roll of papyrus, and the high-priest of Egypt burns incense before the shrine. Birds fly abroad to the four quarters of the world as if to announce to gods and men of the north, south, east, and west the glory and renown of Pharaoh. All this and more is elaborately sculptured, and the effect artistically heightened by the art of the painter. In the temples and palaces of Thebes a like profusion of color and form give evidence of the industry and skill of the Egyptian artists. Nor have the fingers of time much more effaced the brilliant hues which were laid on the surface of the sculptures than they have crumbled the stone itself.

Not only were the statues and reliefs, the columns and halls of palaces and temples elaborately painted, but the hieroglyphics and papyrus rolls, were also embellished with col-

ors of great durability—red, blue, yellow, or black—according to the taste of the age; nor were the Egyptians without ability to delineate living forms or landscapes wholly by means of color. The specimens of such ancient art which have survived to our own times are more remarkable, however, for the brightness and luster of their tints than for any excellence of general design or particular skill in drawing.

The civilization of Ancient as of Modern Egypt was wanting in ideality. The genius of the people rose not into the realm of the imagination, but flew low on heavy and unaspiring wing, skimming the dusky horizon of the practical. Solidity and grandeur, a certain stillness of aspect and durability in purpose rather than the winged ideality of a lighter and diviner art, are the qualities which are reflected from the massive monuments slumbering in eternal repose amid the sands and bulrushes of the valley of the Nile.



CROSS SECTION OF THE TEMPLE OF EDFU.

Book Second.

CHALDÆA.

CHAPTER VI.—THE COUNTRY.

NOT unlike Egypt was the LAND OF THE CHALDÆANS. The great wastes of Arabia are raised but little above the level of the sea. Journeying eastward from this desert region the traveler, before he begins the ascent of the mountain ranges of Kurdistan, comes upon the long belt of fertile territory included between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Within this verdant strip of alluvium and valley-land, generally known by its Greek name of MESOPOTAMIA, flourished three of the most renowned kingdoms of antiquity—Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia.

Beginning at the foot of the mountains of Western Armenia, about the intersection of the thirty-eighth meridian east from Greenwich with the thirty-eighth parallel of north latitude, this famous Mesopotamian region winds away to the south-east, and narrows to a point on the Persian Gulf about longitude 48° 25′ E.

For nearly five hundred miles in its lower course the country between the rivers has all the characteristics of a valley; but above the thirty-fourth parallel it widens, rises into a hill-country, and in its upper part becomes a plateau, bordered on the north and east with mountains. The whole distance from the extreme north-west of the peculiar district embraced by the two great rivers to the head of the Persian Gulf is about eight hundred and fifty miles.

The peculiarities and importance of this remarkable region are traceable to the two magnificent streams which constitute its boundaries. Bordered on the west by waste plains and deserts, and on the east by a country of hills and mountains, the low-lying plain between was rimmed with deep channels of fresh water, never failing, exhaustless.

The EUPHRATES and the TIGRIS rise not far apart in the mountains of Armenia. The former has its source on the north of the range, and the latter in the southern slopes. The course of the Euphrates is first to the west; then it breaks through the mountains and sweeps in a broad circuit to the right, and then turns in a direction almost due south-east to its far-off confluence with the Persian Gulf.

The course of the Tigris is much more southerly and direct. Descending from the moun-

tains the stream steadily approximates the Euphrates until, in latitude 33° N., a junction of the two rivers seems imminent. Here, however, the Tigris bends to the east and the Euphrates slightly to the west, thus widening the district between them into the shape of an ancient urn. About two degrees further south the confluence actually occurs, though in ancient times each river pursued its course through separate channels to the Gulf.

In their upper course the Euphrates and the Tigris traverse a region of steppes broken by rocky ridges and interspersed with pastures and fruitful districts. The banks of the rivers are fringed with plane-trees, tamarisks, and cypresses. Here and there are meadow-lands, alternating with low hills. Further on, as the rivers descend to the level, the valleys broaden; but at the same time the higher district between becomes more sterile—a kind of upland waste, abounding in ostriches and bustards, the native home of wild asses and nomadic tribes of men.

After this desolate hill-country is passed, and the two rivers have sufficiently approximated to share each other's influence, they enter a plain of brown alluvium, rich, inexhaustible. Through this region for a distance of more than four hundred miles the streams pursue their course, the Euphrates dwindling, as does the Nile, from the diffusion and loss of waters.

The bed of the Euphrates is lower than that of the Tigris, and its course more quiet and regular. The Tigris, on his higher level, pressed in a narrow, rocky channel, hurries with swifter flow and greater turbulence. Frequent tributaries descending from the ridges and tablelands of Iran join the eastern river, maintaining and swelling his floods, while the solitary Euphrates is left to waste his wealth of waters in the sands.

The whole region lies sloping to the west—drooping as if to rest its western eaves on the

CONFLUENCE OF THE TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES.

desert of Arabia. For this reason the Euphrates, not confined by rocky barriers, has ever shown a disposition to encroach upon his right-hand bank, fixing his channel still further and further to the west. This tendency has been of vast importance to the region along the western bank in the matter of irrigation: as far as the waters of the river could be carried by artificial channels, assisted by the natural pressure of the current westward, the desert could be reclaimed and converted into a garden.

Like the Nile, the Euphrates and the Tigris are subject to annual floods. With the approach of summer the snows, lying heaped in the gorges of the Armenian mountains, are

dissolved and poured out into the upper tributaries of the rivers. Rains also descend, and the combined effects are seen in overflowed banks and submerged valleys.

The inundation in the Tigris begins as early as the first of June, while that in the Euphrates, whose fountains lie for the most part on the north side of the mountain ranges, does not begin until the early part of July. Unlike the Nile, however, the rising of whose waters is so regular and calm as to be hardly perceptible from day to day, the floods of the two great rivers of Mesopotamia, especially those of the Tigris, are frequently violent and destructive. Sometimes in the course of a few hours the valleys are deluged, and the sandy plains bordering the rivers in their lower course converted into a wide and turbulent sea rolling down to the gulf.

In the matter of tributaries both rivers are, in their upper course, plentifully supplied—the Tigris abundantly. On the east the Euphrates receives the Belik and the Khabur, the latter widely branching into the hill-country of Mygdonia. The principal tributaries of the Tigris are the Great and Lesser Zab, the Adhem, and the Gyndes. A hundred smaller streams contribute their waters; but in its lower course even the Tigris is scantily supplied with affluent streams.

For eight hundred miles above its entrance into the Persian Gulf the Euphrates receives not a single tributary As a consequence, no other river in the world is, in the different parts of its course, so greatly variable in its quantity of waters. At the junction of the Khabur the breadth of the Euphrates is three hundred and fifty yards, and this general width, with a depth of from fifteen to twenty feet, is maintained as far south as the city of Hit, in latitude 33° 34′ N. From this point the river dwindles. In the first hundred miles below Hit the width is reduced to two hundred and fifty yards. After this the volume is absorbed by canals and natural channels, branching right and left, until at the site of Babylon the width is no more than two hundred yards, with a depth of fifteen feet. At the thirty-second parallel the stream is reduced to a width of one hundred and twenty yards, with a depth of only twelve feet, indicating a loss of nearly four-fifths of the waters which filled the channel in the upper course of the river. In its lower course next the sea the Euphrates recovers a part of its wasted waters by the return of the canals, and enters the gulf with a width of two hundred yards and a depth of eighteen feet. The Tigris grows in volume through its whole extent, and at its confluence with the Euphrates is the greater river of the two. The entire length of the Euphrates is 1,780 miles and of the Tigris 1,146 miles, including, in each case the windings of the channels.

In the present Book we are concerned only with that part of Mesopotamia included by the great rivers of Assyria after they descend to the alluvial plain through which they flow in their lower course. The line of division between Upper and Lower Assyria may be definitely indicated as beginning at Hit,[1] on the Euphrates, and extending in a north-easterly direction across the Mesopotamian region to Samarah on the Tigris. Below this line the country, in shape like an ancient goblet, is an alluvium, deposited by the rivers, not unlike Egypt in its physical features, and next to Egypt the oldest country with which history is concerned—CHALDÆA.

That which most attracts attention and excites wonder in the region here described is the absence of those physical features with which the landscapes of nearly all countries are diversified. Here nothing is to be seen except the two great rivers, their banks fringed with palms and cypresses. On all sides the sandy plains stretch away to the horizon, the dead expanse broken now and then by a mound or ruin, or marked by a long, low line of earth, the bank of some ancient canal. Close to the border of the river where the marsh-lands abound, and along the artificial channels through which the waters are distributed, the vegetation is green, luxuriant; but these verdant strips soon disappear, and the eye, except in early spring, rests on nothing but an arid plain, swelling towards the south into an occasional ridge or sand-dune. To the west, at a distance of from

[1] The same as *Ihi* or *Is*.

twenty to thirty miles from the Euphrates, vegetation wholly disappears, and the Arabian desert, desolate and unbroken, spreads away to the sky.

The present extent of Chaldæa Proper, that is, of the urn-shaped district between the two rivers, is about fifteen thousand square miles. The long strip of fertile territory lying between the Euphrates and the Arabian desert has an area of eight thousand square miles; so that the aggregate area of Chaldæa, if determined by the present geographical condition of the country, would be about twenty-three thousand square miles—a district equal in extent to the State of West Virginia.

THE EUPHRATES AND PLAIN OF CHALDÆA.

But the ancient limits of "the land of the Chaldæans" were less in extent than here defined. From the remotest epoch the Persian Gulf has been steadily receding to the south. The enormous amount of earthy matter carried down by the Euphrates and the Tigris and deposited further and further seaward has crowded back the waters of the gulf and built up a district thousands of square miles in extent. The rate of the recession of the sea has been estimated at a mile in each seventy years, and by some authorities at a mile in thirty years. Nor is it doubtful that within the historic period the Persian Gulf extended inland more than a hundred—perhaps two hundred—miles further than at the present day.

The simple physical structure of Chaldæa, the mild climate,[1] the presence of a perennial supply of fresh water without the annoyance and interruptions of frequent and violent rains, and especially the fertility of the soil, only equaled in its fecundity by the never-failing fruitfulness of Egypt—all contributed to supply to the primitive tribes of this region incentives to civilization second only to those afforded in the valley of the Nile.

The low-lying flats stretching from river to river had in them the best elements of natural wealth. Even beyond the Tigris the lands were fruitful. Between the rivers the fertility was marvelous. Wheat and barley, castor-beans and sesame, grew wild. In the low marshes bordering the streams the succulent and bulbous plants flourished in native abundance. Here thousands of aquatic birds circled around the ponds and hatched their young among the rushes. Both of the rivers abounded in fish—always a chief factor in

[1] The climate of Chaldæa is rather milder than that of Georgia and the Carolinas. On the lower Euphrates snow is unknown, and though the heat of summer is excessive, the vicissitudes from hot to cold are so quiet and equable as to affect but slightly the constitution of the inhabitants.

a people's food. On the higher lands apples and dates were plentifully produced and flourished without culture or attention. The truthful Xenophon was struck with astonishment at the beauty and fruitfulness of the date-palms growing along the river.[1]

That such a district should in the earliest times attract a great population, and that this population should be stimulated to vast civilizing enterprises, was natural, inevitable. The Primitive Man was quick to discover that situation which afforded him the greatest rewards with the smallest expenditure of toil. There he fixed his habitation. There also his fellows, driven by hunger from the hill-country or desert waste, came and established their abodes. The hut became a hamlet; the village, a great city. Whatever opposition nature presented added to the zest of endeavor. The necessity of standing guard against the danger of the sudden overflow of the river, the work of draining the marsh-lands, and of digging vast canals for the purposes of irrigation, were additional motives, rather than discouragements, to the zeal of an ambitious people.

To her other advantages ancient Chaldæa added the proximity of the sea. The Persian Gulf, a spacious body of water, lay always at her feet. It was an invitation to commerce and the consequent establishment of friendly and beneficial relations with distant states. The branch of the sea which washed the Chaldæan sands was protected by its position from the violent storms which make the Indian Ocean a terror to the mariner. This circumstance was a further incentive to maritime enterprises, and will account in some measure for the early ascendency of the Lower Empire over the neighboring kingdoms. How well the people of this region improved the advantages of their situation will appear as we survey the records of the great state which they planted and so long upheld by their valor. Having control of the wide water-courses by which the products of one of the richest districts in Asia must be carried abroad, and holding to the broad, deep arm of the sea which constituted her harbor on the south, Chaldæa easily asserted and maintained her preëminence among the earliest and greatest monarchies of the ancient world.

DATE PALM OF THE LOWER EUPHRATES.

[1] Herodotus says of Chaldæa: "Of all countries that we know there is none that is so fruitful in grain. It makes no pretension, indeed, of growing the fig, the olive, the vine, or any other tree of the kind; but in grain it is so fruitful as to yield commonly two hundred fold, and when the production is at the greatest even three hundred fold. The blade of the wheat-plant and of the barley-plant is often four fingers in breadth. As for the millet and the sesame, I shall not say to what height they grow, though within my knowledge; for I am not ignorant that what I have already written concerning the fruitfulness of Babylonia will appear incredible to those who have not visited the country." To this Theophrastus adds: "In Babylon the wheat fields are regularly mown twice, and then fed off with beasts to keep down the luxuriance of the leaf; otherwise the plant does not run to ear."

CHAPTER VII.—PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE.

THE kinship of the people of ancient Chaldæa with the other nations of antiquity has been much debated. For a long time it was confidently maintained that the Chaldæans belonged to the Semitic family of mankind, being in close affinity with the Hebrews, who traced their descent from Shem. It was urged in proof of this position that the language of the people who planted the first kingdoms on the Lower Euphrates was so closely allied with the Hebrew and Aramaic dialects as to point unmistakably to a common origin for these several tribes.

This view is still maintained by some of the ablest linguists and historians; but within our own times an opposing theory has been advanced which seems likely to supplant the other. A review of the whole question has tended to show that the ancient Chaldæans belonged to the Hamitic family of mankind, having their closest affinities of race with the primitive tribes of Arabia, the Abyssinians, the Egyptians, and the peoples of Northern Africa. Recent investigations have greatly strengthened this view by showing that the language spoken by the ancient inhabitants of Chaldæa, instead of being, as had been supposed, a Semitic tongue, was really a distinct speech, though modified by Semitic influences. The question here presented to the student of history is of a kind to excite his interest, and to demand at the hands of the historian some further exposition of the present state of human knowledge concerning the different races of men.

The best classification adopted by ethnologists, at the present day, is that which divides mankind into three races: Black races, Brown races, and White or Ruddy races.[1] These discriminations on the line of color were as strongly drawn at the daydawn of authentic history as they are to-day, and are, therefore, rightly employed as the best criteria by which to distinguish one race of men from another.

In point of civilization the Ruddy races have far outstripped the Brown, and the Brown have outstripped the Black. So strikingly has this difference in progress been manifested that the historian is not called upon to relate the annals of any of the Black races of men; and his references to the achievements of the Brown races are few and rather incidental. The whole field of ancient and modern history is virtually occupied with the ambitions, activities, and grand monuments of those Ruddy peoples who, springing from a common origin in the East and scattering everywhere, have obtained and held the mastery of the world.

In the period covered by ancient history the Ruddy race extended in its distribution from the valley of the Indus to the western shores of Europe, and from the equator where it crosses Africa to the Baltic Sea. Within this wide extended and diversified area of country the primitive tribes of men were nearly all of a common ancestral family. In a large part of the territory now occupied by the Russian empire the original tribes were brown, but beyond this, within the region above defined, neither Brown races nor Black contributed to form the original population.

The Ruddy family of mankind has been divided by ethnologists into three principal races. These are—

1. THE ARYAN RACE. This branch of

[1] It is a matter of surprise that the color of the Ruddy races of men should have been so universally mistaken for white. There has never been a White race, properly so-called. The color of the fairest people of the fairest race of ancient or modern times has been a hue very different from white. The term flesh-color or red much more nearly describes the complexion of our own race than the long-accepted epithet, white—which term, indeed, has never been properly applied to any race, except to emphasize the contrast between the Ruddy and the Black or Brown.

the human family is frequently designated by the biblical epithet *Japhetic*, so named after Japhet, the eldest son of Noah. To this race the names *Indo-Germanic* and *Indo-European* have also been applied by scholars; but the name *Aryan* (from the root AR, signifying *to plow*) has now been generally accepted as the term by which the people of Europe are to be designated. The dispersion of this race at the present time is world-wide, but within the period embraced by ancient history the Aryans were limited to Europe and the approximate parts of Asia.

2. The Semitic Race. The name of this division is derived from Shem, the second son of Noah, and the term *Semitic* has been adopted by scholars as properly descriptive of that ancient people who, branching from beyond Assyria, carried their tribes into Northern Arabia, across the Red Sea and Upper Egypt into the African desert, northward into Armenia, westward into Canaan, and far out through the Mediterranean, touching the coasts of Africa, and reaching, perhaps, even to Spain and Britain.

3. The Hamitic Race. The name of this family of mankind has likewise been derived from the name of one of the sons of Noah—Ham. As in the case of the Semitic division the term *Hamitic* has been adopted from biblical language, and is used by ethnologists and historians to designate that branch of the human race which taking its rise somewhere between the Caspian and the Persian Gulf, held its course westward through Chaldæa; branched to the south around the sea-line of Arabia into Eastern Africa; entered by a direct migration to the west the valley of the Nile, and further on peopled the whole coast of Northern Africa; branched again by a deflection to the north, and passing through Asia Minor may have entered Southern Greece and Italy, planting, perhaps, in these two countries the primitive tribes afterwards known as Pelasgians and Etruscans. But whether the latter peoples were certainly of Hamitic origin is still a matter of dispute.

It has not been well established whether the ethnic affinity between the Chaldæans and the Egyptians, already referred to in the preceding Book, resulted from a migration of tribes from the lower Euphrates to the valley of the Nile, or whether the migratory movement was in the opposite direction from Egypt into Chaldæa. Certain it is that so far as history is concerned the Egyptians, having developed the older civilization, may fairly be regarded as the older people; and the presumption would be that the migratory movement by which race relationship was established between the Egyptians and the Chaldæans was from the west to the east.[1]

It will thus be seen that if the foregoing analysis and scheme of the dispersion of the Ruddy or White races be correctly given, the primitive people of Upper Mespotamia belonged to the Semitic family, and the inhabitants of Lower Mesopotamia, or Chaldæa Proper, to the Hamitic family of mankind; and the student of history will from the preceding discussion have little difficulty in apprehending the nature of the relationship.

More than the other peoples of antiquity the ancient Chaldæans were modified by contact with neighboring races. Some tribes of brown Turanians, coming from the north-east, appear to have invaded the country at a very remote epoch, and by settlement therein to have amalgamated with the Chaldæans. Likewise the Semites of Assyria, by constant intercourse, influenced the language and manners of the people who ruled on the Lower Euphrates. Nor is it improbable that Aryan tribes, by early contact with the inhabitants of Chaldæa, may have contributed some elements to the speech and character of the nation.

What we know of the personal characteristics of the ancient Chaldæans has been gathered from an examination of the physiognomy and form of those peoples known to be of the Hamitic race, rather than from the existing

[1] Rawlinson in summing up the evidence on this point says: "On the whole, therefore, it seems most probable that the race designated in Scripture by the hero-founder Nimrod, and among the Greeks by the eponym of Belus, passed from East Africa, by way of Arabia, to the valley of the Euphrates shortly before the opening of the historical period." Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. I., page 54.

monuments of Chaldæa. The Ethiopians are noted for their swart, reddish complexion and their crisp or frizzled hair.[1] Herodotus describes the people of Babylon as being of a dark complexion and having straight black hair.[2] The Abyssinians, the Copts, the Arabs, and the people of Beloochistan of modern times furnish the best idea of the features and complexion of the ancient inhabitants of Chaldæa, whose color seems to have been a dark red-brown or copper-hue, and whose person appears to have been well proportioned and somewhat delicate in outline. The figure of the modern Abyssinians is slender; their features regular and handsome. The forehead is well formed, indicating a fair degree of intelligence; the eyes are dark and lustrous; the nose, straight and high; and the chin, firm and prominent. Nor are the lips heavy and repulsive, as in the case of the Negro races of the interior of Africa. And this, perhaps, is a fair type of the Chaldæan, who four thousand years ago gathered dates and built cities on the banks of the Euphrates.

The Chaldæans were a people brave, warlike, and energetic. The proximity, at a very early period, of powerful kingdoms on the east and north was calculated to stimulate the military spirit in repelling invasion and making conquest. Agriculture was the one fundamental industry suggested by the character of the country. While this pursuit was of a kind to incite the energies of the people, it was also calculated to provoke aggression and thereby to kindle the spirit of war.

In ingenuity and skill the Chaldæans displayed both natural aptitude and acquired proficiency; and in those social qualities and dispositions by which the humanity of a race is so well estimated, they suffer not by comparison with the better and more enlightened nations of the ancient world.

It does not appear that the name *Chaldæan* was ever employed by the races dwelling about the Persian Gulf to designate themselves. Nor is it likely that in the earliest times this appellative was used by the people of other kingdoms as the name of the inhabitants of Babylon and the adjacent regions. In the ninth century before our era the term Chaldæan first appears in the Assyrian inscriptions. Later the word was generally employed as the name of the people of Lower Mesopotamia. The historian Berosus, who was certainly competent to say what should be the race-appellation of his own people, called them Chaldæans. The home of Abraham is mentioned in Genesis as Ur of the *Chaldees*, though this does not imply that the term "Chaldees" was used as early as the times of Abraham. The words Chaldee, Chaldæa, etc., are the same as the Burbur word *Khaldi*, meaning the *Moon-god*, and that also is the meaning of the word *Ur* or *Hur*. This is to say that Abraham was called from the city of the Moon-worshipers, or the city of the Chaldæans. In the later Scriptures the word is of frequent occurrence. Habakkuk says, "Lo, I raise up the Chaldæans, that bitter and hasty nation." Isaiah in one place calls Babylon "the daughter of the Chaldæans," and in another "the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency;" while in Job we are told that "the Chaldæans made out three bands and fell upon the camels." Among the Roman authors the word is of frequent occurrence, being found in the writings of Suetonius, the *Annals* of Tacitus, and the *Satires* of Juvenal. This common use of the term by ancient authors may well be regarded as sufficient authority for the retention of the name in modern writings.[1]

Modern investigations have shown that the primitive inhabitants of Chaldæa consisted of four principal tribes. On the monuments sovereignty over four races is ascribed to the early monarchs, and the inscriptions speak of four tongues or dialects among the people. It is not probable that these tribal differences of

[1] The frizzled hair of the Ethiopians does not at all resemble the woolly hair of the Negroes, and the other physical characteristics of the two races are equally dissimilar.

[2] Hair of this kind has been found in a Chaldæan tomb of a very early period, the quantity being so abundant as to indicate that the head of the occupant had been profusely adorned by nature.

[1] This peculiarity in the naming of the race whose chief capital was Babylon has its parallel in the case of the Greeks, who, though called *Greeks* by all the world besides, never even *heard* of such an appellation.

speech were so marked as to indicate diversity of races, but rather a diversity among the branches of a common stock. The inscriptions show that the Chaldee was indeed a composite language, but its vocabulary is always essentially Cushite or Hamitic, just as the English vocabulary, though composite, is fundamentally Anglo-Saxon. In the Chaldee grammar there are strong traces of Turanian influence, just as in English the impress of the Latin models which were dominant in the minds of the British monks of the Middle Ages has been stamped upon our grammar.

The nearest approach found among living languages to the ancient Chaldee is in the dialects of Abyssinia, and, among ancient tongues, in the language of Egypt.[1] It is not to be disputed, however, that Chaldee contained so many foreign elements as to make the work of classification difficult, and to give plausible grounds for disputing its Cushite character.

Some portions of the grammar of Chaldæa have been satisfactorily explained, but other parts are still either obscure or altogether unknown. The conjugation of the verb is represented as exceedingly complicated. In so far as the process has been explained it is said to be somewhat analogous to the verb-forms in Hebrew. In the formation of the objective case of nouns the suffix *ku* is added, as in Hindustanee. The plurals of nouns and pronouns are formed by doubling the root-word. Thus the pronoun *ni*, meaning "him," is made plural by reduplication, *nini* (equivalent to *him-him*) meaning "them." In the formation of the ablative case of pronouns the preposition *kita*, meaning "with," which generally governs that case, *is divided*, and the governed word put between the parts. Thus *kita* is "with," and *mu*, "me;" but the expression "with me," instead of being written *kita mu*, is *ki-mu-ta*. *Ki-mi-ta* means "with us;" *ki-zu-ta*, "with thee;" *ki-nini-ta*, "with them," etc. This is as if we should say in English, "wi-*me*-th," for "with me;" "wi-*us*-th," for "with us;" "wi-*thee*-th," for "with thee;" "wi-*them*-th," for "with them," etc. Several other peculiarities of Chaldee have been explained by Smith and Rawlinson, but the system as a whole is but poorly understood, even by the best oriental scholars.

As to the nature of the writing employed by the ancient inhabitants of Lower Mesopotamia and the character of the inscriptions which they have left to modern times, these topics will be discussed in a succeeding chapter on the Science and Art of the Chaldæans.

CHAPTER VIII.—CHRONOLOGY AND ANNALS.

CONCERNING the antiquity of the Chaldæan Empire we have the testimony of one native historian, Berosus. This famous annalist flourished during the first half of the third century before the Christian era. He was a priest of Bel at Babylon, and had access to the records of his country. Soon after the conquest of Babylon by Alexander the Great, Berosus wrote a *History of Chaldæa* in Greek, in three books, and dedicated the work to Antiochus, king of Syria. If this history by Berosus had been preserved to the present time it would, no doubt, throw much light upon many of the vexed questions of antiquity. Unfortunately, the work has perished—except a few fragments which were transcribed by Apollodorus and Polyhistor,

[1] A few equivalents will serve to show the affinities of Old Chaldee—thus:

English, "after;"	in Chaldee,	*egir;*	in Abyssinian,	*igria.*
" "great;"	"	*gula;*	"	*guda.*
" "little;"	"	*tura;*	"	*tuna.*
" "father;"	"	*atta;*	"	*etea.*
English, "brother;"	in Chaldee,	*sis;*	in Abyssinian,	*isha.*
" "road;"	"	*kharran;*	"	*kara.*
" "horse;"	"	*kurra;*	in Arabic,	*gurra.*
" "mountain;"	"	*gabri;*	"	*jabal.*
" "river;"	"	*ar;*	"	*nahr.*
" "house;"	"	*ē;*	in Egyptian,	*ē.*

two Greek authors of the first century B. C., and from them were afterwards quoted by Eusebius and Syncellus. It is only from these fragments that we gather a Babylonian's own views of the previous history of his country.

The work of Berosus begins with an account of the traditions of the Chaldæans concerning the creation of the world and the origin of man. The chapter which narrates the genesis of things runs thus: "Once all was darkness and water. In this chaos lived horrid animals, and men with two wings, and others with four wings and two faces, and others again that were both male and female. Some had the thighs of goats, and horns on their heads; others had horses' feet, or were formed behind like a horse and in front like a man. There were bulls with human heads; and horses and men with the heads of dogs; and other animals of human shape with fins like fishes; and fishes like sirens; and dragons, and creeping things, and serpents, and wild creatures, the images of which are to be found in the temple of Bel. Over all these ruled a woman of the name of Omorka. But Bel divided the darkness and clove the woman asunder, and of one part he made the earth, and of the other the sun, and moon, and planets; and he drew off the water, and apportioned it to the land, and prepared and arranged the world. But those creatures could not endure the light of the sun, and became extinct.

"When Bel saw the land uninhabited, and yet fruitful, he smote off his head and bade one of the gods mingle the blood which flowed from his head with earth, and form therewith men and animals and wild creatures, who could support the atmosphere. A great multitude of men of various tribes inhabited Chaldæa, but they lived without any order, like the animals. Then there appeared to them from the sea, on the shore of Babylonia, a fearful animal of the name of Oan. His body was that of a fish, but under the fish's head another head was attached, and on the fins were feet like those of a man, and it had a man's voice. Its image is still preserved. The animal came at morning, and passed the day with men. But it took no nourishment, and at sunset went again into the sea, and there remained for the night. This animal taught men language and science, the harvesting of seeds and fruits, the rules for the boundaries of land, the mode of building cities and temples, arts and writing, and all that pertains to the civilization of men."

Such is the mythical account of the origin of things as related in the first chapter of the history of Berosus. The next part of the work is devoted to the chronology of the Chaldæan kingdom from the creation down to the sixth century before our era. The epoch before the flood—for Berosus has an account of a deluge—is assigned to ten kings, to whom fabulous reigns are allotted as follows:

1.	Alorus, a Chaldæan, who reigned	36,000 years.
2.	Aloparus, son of Alorus, who reigned	10,800 "
3.	Almelon, a native of Sippara, who reigned	46,800 "
4.	Ammenon, a Chaldæan, who reigned	43,200 "
5.	Amegalarus, of Sippara, who reigned	64,800 "
6.	Daönus, of Sippara, who reigned	36,000 "
7.	Edorankhus, of Sippara, who reigned	64,800 "
8.	Amempsinus, a Chaldæan, who reigned	36,000 "
9.	Otiartes, a Chaldæan, who reigned	28,000 "
10.	Hisuthrus, the Chaldæan Noah, who reigned	64,800 "
	A total of ten kings, reigning	432,000 years.

After the flood the kings of Chaldæa are divided in the scheme of Berosus among nine dynasties. At the close of the first of these dynasties we pass from the fabulous to the historical era, though in some subsequent parts it must be allowed that conjecture rather than knowledge has filled the tables of numbers and dates. The scheme of Berosus, therefore, as completed by modern scholars for the epoch after Xisuthrus, is as follows:[1]

DYNASTY.	NUMBER OF KINGS.	REIGNING.	DATE.
I. Chaldæan	?	?	? to B.C. 2458*
II. Median	8	406 years	2458* to 2052
III. ?	11	48 "	2052 to 2004
IV. Chaldæan	49	458 "	2004 to 1546
V. Arabian	9[2]	245 "	1546 to 1301
VI. ?	45	526 "	1301 to 775
VII. Chaldæan (Pul)	1	28 "	775 to 747
VIII. ?	13	122 "	747 to 625
IX. Babylonian	6	87 "	625 to 538

[1] The three numbers marked with an asterisk are a variation from the computations of Rawlinson, who makes the First Dynasty close and the Second begin with the year B. C. 2286 instead of 2458 as given above. The author has been induced to adopt the variation by a discussion in Duncker's *History of Antiquity*, Vol. I., page 247.

[2] The monumental inscriptions have recently shown that there were as many as fifteen kings belonging to this dynasty.

This scheme may be regarded as fairly authentic except in particulars—mostly unimportant—which are marked as questionable. If we allow but a century to be occupied with the First Dynasty we are carried back to the year 2550 B. C. as the approximate date for the beginning of Chaldæan history.

To Berosus we are indebted for what is known as the Chaldæan or Babylonian account of the flood. The narrative is full of interest as tending to show that all the nations having their geographical center in Mesopotamia preserved a common tradition of a great flood of waters, by which the country was deluged and the people destroyed. The narrative as given by Berosus is as follows:

"In this year the god Bel revealed to Xisuthrus in a dream that in the fifteenth year and the month Daësius there would be a great storm of rain, and men would be destroyed by the flood of waters. He bade him bury all written records, ancient, mediæval, and modern in Sippara, the city of the sun, and build a ship and embark in it with his kindred and nearest friends. He was also to take food and drink into the ship, and carry into it all creatures winged and four-footed.

"Xisuthrus did as he was bidden and built a boat fifteen stadia long[1] and two stadia in breadth, and placed in it his wife and child, his relatives and friends. Then the inundation came. When the rain ceased Xisuthrus sent out some birds, but they returned to the ship, as they could find nothing to eat and no place of rest. After a few days he sent out other birds. They also returned, but with mud on their feet. Then Xisuthrus sent yet others, and they never returned. Xisuthrus knew that the earth had appeared. He took out a part of the roof of his boat, and perceived that it had settled down on a mountain. Then he went out with his wife and daughter and the architect of the boat. He worshiped the earth, and built an altar and offered sacrifice to the gods, and then disappeared, together with those whom he had brought out of the boat. When his companions whom he had left in the boat had gone out and were in search of Xisuthrus, his voice called to them out of the air, saying that the gods had carried him away in reward for his piety; that he with his daughter and the architect were dwelling among the gods. But the others were to return from Armenia, where they then were, to Babylon, and, in obedience to the command of the gods, dig up the books buried at Sippara and give them to mankind. They obeyed those instructions. They sacrificed to the gods, and returned by land to Babylon. They digged up the sacred books, erected many cities and temples, and rebuilt Babylon. On the Gordyæan mountains, where it settled, remains of the boat of Xisuthrus were in existence for a long time afterwards."

This account of the great flood, as given by Berosus, is heightened in interest by comparison with the later and more ornate tradition of the same event as found recorded in the inscriptions of Assyria. Among the ruins of the palace of Ashur-bani-pal, an Assyrian monarch of the seventh century B. C., tablets have been found from which the story of the flood has been deciphered in terms somewhat different, and yet strikingly analogous to the old Chaldæan tradition. The legend recorded on the tablets runs thus: That the god Hea commanded Sisit[1] to build a ship of given dimensions and to launch it on the deep, for it was his purpose to destroy sinners. Then Hea said:

"When the flood comes which I will send thou shalt enter into the ship, and into the midst of it thou shalt bring thy corn, thy goods, thy gods, thy gold and silver, thy slaves male and female, the sons of the army, the wild and tame animals; and all that thou hearest thou shalt do. And Sisit gathered together all his possessions of silver and gold, all that he had of the seeds of life, and caused all of his slaves, male and female, to

[1] That is, nine thousand feet. This is the length given in the fragment of Berosus quoted by Eusebius. The same extract, as quoted by Syncellus, makes the length five stadia, or three thousand feet.

[1] The same as Xisuthrus. In the writings of Lucian the name of the captain of the deluge is given as Sisythes, which is evidently a form intermediate between Xisuthrus and Sisit.

go into the ship. The wild and tame beasts of the field also he caused to enter, and all the sons of the army.

"And Samas, the Sun-god, made a flood, and said: 'I will cause rain to fall heavily from heaven; go into the ship and shut the door.' Overcome with fear Sisit entered into the ship, and on the morning of the day fixed by Samas the storm began to blow from the ends of heaven, and Bin thundered in the midst of heaven, and Nebo came forth, and over the mountains and plains came the gods, and Nergal the Destroyer overthrew, and Adar came forth and dashed down: the gods made ruin; in their brightness they swept over the earth.

"The storm went over the nations; the flood of Bin reached up to heaven; brother did not see brother; the lightsome earth became a desert, and the flood destroyed all living things from the face of the earth. Even the gods were afraid of the storm, and sought refuge in the heaven of Anu; like hounds drawing in their tails, the gods seated themselves on their thrones, and Istar, the great goddess, spake: 'The world has turned to sin, and therefore I have proclaimed destruction. I have begotten men, and now they fill the sea like the children of fishes.' And the gods upon their seats wept with her. On the seventh day the storm abated, which had destroyed like an earthquake, and the sea began to dry. Sisit perceived the movement of the sea. Like reeds floated the corpses of the evil-doers and all who had turned to sin. Then Sisit opened the window, and the light fell upon his face, and the ship was stayed upon Mount Nizir, and could not pass over it. Then on the seventh day Sisit sent forth a dove, but she found no place of rest, and returned. Then he sent a swallow, which also returned; and again a raven, which saw the corpses in the water and ate them, and returned no more.

"Then Sisit released the beasts to the four winds of heaven, and poured a libation, and built an altar upon the top of the mountain, aud cut seven herbs, and the sweet savor of the sacrifice caused the gods to assemble, and Sisit prayed that Bel might not come to the altar. For Bel had made the storm and sunk the people in the deep, and wished in his anger to destroy the ship, and allow no man to escape. Adar opened his mouth, and spoke to the warrior Bel: 'Who would then be left?' And Hea spoke to him: 'Captain of the gods, instead of the storm let lions and leopards increase, and diminish mankind; let famine and pestilence desolate the land and destroy mankind.' When the sentence of the gods was passed, Bel came into the midst of the ship and took Sisit by the hand and conducted him forth, and caused his wife to be brought to his side, and purified the earth, and made a covenant; and Sisit and his wife and his people were carried away like gods, and Sisit dwelt in a distant land at the mouth of the rivers."[1]

Traditions of a flood have been preserved in all countries the formation of which has been such as to subject them to the danger of overflow. Egypt is, perhaps, the only exception, and this is easily accounted for by the fact that the inundations of the Nile were so regular and so beneficial in their results as to be desired rather than dreaded by the people. Legends similar to those of the Chaldæans and Assyrians have been found among the peoples of Armenia, Thessaly, Bœotia, India, and indeed, in all countries exposed to destructive floods. The story of the deluge as narrated in the seventh chapter of Genesis is a record of the same event as that given by Berosus and stamped on the Assyrian tablets, though the Hebrew account is in a more refined and elevated form.

The period at which the great flood in Chaldæa occurred is unknown. The dates given in Berosus are mythical, and are based, no doubt, on a method of computation not now understood. So, also, the First Dynasty of kings after the flood covers one of those fabulous epochs in which tradition runs riot and history gropes in blindness.

At the beginning of the Second Dynasty there is, as yet, only a tinge of the morning dawn. Here it was that NIMROD, the great

[1] George Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 185–195; also, Duncker's *History of Antiquity*, pp. 243–245.

hunter, who is represented as being a descendant of Cush, flourished in Lower Mesopotamia. His dominion was at first along the seacoast, but was soon extended northward as far as BABEL, which became one of his principal cities. The capital was Ur or Hur, situated on the right bank of the Euphrates a short distance above the mouth. The other chief seats of his power were the cities of Erech, Accad, and Calneh.

Tradition indicates that Nimrod was a warrior, as well as a hunter of wild beasts. As early as the time when the Book of Genesis was composed the name of Nimrod had passed into a proverb. The mixture of good and bad in his reputation is, no doubt, attributable to the fact that he was a tyrant as well as a defender—an oppressor of the people as well as a destroyer of lions. Very little is known of the details of his campaigns or the methods of his government, but his fame has reached through the intervening ages as that of Romulus pervades the history of ancient Rome.

After death Nimrod was deified, and was ever regarded by the Babylonians and Assyrians as one of the gods of the nation. His divine title was Bel-Nimrod, signifying *God of the Chase*. The city of Calneh, as the chief seat of his worship, was called by his name, and to this day the ruins and mounds which are so abundantly scattered over the district where the great hunter once held dominion, are, without distinction, designated by the name *Nimrud*.[1]

Except the first, the successors of Nimrod were less famous. Little is known of them or their deeds. To this period belongs the retirement of the Semitic tribes from the region about Babylon and their concentration in Upper Mesopotamia on the Tigris. The primitive Phœnicians, too, living on the borders of the Persian Gulf, alarmed, perhaps, at the prowess of Nimrod, migrated westward to Canaan, and founded their ancient kingdom on the shores of the Mediterranean. Abraham, with his kinsmen, left Ur, and journeyed first up the Euphrates and afterwards to the west. The power established by Nimrod was thus left dominant from above Babylon to the sea.

After no great interval the mighty hunter was succeeded by URUKH, who was wellnigh as famous for monumental grandeur as Nimrod for war. Urukh is the earliest Chaldæan monarch of whom existing remains bear witness; of him the testimony is abundant. The burnt bricks and tablets containing his name and inscriptions are of a more primitive pattern than those of any other period. In the mounds and ruins the references to this king's reign are found in the lowest position, and the style of writing is more ancient than any other yet discovered in the country. The character of the buildings also indicates a very remote epoch. The bricks are unequal in size, and clay mixed with bitumen is the substitute for mortar.

UR OF THE CHALDEES.

The architectural style of Urukh's structures, though simple, is massive, in some instances suggesting if they do not rival the

[1] Notwithstanding the almost universal tradition of Nimrod it should be borne in mind that thus far no single inscription or monumental trace of him or his reign has been discovered. If the existing remains of Chaldæa should be depended on as the sole source of our knowledge of early Babylonian history, we should be compelled to place the beginning with the succeeding reign of Urukh and to omit as mythical the story of Nimrod.

pyramids. The foundations of his temples are vast platforms of masonry, so broad and deep as to suggest a waste of human labor similar to the prodigal expenditures of toil in the works of ancient Egypt.

To the age of Urukh belong the ruins of Warka. On the site of this ancient city[1] is the celebrated mound called by the natives the *Bowariyeh*. The general shape of the ruin is that of a cone or pyramid, but the ravages of time have marred the symmetry of the structure. Modern investigations have shown that this massive pile was originally a tower two hundred feet square at the base and two stories in height. The first story was built of sun-dried bricks of irregular shapes and sizes. At intervals of four or five feet layers of reeds were placed in the bitumen to give coherence to the whole. In the upper story, now fallen away in ruins, the central part was also of sun-dried bricks but faced on the outside with bricks which had been hardened by burning.

The present height of this ancient Chaldæan temple is about one hundred feet above the level of the plain. But little is known of the original proportions or plan of the structure. In the ruin which remains the massive buttresses are still easily traced, and their dimensions indicate that the temple in its entirety was one of great height and grandeur. All the bricks comprising the buttresses are stamped with inscriptions and the layers are firmly cemented with bitumen. The cubic contents of the entire edifice have been estimated at three million feet, and the number of bricks employed in building it at thirty million.

On the burnt bricks of this ruin the name and praises of Urukh are of constant occurrence. Sometimes the simple name of the great monarch is stamped in the baked clay. Sometimes the inscription recites that "Urukh, king of Ur, king of Sumir and Accad, has built a temple to his lady, the goddess Nana." Again the legend runs that "Urukh has built the temple and fortress of Ur in honor of his Lord, the god Sin." Or again the words are, "The mighty Lord, king of Ur, may his name continue!"

[1] In Genesis called *Erech*.

The temple of Mugheir, or Ur, also belongs to the times of Urukh, and is a ruin of equal note. Like that of Warka, it lay until recently buried under the rubbish of centuries. Carefully conducted excavations have now laid bare that part of the edifice which has been spared by the elements, and the explorer is able to trace the outline of what was once the temple of the Moon-god Hur. The four *corners* of the building—instead of the four *sides*, as has been common in nearly all countries ancient and modern—are set to the cardinal points of the compass,[1] so that the longer sides of the parallelogram constituting the ground-plan lie to the north-east and the south-west.

The foundation of this edifice is raised twenty feet above the level. The longer sides of the base are one hundred and ninety-eight feet and the shorter one hundred and thirty-three feet in length. The first story above the basement is about forty feet in height. This story is protected without by a wall ten feet in thickness composed of bricks burnt to redness in a kiln and carefully laid in bitumen. The second story, now mostly fallen away, has been of the same shape and general character as the first. Local tradition has preserved a notion of the third story, which is represented as being the shrine of the god to whom the temple was erected. Some tiles glazed with a blue enamel and some copper nails have been discovered in such a position as to leave the impression that they were a part of the materials employed in the construction of the immediate shrine of the deity.

Ruins similar to those of Warka and Mugheir are found in many parts of Chaldæa. Calneh or Nipur and Larsa have remains only second in importance to those already described. Ever and anon the traveler comes upon some enormous heap of rubbish which on investigation proves to be the overgrown wreck of a fallen temple. In Calneh two of these mounds are found covering the fragments of buildings erected during the reign of Urukh. Both of these structures were temples, the first dedicated to Beltis and

[1] This feature of the Mugheir ruin is said to be common to all Chaldæan temples.

BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE OF WARKA, TIME OF URUKH.

the other to Bel-Nimrod. In Larsa the ruins show that the sun-god, San, was worshiped as the tutelary deity of the city.

The capital of Urukh's kingdom was the city of Ur. In the inscriptions he is sometimes designated as king of Ur—sometimes of Accad. It was in Ur that the building energies of his reign were chiefly displayed. In the ruins of this city his inscriptions are more abundant than those of any other monarch. In Upper Chaldæa the traces of Urukh are less frequent. Babylon was then a newly founded town, and seems not to have risen to importance until the epoch following. After Ur, Warka held the second rank among the cities of the empire, Larsa and Calneh being next in importance.

After the death of Urukh the kingdom descended to ILGI, his son, of whom neither traditions nor inscriptions have preserved any lengthy account. The royal seal or signet used by the Chaldæan and Assyrian kings was in the form of a small cylinder, having figures and characters engraved in the surface. This cylinder when rolled upon wax or other plastic substance left the king's name and emblems set in relief upon the material used in sealing. In one of the mounds near Warka the signet-cylinder of Ilgi has been discovered, and is now preserved in the British Museum. The legend which it bears has been translated as follows: "For saving the life of Ilgi, from the mighty Lord, the king of Ur, son of Urukh."

THE SEAL OF ILGI.

By King Ilgi the public works of Ur, begun by his father, were carried forward to completion, and to him also is ascribed the repairing of two of the principal temples of Erech. It is known from the inscriptions that both Urukh and Ilgi were warlike princes, and that in addition to their fame as builders they won by force of arms the distinction of being known to after ages. Such is the meager outline of mingled fact and tradition, by which the First Dynasty of Chaldæan kings are preserved in the annals of modern times.

Meanwhile in the country of Elam, lying east of Chaldæa, a new power had risen, as warlike, perhaps, as the people of Ur and Babylon. The capital of this kingdom between the Tigris and the mountains was the ancient city of Susa. Around this center the mixed tribes of Aryans and Turanians had gathered into a monarchy at a time almost as remote as that of the founding of an empire on the Lower Euphrates. In the obscure epoch following the reign of Ilgi, the Elamite power became aggressive and made war upon the Chaldæans. Under the leadership of their great king, KUDUR-NAKHUNTA, they overran the country as far north as Babylon, sacked the cities, pillaged the temples, and carried off the images of the gods. This was the beginning of Dynasty II., the kings of which are designated by Berosus as *Median*—though without sufficient reason. For it is evident that the name Elamite or Susianian would more properly describe the monarchs of this line.

Though the dominion of Elam over Chaldæa was thus established it does not appear that the Elamite kings resided in the latter country. They chose instead their old capital Susa, and governed the Chaldæans by viceroys appointed over their principal cities. Thus did Kudur-Nakhunta himself, who established tributary kings in the conquered country. After him came the warlike king KUDUR-LAGAMER,[1] who while retaining his own court at Susa ruled in Mesopotamia by three of his vassals.

Having settled the affairs of the countries already under his authority, Kudur-Lagamer resolved on a great expedition, first into Assyria and afterwards into Canaan and Egypt. Raising a large army he advanced up the Euphrates, and thence westward against the Canaanitish tribes, who under their kings gathered in the valley of Siddim near the Dead Sea to oppose the progress of the eastern invader. Here was fought one of the first great battles recorded in history. Kudur-Lagamer was victorious, and the kings of

[1] The *Chedor-laomer* of Genesis.

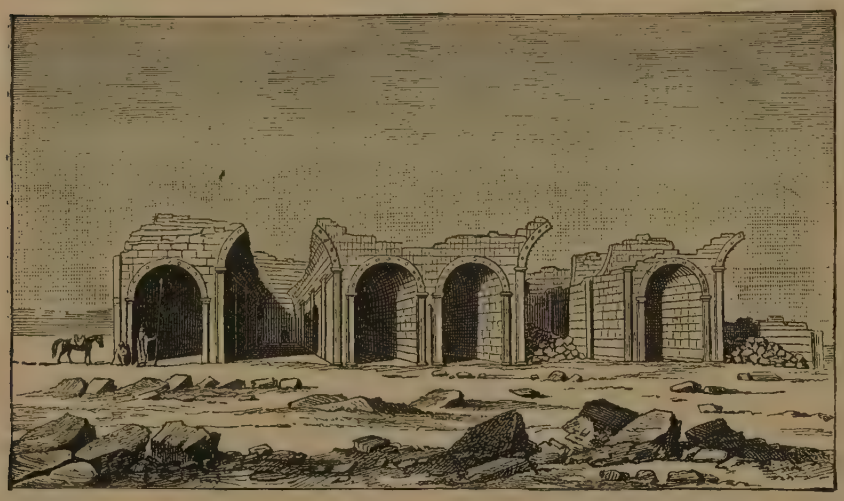
Canaan were for a period of twelve years brought into subjection. After this they rebelled, and the Elamite monarch was again obliged to come against them. A second great battle was fought near the scene of the first, and, as before, Kudur-Lagamer was completely victorious. The power of the confederacy was apparently broken.

After this battle, in which Lot, the nephew of Abraham, was taken prisoner, the Elamite army, burdened with spoils and captives, began to withdraw towards Chaldæa, but when in the vicinity of Damascus, Abraham with a band of followers fell upon them by night and drove them in a rout across the desert. It was rather a panic than a victory, though

KUDUR-LAGAMER STORMING A TOWN IN CANAAN.

Abraham's band by their bold onset regained a large part of the booty. The effect of the check, however, was such as to discourage from further invasion the king of Chaldæa.

Of the subsequent monarchs of the Elamite or "Median" dynasty only three are known by name, and of the first of these, called SINTI-SHIL-KHAK, nothing except the name has been preserved. The second, named KUDUR-MABUK, is honored in the inscriptions with the title of "Conqueror of the West." He is represented as having enlarged and adorned the city of Ur. To him tradition also ascribes the distinction of having restored the Chaldæan religion, which had been disparaged during the preceding reigns. The temples were repaired, and the old gods brought back with honor to their pillaged shrines. The national pride of the Chaldæans was still further gratified by the removal of the king's court from Susa to the old capital Ur, and this city continued to be the seat of government during the reign of ARID-SIN, the son and successor of Kudur-Mabuk, and even to the end of the Second Dynasty, B. C. 2052.



RUINS OF SUSA.

The semi-authentic annals of these earlier periods of the Chaldæan Empire give place in Dynasty III. to mere conjecture. In the scheme of Berosus eleven kings and a period of forty-eight years are assigned to the interval between the time of Arid-Sin and the accession of the fourth line of monarchs. Of the history of events during these uncertain years no scrap has been recovered from either monument or tradition. It appears to have been a transitional epoch, during which the power of the Elamite kings and their viceroys in Chaldæa weakened and disappeared. Whether the sovereigns of Susa became less ambitious of foreign dominion, or whether the Chaldæans recovered by revolt and war their former independence, seems undiscoverable from the remoteness of the time and the confusion of the period.

The Fourth Dynasty was ushered in by the establishment of a line of native sovereigns, who held the throne of Chaldæa for four hundred and fifty-eight years. The kings of this line were forty-nine in number. One of the earlier monarchs of the dynasty was ISMI-DAGON, who certainly occupied the throne before the middle of the nineteenth century B. C. His reign is chiefly noted for the extension of Chaldæan authority into the upper part of the Mesopotamian valley.

The ascendency of Babylon over the country afterwards called Assyria dates from this period. SHAMAS-VUL, one of the king's sons, who acted as his viceroy in the upper districts of the empire, built a temple at Kileh-Shergat. The inscriptions give other evidences of the preponderating influence of the Chaldæan monarchs towards the north, and show conclusively that the power of Assyria had not yet risen to importance. For a considerable period the affairs of this kingdom—if kingdom it may be called—continued to be administered by satraps and governors sent out from Babylon.

Ismi-Dagon was succeeded on the throne

by a son, called GURGUNA. This king is chiefly remembered as the builder of the great cemeteries at Ur, perhaps the most remarkable ruins in Chaldæa. After Gurguna came NARAM-SIN, doubtless his son, who was the builder of the great temple in the city of Agana. His reign is memorable as the time when the seat of government was transferred to Babylon, which by this epoch had grown to be the metropolis of Chaldæa.

The tendency to remove the capital farther and farther up the valley betokens the increase of population in Upper Mesopotamia and the gradual spread of civilization northward. The seat of the Empire, which in the times of Urukh had been at Ur, was transferred first to Warka and thence to the more recent Babylon, where it remained until the rise of Assyria.

The date of Naram-Sin's reign was about the middle of the eighteenth century B. C. He was the first of a long line of sovereigns in the Fourth Dynasty whose names add the word *Sin*, the same being the Chaldee appellative of the Moon-god, whose worship was a chief element in the religion of the times.

After Naram-Sin came SIN-SHADA, who was the builder of the upper terrace in the temple of Warka, now the ruin of Bowariyeh. Next was TUR-SIN, the greatest monarch of his times. He was the founder of the city Abu-Sharein, the ruins of which bear witness to the introduction of a new style of architecture, improved in its structural character and richer in ornament than the building of previous times. Here it is, also, that the most satisfactory traces of the simpler arts are found. Stone knives and chisels and hatchets are discovered everywhere in the ruins; but implements of metal, except a few imperfect specimens of gold and bronze, are wanting during this period. Iron seems to have been used only in ornaments for the person.

Of RIM-SIN, the last monarch of this line, not much is known, except what is contained on a single tablet found among the ruins of Ur. Immediately preceding his reign was that of the king NUR-VUL, whose name occurs in the list of Berosus, but of whom no monumental record has been discovered. It is evident, indeed, that during the times of the *Sin* kings the power of the Fourth Dynasty declined to such an extent as to invite invasion and conquest. The reigns of the later group of these monarchs covered the period from the close of the eighteenth century to the year B. C. 1546.

The name *Arabian* is given by Berosus to the Fifth Dynasty of Chaldæan kings. But it is by no means certain that the great conqueror, KHAMMU-RABI, by whom Dynasty IV. was overthrown and supplanted, was out of Arabia. There is no doubt that the dissensions and weakness of the Chaldæan kings of the *Sin* series had made the country an easy prey to an ambitious leader and his armies, from whatever quarter they might come.

It is possible that the conquest of Khammu-Rabi was no more than a revolution effected by a strong-willed chieftain of one of the lower Mesopotamian cities. According to Berosus this dynasty was composed of nine kings, but the names of fifteen sovereigns of the line have been deciphered from the inscriptions and tablets; from which it appears that in several places the less important kings—perhaps those who reigned for a shorter time than a year—were dropped from the lists. Nor is it quite certain in what order the reigns of the so-called Arabian monarchs occurred.

There is no doubt, however, that the first of this line was the great Khammu-Rabi, whose name is associated with many important enterprises. He it was who introduced the system of artificial irrigation, by which large districts in the country about Babylon were converted into gardens. The great canal, afterwards known as the river of Khammu-Rabi, through which the waters of the Euphrates were carried into the waste places between the rivers, was constructed during this reign. A white stone tablet preserved in the Louvre, at Paris, recites that the canal cut by Khammu-Rabi became a blessing to the Babylonians, converting desert plains into well-watered fields and spreading around fertility and abundance.

For himself Khammu-Rabi built a new palace at Kalwadha, near the present site of

Baghdad. He also repaired the great temple of the sun at Senkereh.[1] His reign extended from the middle of the sixteenth century B. C. to about the year 1520. After his death the crown descended to his son, SAMSU-ILUNA, of whom only one series of inscriptions have been discovered. His reign belonged to the last quarter of the century, after which the lists are broken by a gap of about seventy-five years.

With the reappearance of the line in the person of KARA-IN-DAS, we come to a group of five kings, between whom and the monarchs of the rising kingdom of Assyria on the north, political relations begin to appear. It is the time when Assyria first competes with Chaldæa for supremacy in Mesopotamia. The chronology becomes more certain, inasmuch as the records of the two monarchies, by counter-references, can be used to check the errors of either. Between the two kingdoms the relations were sometimes warlike and sometimes peaceful. Now a treaty is made, and now the violation of a compact leads to invasion. In one instance a revolution occurs, in which the Chaldæan king, KARA-KHAR-DAS is overthrown and killed by an insurrectionist named Nazi-Bugas, whereupon an Assyrian army marches down the valley, destroys Nazi-Bugas, and restores to the throne the brother of the murdered king. At another time the daughter of Asshur-Upalit, king of Assyria, is given in marriage to PURRA-PURIYAS, monarch of Chaldæa, and indeed on every hand are discovered the traces of the increasing influence of the northern kingdom. The last of the five monarchs just mentioned was KURRI-GALZU, relics of whose reign are found chiefly at Mugheir[2] and Akkerkuf.

The latter city is reputed to have been founded by this king, of whom it contains several important inscriptions. The remaining sovereigns of the Fifth Dynasty are SAGA-RAKTIGAS, who built a temple of the sun at Sippara, AMMIDI-KAGA, and six others, whose names occur in a list of the kings in such a way as to classify them with Khammu-Rabi.

Such is the somewhat meager outline of the civil and political history of ancient Chaldæa, and of the broken genealogy of her princes down to the time when Assyrian influence became dominant in Lower Mesopotamia. The date of this event has been fixed at B. C. 1301. In this year Tiglath-Adar, king of Assyria, invaded Chaldæa, captured Babylon, and reduced the country to a dependency of his empire. It is not to be understood that the power of Chaldæa as a nation was destroyed or that the political condition of the country was very greatly changed from what it had been during the times of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.

With the accession of Dynasty VI., which is said by Berosus to have embraced forty-five kings, the Babylonian monarchs became and continued mere viceroys, tributary to Assyria, so that, in one sense, the civil history of Chaldæa may be said to have ended with the Assyrian conquest. However this question may be considered, the beginning of the fourteenth century marks an epoch in the progress of the Lower Empire, and is generally regarded as the end of the first monarchy established on the banks of the Euphrates.

The ancient kingdom of Chaldæa was, next to Egypt, the oldest civil government of antiquity. The conditions under which the empire was established were very similar to those which gave shape to early civilization in the valley of the Nile. The great men of Chaldæa were, first of all, Nimrod, who was the Romulus of the kingdom. After him was Urukh, the Builder, who gave to Chaldæa her material grandeur. Nimrod warred against the adverse elements of primitive savagery; Urukh bestowed colossal energies on monumental forms, and left his memory to the temples of the gods rather than to heroic traditions. Kudur-Lagamer, likewise, may well be regarded as great. He was a conqueror—one of the earliest known to history—and though his conquests beyond the western desert could hardly be expected to remain as an integral part of the Empire, yet the military impulse given by him to the nation which he ruled continued for centuries. For a short period he controlled the destinies of a people who were dispersed from the eastern limits of Susiana to the Dead Sea on the west, a dis-

[1] The ancient *Larsa*. [2] The ancient Ur.

tance of twelve hundred miles, while from north to south the breadth of his dominions was scarcely less than five hundred miles. Though he and his successors were unable to retain control of this widely extended territory, he nevertheless demonstrated the possibility of establishing vast empires embracing many peoples and languages, and thus became the prototype of those great oriental conquerors whose deeds constitute so large a part of Ancient History.

The kingdom of ancient Chaldæa is more interesting to us from its antiquity than from its territorial extent or its material grandeur. At a time when all the rest of Asia west of the Altais and the Himalayas was slumbering in night the Cushite tribes of the Lower Euphrates emerged from darkness, and substituted for the coarse manners of barbarism the institutions of primitive civilization—the home, the city, the state. These people betook themselves to the quiet pursuits of the field and to the erection and decoration of the temples of the gods, while the Semitic and Aryan tribes on the north and west were still nomads, preying upon nature, living by the chase.

From this ancient seat of refinement a knowledge of science and letters and art was gradually diffused into Assyria, and afterwards into Media and Persia. The method of writing employed by the various races inhabiting these countries is all traceable to the primitive type employed by the Chaldæans. So that it may be fairly said that Chaldæa was the mother of civilization in Western Asia.

Belonging to the period here considered (2458–1301 B. C.), the names and fragments of the histories of about thirty kings have been checked off from the lists of Berosus and verified by existing monuments. Further researches in Lower Mesopotamia will doubtless yield still more satisfactory results; and with an amount of exploration and scholarly criticism equal to that which has been given to the valley of the Nile, it is probable that Chaldæan history can be as clearly written as that of Egypt. For the present we are compelled to content ourselves with an outline, rather than a narrative, of the famous kingdom founded by Nimrod and terminated by the conquest of Tiglath-Adar, of Assyria. In connection with the history of the latter country, whatever is known of the viceroys reigning at Babylon, and of the progress of the country over which they ruled down to the times of Cyrus the Great, will be narrated as it is suggested by the more important history of the Assyrians.

CHAPTER IX.—SCIENCE AND ART.

FOR their learning the Chaldæans have been proverbial for three thousand years. Doubtless the country at the head of the Persian Gulf was that land of fabulous wisdom known by the ancients as THE EAST. The great poets and historians of Rome designated by the name CHALDÆAN whoever was famous in a knowledge of the stars, the lore of books, and the gift of prophecy. There is no doubt that long before the language of the Hebrews became a fit vehicle for literary expression there were in Lower Mesopotamia men worthy to be called philosophers. The traditions of antiquity point to two cities as the fountains of human wisdom—Memphis in Egypt, and Babylon of the Chaldees.

But learning and philosophy grow up slowly. They have their roots in those homely arts by which human life is sustained and invigorated. All the refinements of civilization rest upon the two fundamental facts of agriculture and architecture. The first stage of the evolution out of barbarism is marked by plowing and building. Where the plow is unknown and the hammer unheard, the tribes of men will never reach beyond the development of hunters and nomads.

In ancient Chaldæa the agricultural life was vividly suggested by the aspect and character of the valley. A level and unobstructed alluvial plain stretched from river to river. What seeds soever were scattered in this mellow soil sprang into vigorous life. The primitive dwellers in these flats were abundantly and certainly rewarded for their labor. The native grains and fruits were refined by cultivation, and the overplus of the harvest suggested new wants and the possibilities of commerce.

The most fruitful of the districts soon gathered the most enterprising population. The growing village gave token of progress. Then came the town, the city, the temples of the gods. The earliest buildings of Chaldæa were cabins constructed by bending into arches the tall stems of growing plants, interwoven with reeds, and covered with mats of rushes. Soon the strong trunk of the palm-tree was substituted for the native reed in the construction of the frame, and instead of a barricade of matting, a coat of plastering, composed of mud and bitumen, was laid upon the wall.

In a mild and equable climate such houses might well suffice for the abodes of men. Villages and towns might be so constructed, wherein civilized peoples could live in comfort and prosperity. But as society advanced the religious impulse and public spirit coöperated to demand and to produce a higher style of architecture. The temples of the gods must be imposing and ornate, and to this end some material more enduring than reeds and trunks of palms must be procured. In this stage of their development men generally resort to stone; but the Chaldæans were here at a disadvantage. What nature has so abundantly supplied in most countries is entirely wanting in Lower Mesopotamia. In the whole country between Samarah and the sea there is not a single quarry of stone. The peculiar character of early Babylonian architecture can be traced to this remarkable feature in the physical structure of the country. The Arabian quarries on the west yielded only a coarse sandstone; the distance was great, and the intervening plain, for the most part, an oozy and impassable marsh. The absence of neighboring hills,

"Rock-ribbed and ancient as the sun,"

imposed on the Chaldæans the necessity of selecting from the bosom of nature some material less enduring than that which has given immortality to the ruins of Egypt. Except to a very limited extent and only in peculiar situations, such as in the exposed part of an important wall, is any stone found among the remains of Babylonian greatness.

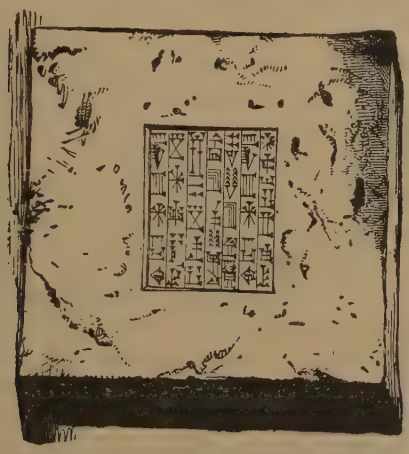
Clay in the form of bricks and tiles, was the natural substitute, and of this an excellent article was abundantly procurable.

In the more ancient ruins of Chaldæa, the bricks are of the sun-dried variety; and though, in those parts which have been freely exposed to the action of the elements only dust and shapeless fragments remain, yet, in the inner and more protected situations the bricks are as well preserved and firm as when, four thousand years ago, they were laid in wall and buttress. The introduction of the kiln so greatly improved the quality of bricks as to make them a fair substitute for stone, nor does it appear that the art of hardening clay by the action of fire has been much improved beyond the primitive methods employed by the masons of Chaldæa.

The early builders of the Mesopotamian towns generally used both kinds of bricks in the same edifice, constructing the central parts and inner walls of the sun-dried variety and facing the walls without and parts exposed with bricks burnt in a kiln. The harder and more durable material was thus made to protect the perishable from disintegration under the action of the weather. In cases where buildings were constructed wholly of bricks baked in the sun, the walls—otherwise weak and unstable—were strengthened by building in, at intervals of four or five feet, thick layers of reed matting, which were allowed to project beyond the edge of the wall, thus forming an external protection as well as giving coherence to the mass. The burnt bricks of Chaldæa were large in size and in shape peculiar. The side surface was near a foot square, and the thickness about two and a fourth

inches. Those bricks which were intended for the corners and angles were molded in triangular form or other shapes adapted to the purpose, while such as were intended for the arches were given the shape of wedges.

In color the kiln-dried bricks were generally of a yellowish tinge, sometimes a dark blue, or more rarely a pale red. The sun-baked bricks were more variable in size, some being as small as six inches square by two inches thick, and some being as much as seven inches in thickness by sixteen inches in length and breadth. The color of these is scarcely darker than the native clay, which, owing to



BRICK OF BABYLON, TWELVE INCHES SQUARE.[1]

the absence of iron in the soil, is much lighter than in most countries.

In order to cement their walls into a compact mass the Chaldæans employed two kinds of mortar. The first was mere clay or mud mixed with chopped straw, the other bitumen. The latter was the better material, binding together so firmly the bricks between which it was placed that even at the present day they can not be separated without a heavy blow. The use of bitumen succeeded the use of clay at the same time that the kiln-burnt succeeded the sun-dried variety of bricks.

The principal ruins of ancient Chaldæa—Bowariyeh and Mugheir—have already been described in connection with the reign of Urukh. The temple of Abu-Sharein was of the same general character, though somewhat more refined in its proportions and style than were the edifices at Warka and Ur. It is one of the few structures of true Chaldæan date in which stone is extensively employed. The proximity of a quarry in the neighboring Arabian hills is sufficient to explain this rare departure from the use of brick; but it is not so easy to account for the presence of pieces of agate, alabaster, and marble, carefully cut and polished, which have been discovered in abundance scattered about the base of the edifice. Small plates of gold and gilt-headed nails, employed, no doubt, in internal ornamentation, have likewise been found in the ruin.

The Chaldæan temples, though massive and imposing, were evidently wanting in architectural beauty. In the level and unvarying plain in which they were situated, they were, no doubt, grand and impressive objects; but the absence of external ornament and of the thousand effects which art so readily produces in the construction of great buildings, must have rendered the temples of Lower Mesopotamia, with their somber outer walls and huge buttresses and unsightly air-holes, devoid of beauty and attractiveness.

In the inner parts, especially in the sacred shrine of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated, considerable artistic skill was displayed in ornamenting the wood-work and the images of the god. Plates of blue enamel, nails of copper and of gold, and the bits of alabaster already referred to, indicate that the inner shrines of temples were decorated in a pleasing and artistic manner; but, beyond this, the great structures of Chaldæa were, like the pyramids, dependent for their effect upon the mere grandeur and massiveness of their aspect.

Of the common buildings — dwellings, houses, huts—not much is known. Only a few structures of this sort have been preserved. The outlines of one dwelling-house have been traced in the excavations made at Ur. The foundation was a brick platform, raised considerably above the surface. The house itself was in the form of a cross, irregular in outline and wanting in symmetry of proportions. The floors were of burnt brick

[1] The inner inscription contains the name of Nebuchadnezzar.

well laid in bitumen, and the walls were plastered with gypsum. In the chambers of a house discovered at Abu-Sharein more elaborate decoration is found. The walls are ornamented with designs in color-frescoes in red, black, and white; figures of birds, beasts, and men, carefully drawn on the fine, firm plaster of the walls.

The compartments of Chaldæan houses were generally long and narrow, and into these doors opened directly from without. The roofs were principally of wood, and framed so as to lie flat from wall to wall. Sometimes an arched roof is found, high and regular, well built of bricks and pointed with bitumen.

By what means the light was admitted into the Chaldæan houses the excavations have thus far failed to show. No windows have been discovered in the walls; but this may be accounted for by the fact that only the lower part of the walls, to the height of six or eight feet, remain of what was once a story of considerable elevation. It is to be greatly regretted that the building material employed by the ancient inhabitants of Chaldæa was not like that of Egypt—everlasting.

After the buildings, public and private, which have been preserved on the banks of the Lower Euphrates, the objects of next importance to the historian are the burying-places of the dead. The tombs of Chaldæa are so plentiful and so thickly populated as to give rise to the conjecture that the dead of the Assyrians were brought from the north to be interred in the sacred land. The quantity of human remains in certain burying-grounds is thought to be too great to have been derived from the people of the adjacent district. Large spaces are literally filled with bones and relics of the dead. Sometimes the coffins have been piled one upon another to the depth of *from thirty to sixty feet*, and for miles out into the desert the very soil underfoot seems to be nothing but the accumulated dust of dead races.

In some of these localities the relics are from widely separated epochs; but in other places the remains are homogeneous, being evidently gathered from a given period of Chaldæan history. The position and quality of the relics, the nature of the accompanying ornaments, and particularly the character of the coffins in which the remains are inclosed, are generally sufficient to determine the date at which the burying-ground was peopled. None of the remains found in these vast charnels belong to a time more recent than the middle of the sixth century B. C., while many are to be referred to the earlier, even the earliest, epochs of the national history.

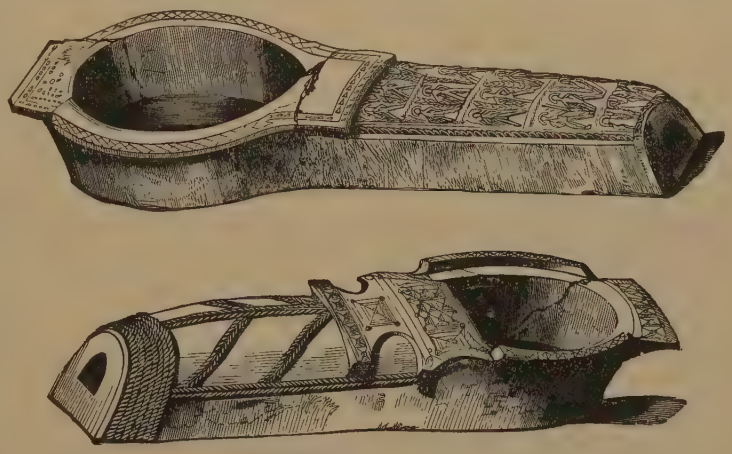
In disposing of the dead the Chaldæans employed several methods of sepulture. In the first of these the body was laid prone in a brick vault. The chamber was about seven feet in length by three and a-half feet in breadth and five feet high. The floor and walls were made of sun-dried bricks carefully laid in mud or bitumen, and the side walls were closed in above with an arch. On the floor was spread a matting of reeds, and on this the body was laid so as to rest on the left side. The fingers of the right hand were placed upon a copper bowl, which was set in the palm of the left. A single brick was placed beneath the head for a pillow. Articles of ornament and use were set in different parts of the vault, and vessels containing food and drink were placed near the head of the dead. Vaults of this style seem to have been in many instances family tombs, the remains of several bodies being frequently found in the same chamber. Besides the brick vaults, several kinds of coffins were used in earth burial. The first of these was a burnt clay box in the shape of the cover of a dish. In the bottom of the tomb a foundation was laid of bricks. This was covered with mats, as in the brick vaults; on these mats the body of the dead was laid, and over the body a large earthenware trough was turned so as to inclose and cover the remains. The huge dish thus inverted over the dead was generally seven feet long, two and a-half feet broad at the bottom, and three feet high. The covers in the graves of children were only about one-half the size of those in the tombs of adults, the latter being the largest specimens of pottery which have been discovered in any country. In a few instances two skeletons

have been found under a single cover, but in most cases only one body was placed under each coffin. Arranged about the dead, as in the family vaults, articles of food and ornament were set, the disposition of the body being as in brick chambers already described. The dish-cover coffins were buried at a great depth, none of those discovered at Mugheir being within less than seven or eight feet of the surface.[1]

Another kind of coffins employed by the Chaldæans consisted of two large earthenware vessels, shaped like ancient water-jars, set mouth to mouth and sealed with bitumen. Each jar was about three feet deep, the whole inner space of six feet being sufficient to contain the body of a full-sized adult. Within the earthen cylinder thus formed by setting the two jars mouth to mouth the dead was placed, and the whole covered with earth. For it was the manner of the Chaldæans to arrange the coffins containing the bodies of their dead in rows on the ground and then cover them from sight, gradually raising a mound over the place selected for burial. When a sufficient depth had been attained, another layer was placed above the first, and then another, till the surface of the mound was sometimes raised sixty feet above the original level.

The sepulchral mounds were carefully drained. Long shafts of clay tiling extended from the surface to the original ground level, insuring a perfect drainage. The shafts were composed of a succession of rings or joints about two feet in diameter, each joint being skillfully fitted into the next and sealed with bitumen. At the top each shaft contracts to a diameter of about six inches. The whole tube is filled within and packed without with a mass of broken pottery, the whole being as well adapted to the purpose of a perfect drain as any modern contrivance. By the means here described the tomb-mounds of Lower Mesopotamia have been completely preserved from the effects of dampness, the contents being generally found as dry as the dust of dust.

Their large dish-cover coffins and huge stacks of drainage tiling show the Chaldæans to have been unusually skillful in the design and manufacture of potteries. Other specimens of their work are more elegant and artistic.



GLAZED COFFINS, FROM WARKA.

Many jars, vases, and drinking-cups, belonging to the earlier times of the monarchy, bear evidence of careful manipulation and beauty of finish. Some are of rude and primitive patterns, resembling the aboriginal pottery of Mexico and Peru; but others are produced from the finest clay, skillfully turned on the potter's wheel, and of designs equaling in beauty the second class of Greek vases. In a few instances the artist has, with considerable success, imitated the forms of animals, but this kind of art is generally found on burnt tablets prepared especially to contain the reliefs. In such works the figures most frequently modeled are those of lions, bulls, and men, and the prevailing idea is that of a combat—the man overcoming the lion or the lion devouring the man.

Of the signet-cylinders mention has been

[1] It is quite probable that a part of this unusual depth of burial may be accounted for on the supposition of subsequent accumulation on the surface. The "rain of dust," continuing for some thousands of years, has no doubt heaped upon the Chaldæan dead some additional depth of earth.

made in a previous chapter. These peculiar official ornaments were generally of jasper or chalcedony, and were used by their owners to impress their seals on soft clay tablets employed in writing. The cylinders were about a-half inch in diameter by three inches in length. Through the axis a hole was bored and a metal parallelogram—bronze or copper—one side of which passed through the opening, was attached, and by means of this the cylinder was rolled upon the tablet. The ornament was suspended to the wrist or neck of the owner by a chain or string fastened to the metal frame. On the surface of the signet, as already noticed, the design of the seal adopted by the wearer was cut in reverse, so that the impression was made in relief. The engraving presented in these ancient relics of a dead empire is frequently of such elegance and delicacy as to excite the admiration, if not the envy, of modern lapidaries.

The tools and implements employed by the Chaldæans were rude and imperfect. In the oldest ruins flint knives, hatchets, and hammers of stone abound, while articles of bronze are less plentifully distributed. Of the latter material the specimens are chiefly arrow-heads, knives, hatchets, and sickles. The stone implements are generally indicative of some progress in the use of materials and the adaptation of means to ends, but in many instances the tools are of so primitive a form, and so rudely fashioned, as to excite surprise that the articles produced with them should exhibit so much elegance.

At the first the precious metal of the Chaldæans was iron, its use being limited to ornamentation. Several of the other metals—silver, zinc, platinum—were unknown. Articles of gold and copper are plentifully found in the mounds, while relics of tin and lead are extremely rare. Gold, like iron, was chiefly employed in the manufacture of ornaments, and copper, in the form of bronze, furnished among the Chaldæans, as among most ancient peoples, the main reliance in the way of metallic instruments, particularly in the fabrication of weapons.

Of the textile fabrics of Chaldæa not much is known. It could hardly be expected that the perishable product of looms, whose owners have slumbered in dust for four thousand years, should have survived to excite our curiosity. Only a few shreds of linen and some scraps of tasseled head-dress, occasionally found in the tombs, remain as a token of the work done by the weavers and spinners of Lower Mesopotamia. In the book of Joshua we are told how Achan lost his life for coveting a Babylonish garment which he had found along with a wedge of gold among the spoils of Jericho; and the reputation which Babylon afterwards enjoyed as the chief seat of the costliest manufactures of the world, leaves little doubt that her skill in this line of human industry had been of a high order even from the earliest times.

It was in a clear apprehension of the laws of nature, rather than in a useful application of knowledge to the practical affairs of life, that the Chaldæans surpassed most of the nations of antiquity. The featureless plain of Mesopotamia was in a great measure devoid of vivid terrestrial phenomena. Those aspects of the natural world, which in most countries are so complex and variable as to baffle investigation and stimulate the growth of myths, were in Chaldæa, as in Egypt, more regular, and suggestive of an orderly sequence. Here nature seemed calm and majestic. The exact point at which a star cut the horizon could be noted from evening to evening. The return of any given phenomenon in the stately progress of the skies might well provoke attention and excite expectancy of another recurrence. The serene climate and pellucid Chaldæan heavens brought the people ever face to face with the stars. That science rather than poetry should be the favorite diversion of the Chaldæan sages was a natural result of their situation and surroundings.

The observation of the skies, so assiduously cultivated on the Lower Euphrates, laid the foundation of astronomy and chronology. Diodorus truthfully declares that the Chaldæans were far before all other nations in their knowledge of the heavens. Here it was that the relation of the solar circuit to the other cycles of the system was discovered and recorded. It was seen that the sun completes

his course in the heavens in about twelve rounds of the moon, and, therefore, was the year divided into twelve months of thirty days each; and when this was found to measure the year inaccurately a system of intercalculations was introduced by which the calendar year was made to correspond with the sidereal year of three hundred and sixty-five and a fourth days.

The progress of the sun through the heavens was mapped for each of the twelve months, and thus the twelve signs of the Zodiac were established. The deviations of the planets from the path of the sun on either side determined the boundaries of the zodiacal signs, and each sign was divided into thirty degrees by the daily progress of the solar orb.

The phases of the moon fixed the limits of the week at seven days, and after the analogy of the year each day was divided into twelve parts or hours. Thus from nature were deduced the elements of the duodecimal system of computation. The hour was divided into sixty parts—five times twelve. The cubit consisted of twenty-four finger-breadths—two times twelve. The *soss* was a cycle of sixty years; the *ner* was ten times sixty, and the *sar* was the square of sixty, or three thousand six hundred years.

For determining the distance from point to point in the open skies the breadth of the sun's disc was taken as a unit. On the morning of the equinox, at the precise moment when the upper limb of the sun was seen to cut the horizon, an orifice in a water-jar was opened and the fluid allowed to run until the full disc was risen. The water discharged was carefully measured and was found to be 1–720th of the quantity discharged through the same orifice by sunrise on the following morning—from which the inference was drawn that the whole orbit of the sun is measured by seven hundred and twenty times the breadth of his own disc. This ingenious method of observation furnished a unit both of space and time, the former being one-half a degree, and the latter, two minutes, or one-thirtieth of an hour. The distance which an active foot-courier could walk in thirty units of time, that is, an hour, was called a *parasang*, and one-thirtieth of a parasang was a *stadium*. The stadium was divided into three hundred and sixty parts called *cubits*, and sixty cubits constituted a *plethron*.[1]

By the application of these simple measures to the terrestrial and celestial spheres the Chaldæans obtained very extraordinary results—results which may be fairly called scientific. They discovered and recorded the fact that in a period of two hundred and twenty-three months the lunar eclipses return in the same order. The establishment of this cycle gave the length of the synodic and periodic months with so much accuracy that modern astronomers have found the calculations true to within less than five seconds of our time.

The Babylonian tablets have already furnished a list of ten eclipses of the moon and three conjunctions of planets which were recorded by observers in the years 721 and 720 B. C. Callisthenes, who accompanied Alexander the Great on his expedition to Babylon, sent to Aristotle from that city a set of tablets containing astronomical records reaching back to about the middle of the twenty-third century before our era. Although these records are lost, and although the data on which they were calculated must have been in some particulars erroneous, yet they were no doubt genuine astronomical tables which—had they been preserved—would possess for modern astronomers unusual interest and value. It does not appear that the astronomical science of the Chaldæans was tinctured with astrological superstitions, or that the baleful effects of priestcraft had blurred the natural beauty of the skies.

Some knowledge of arithmetic was necessarily precedent to progress in astronomy. Nor is it a matter of conjecture that the Chaldæans had considerable skill in the science of numbers. Two systems of notation were

[1] The Babylonian cubit was equal to a fraction over one and two-thirds feet, more exactly 21 inches, or 525 millimeters. Hence the following table of equivalents:

1 cubit	= 21 inches.		
60 cubits	= 1 plethron	= 35 yards.	
6 plethra	= 1 stadium	= 38.2 rods.	
30 stadia	= 1 parasang	= 3.58 miles.	

employed, the one duodecimal, the other decimal. In writing the numbers, only two elementary characters, the wedge (▼) and the arrow-head (>), were employed. These characters were combined in a manner at once simple and comprehensive, so as to constitute a complete and satisfactory table of notation. The chief defects of the system were the repetition of the same character to express different numbers, the absence of the Arabic principle of giving a figure a value according to its rank, and the want of a cipher or zero. Taken all in all, the method was superior to that in use among the Greeks and Romans.

The system of weights employed by the Chaldæans was based upon their system of measure. A cubit of water, weighing about sixty-six pounds, was divided into sixty equal parts, and each part called a *log*—being about five-sixths of a pint. This was the unit of measure; and the weight of this unit, called a *mina*, was the unit of weight. The oldest specimen of a weight which antiquarian research has rescued from the past is a duck-shaped stone belonging to King Ilgi of Ur. The simple inscription, "ten minæ of Ilgi," tells the story of its date and use.

Investigation has shown that the Chaldæans, like most other nations, had one system of weights for the common articles of the market-place, and another for the precious metals and gems. Instead of the imperial weights employed for all other purposes, gold and silver were estimated by a more delicate system, in which peculiar circular pieces or rings of the precious metals were taken as the units of weight. The denominations were the *talent*, the *shekel*, etc.—names afterwards adopted by the Hebrews and the Greeks.

The system of writing employed by the Chaldæans is worthy of special consideration. Like the hieroglyphics of Egypt, the Babylonian system was, for a long time, the puzzle of European scholarship. Its first peculiarity is that all the characters employed are rectilinear, and the second is that the characters are nearly all sloping or wedge-like in form, from which the name *cuneiform*, meaning wedge-shaped, has been adopted to describe this species of writing.

Philosophically considered, such writing is of the same nature as the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians. Both systems began with the pictorial representation of objects by means of lines. In the case of the hieroglyphics the development was rather in the use of curves, while, for some reason, in the system of the Assyrian and Persian nations, the use of right lines predominated. As a result of these two tendencies the curve-line figures of beasts and birds was longer retained in the writing of the Egyptians and sooner lost by cursive abbreviations in the writing of the Chaldæans. The gradual departure from the old pictorial type, and the substitution, first of an emblematic, and afterwards of a phonetic type to represent the name of the object rather than the object itself, and finally the use of this phonetic type in spelling alphabetically the words of the language, were the same in both the hieroglyphic and cuneiform systems. Each passed in like manner through successive stages of degeneration until the arbitrary alphabet triumphed over the pictorial symbols.

The appearance of cuneiform writing is peculiarly angular and jagged. The words are produced by combinations of the two simple types, the arrow-head (>) and the wedge (▼). In many instances the character is a monogram rather than a word spelled alphabetically, showing that the process of phoneticizing the language was arrested before it was complete. In other cases the characters used are determinatives, being affixed to certain words to indicate their classification. Thus a given determinative indicates that the word to which it belongs is the name of a being in the class of gods; another, that the object is classified with men; another, with countries; a fourth, with towns, etc. It is probable that the determinatives had, as a general rule, no phonetic influence on the words to which they belonged, their function being merely official, like that of a capital letter in English. It appears that, in some instances, however, the determinative was pronounced *instead* of the word to which it was affixed.

The writing of the Chaldæans is almost as

abundant as that of the Egyptians. It is preserved in the two forms of tablets and bricks. In all cases the writing was impressed on the clay while moist and plastic. The inscriptions on the bricks are all of a royal origin, recounting the story of the building in which they are found, the name of the king, his titles, his glory and renown. The tablet inscriptions are more frequently of a private character, referring to such matters as deeds, contracts, and personal records. The writing is from left to right in all cases except on the signet-cylinders, on which the inscriptions are of course reversed. Where the legend is printed on bricks, only a part of each brick—a square near the middle—is occupied with the inscription, which seems, in most cases, to have been stamped upon the clay, but in others to have been engraved or cut in the surface with a tool.

The tablets of the Chaldæans are plates of baked clay, slightly convex on each side, resembling a small pillow, flattened to the thickness of two or three inches. The shape is not always regular, nor does it appear that the makers cared much for the beauty of the material which was to contain a record of their thought. The sides of the tablets were thickly covered with cuneiform inscriptions. The plates were then carefully burnt, and when this was done a new layer of clay was spread over the surface upon which the inscription was repeated. The whole was baked a second time, so that the inner legend was securely incased in a shell of imperishable tiling. If the outer inscription should be defaced, the shell could be broken away, revealing the original within. And this original could even be repeated by casting new clay in the concave mold of the outer crust, for this would contain in relief an exact duplicate of the first inscription on the inner tablet.

On many of the plates, in addition to the matter contained in the regular inscription, the signet-cylinder of the maker or contractor has been rolled across the surface, producing in relief the legend adopted by the wearer as his motto and seal. This part of the inscription is found lying in a band across the face of the tablet, and is easily distinguishable from the rest, of which it is evidently the attestation. After the tablet was completed in the manner described, it was laid away among the archives of the family, just as important papers are filed for preservation. Such inscriptions are abundant in all the ruins of Lower Mesopotamia; and there is little doubt that the deciphering of these mute plates of antiquity—a work as yet only begun—is destined to cast much light on some of the vexed problems of ancient history.

In addition to what they printed on clay and preserved by burning, the Chaldæans were skillful in gem engraving. Their work of this kind was sometimes highly artistic, comparing favorably with that done by the modern lapidary. The signets and seals already described belong to this kind of art, and the inscriptions on some of the cylinders are of such an archaic type as to prove conclusively that the art was successfully practiced from the earliest times of the Empire. Several of the seals belonging to the elder Chaldæan monarchs have been deciphered and translated into English. Of this description is the seal of Urukh, mentioned in a former chapter. The inscription is: "The signet of Urukh, the pious chief, king of Ur, high-priest of Niffer." Reference has also been made to the seal of Ilgi, on which the legend is as follows: "To the manifestation of Nergal, king of Bit-Zida, of Zurgulla, for the saving of the life of Ilgi, the powerful hero, the king of Ur, son of Urukh. . . . May his name be preserved." A cylinder belonging to one of the Sin Dynasty has the following inscription: "Sin, the powerful chief, the king of Ur, the king of the four races. . . . his seal." Some of the cylinders are plain, having neither figures nor inscriptions on their surfaces. Others have figures and emblems, but no legend. Considerable variety is shown in the designs presented on the signets, and no inconsiderable degree of artistic skill exhibited in their execution. Enough remains to establish the fact that the gem-cutters of Chaldæa were professional workmen and devotees of their art.

CHAPTER X.—RELIGION.

THE religious system of the Chaldæans began with a theory of the creation of the world. This theory, as it was received and taught by the priests of Babylon, has been preserved in the fragment of Berosus already referred to,[1] and is as follows:

"Once all was darkness and water. In this chaos lived horrid animals, and men with two wings, and others with four wings and two faces, and others again with double organs, male and female. Some had the thighs of goats, and horns on their heads; others had horses' feet, or were formed behind like a horse and in front like a man. There were bulls with human heads, and horses and men with the heads of dogs, and other animals of human shape with fins like fishes, and fishes like sirens, and dragons, and creeping things, and serpents, and wild creatures, the images of which are to be found in the temple of Bel.

"Over all these ruled a woman of the name of Omorka. But Bel divided the darkness and clove the woman asunder, and of one part he made the earth, and of the other the sun and moon and planets; and he drew off the water and apportioned it to the land, and prepared and arranged the world. But those creatures could not endure the light of the sun and became extinct.

"When Bel saw the land uninhabited and yet fruitful he smote off his head and bade one of the gods mingle the blood which flowed from his head with earth, and form therewith men and animals and wild creatures who could support the atmosphere. A great multitude of men of various tribes inhabited Chaldæa, but they lived without any order, like the animals.

"Then there appeared to them from the sea, on the shore of Babylonia, a fearful animal of the name of OAN. His body was that of a fish, but under the fish's head another head was attached, and on the fins were feet like those of a man, and he had a man's voice. The image of the creature is still preserved. The animal came at morning, and passed the day with men. But he took no nourishment, and at sunset went again into the sea, and there remained for the night. This animal taught men language and science, the harvesting of seeds and fruits, the rules for the boundaries of land, the modes of building cities and temples, arts, and writing, and all that pertains to the civilization of human life."

Such is the story of the genesis of things as told by Berosus. The narrative goes on to recount the genealogy and history of the princes who first reigned in the earth after the creature Oan taught men the arts and sciences. First came Alorus, whom the god himself had called from the shepherd life to be king of Chaldæa. His reign lasted for 36,000 years. After that his son Alaparus ruled for 10,800; Almelon, for 46,800; and Ammenon for 43,200. Then there came another sea-god up from the deep whose name was IDOTION. He, like Oan, instructed the human race, and then retired as he came. In a subsequent reign, also of fabulous duration, four additional fish-men, having the wisdom of the gods, came from the sea, and were for a season the teachers of mankind; and finally in the reign of Edorankhus another aquatic god, ODAKON, of like fashion with the preceding, came and explained in detail the wonders of the system which Oan had revealed in outline. This was the last of the Chaldæan avatars before the flood of Xisuthrus.[1]

The gods of the Chaldæans were sky-gods. Their home was in the open heaven. They

[1] See *ante*, p. 112.

[1] It is interesting to note that the ten primeval rulers of the world—Alorus, Alaparus, Almelon, Ammenon, Amegalarus, Daönus, Edorankhus, Amempsinus, Otiartes, and Xisuthrus—correspond in *number* at least to the ten antediluvian patriarchs mentioned in the Book of Genesis.

were for the most part the deities of stars and planets. Twelve were worshiped as having divine powers of the highest order. The supreme god was EL. After him was named the great capital Bab-El—the Gate of El. He sat enthroned above the other deities in heaven. He was the lord of the sky-land. Austere and stern he was, sitting apart from the other gods and without sympathy for the human race.

In the great flood the anger of El was kindled against all men, even Sisit, whom he wished to destroy with the rest. His titles were "the Warrior," "the Prince of the gods," "the Lord of the universe." In one of the Assyrian tablets he is called "the Lamp of the divinities," and everywhere he was recognized as dwelling in light and majesty. The worship of El, however, was not so universal or popular as was that of the gods whom the Chaldæan imagination more intimately associated with human interests and hopes.

After El the next in rank among the deities of the Chaldæans was the god ANU. He had his abode in the concave dome of the heavens. Hither it was that the other gods, terrified by the devastation of the flood, fled for security from the wrath of El. Anu had many titles. In the Assyrian inscriptions he is generally honored with the epithet *malik*, or king. In other places he is called "the old Anu," "the original Chief," "the Sire of gods," "the Lord of spirits and demons." On some tablets he is known as "the King of the lower world," "the Lord of darkness," "the Ruler of the far-off city," etc.

The chief seat of Anu's worship was the ancient city of Erech. Here was one of the favorite burying grounds of the Chaldæans, and over this Anu was said to preside as a tutelary deity.[1] His association with this great necropolis of Lower Mesopotamia gave to him something of the character of Pluto among the nations of the West. The worship of Anu was very ancient. Urukh himself mentions him among the deities worshiped at Ur. Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon, built at Shergal, as early as 1830 B. C., a temple to the honor of this god. The temple of Warka, even after Anu had long ceased to be worshiped at its shrine, still bore the name of Bit-Anu, or House of Anu. Even Beltis, whose worship was substituted for that of Anu in this temple, was known as the Lady of Bit-Anu.

The god BEL is generally known by his Greek name Belus. But the attributes given him by the Greek authors do not harmonize perfectly with those ascribed by the Chaldæans to Bel. By the latter this god was honored with such titles as "the Supreme," "the Father of the gods," "the Procreator," "the Lord of spirits," etc. There is also some confusion between the offices and titles of Bel and those of the half mythical Nimrod after his deification. It seems that when the great hunter was enrolled among the gods his attributes and epithets were merged with those of Belus, or Bel, so that in later times there was little if any distinction between the deified Nimrod and the god with whose nature he was blended.

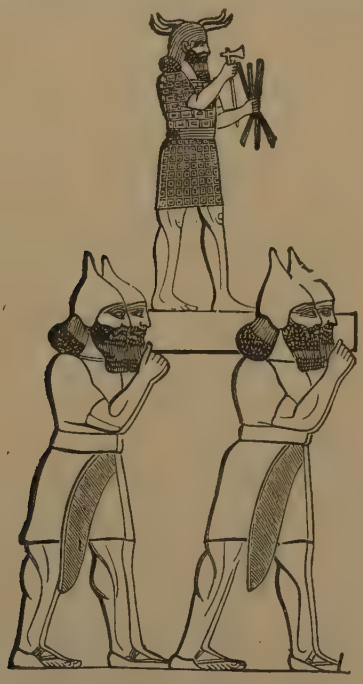
The common epithet of this hero-god was accordingly Bel- or Bil-Nipru, that is, Bel-Nimrod, or "the Hunter Lord." The chief seat of his worship was Calneh or Nipur, the modern Niffer. To him this city was sacred. Here, no doubt, the great Nimrod reigned in the heroic age of Chaldæa. The city bore his name, and the great and splendid temple was dedicated to his worship. By many traditions he is associated with this old capital of the country.

Besides the local importance of Bel-Nimrod in Calneh, his reputation as a powerful deity extended to other cities and districts. A large temple was erected in his honor by Kurri-Galzu at Akkerkuf, and invocations found on Assyrian tablets, in which he is addressed as "the Lord of the world," prove that his fame and worship had extended even to the capital of the northern kingdom. Together with Anu and Hea he constituted a trinity of Chaldee gods quite distinguished in power and attributes from the almighty El

[1] The name of the god Anu appears in many forms. Sometimes it is Ana, sometimes Yan or Oan, the name of the fish-god who instructed the Chaldæans in the rudiments of science and art. The name also appears in the Hebrew word Anammelech and others of like formation.

and the stellar deities who will presently claim attention.

The third divinity in the triad of Chaldæa was HEA. He it was who in the likeness of the fish-monster came up out of the sea to teach the Chaldæans letters and astronomy. To them he made known the ways of life, and though he took upon himself the form of a reptile in which to make his revelation to the first settlers in Lower Mesopotamia, he seems not to have suffered by his abasement. By Berosus he is celebrated as being "the great Giver of good gifts to man." Sometimes he is called "the Lord of the abyss," and sometimes "Lord of the sea." Like Poseidon of the Greeks, Hea was represented as having dominion over the waters. But more particularly was he worshiped as the giver of life and knowledge. As such his symbol was the serpent, the common emblem among the oriental nations of superhuman wisdom.[1] His connection with the invention of letters is perpetuated in the arrow-head, which, in addition to being one of the primary characters in all the cuneiform inscriptions, is also a symbol of Hea. The cult of Hea was one of the most important and influential elements in the religion of the Chaldæans.



PROCESSION OF BEL.

Next came the gods of the planets and stars, the first of whom was the Moon-god SIN. Though placed by Berosus after the god of the sun, in the myths of the Chaldæans themselves the moon-deity has the preëminence over his more luminous rival. Perhaps there is in this fact a hint that the early race of men who gathered into a permanent society at Ur of the Chaldees found pleasure and profit rather in the calm meditations of the eventide and the stillness of the night than in the splendors of the day. There is no doubt that the climate of Lower Mesopotamia was specially favorable to the development of evening reveries; and it is not difficult to conceive how, in the cool of the twilight, while the crescent moon hung her silver arc of beauty in the western sky, the busy imagination and reverent heart of the Chaldæan sage as he sat by the door of his tent could attribute the first of divine powers to the orb of night.

By the earlier Chaldæans the Moon-god was called HURKI, from the same root as the word Ur, the chief seat of his worship. This name signifies *to watch*, and the epithet was no doubt bestowed in allusion to the vigils of those who by night watched their flocks or dreamed of the infinite, under the stars. The principal titles of Sin were "the Powerful," "the Lord of the spirits," and "the King of gods." In reference to his heavenly symbol, he was called "the Bright" or "the Shining." On the monuments he sits as a venerable bearded figure, and near his head are pictured the various phases of the crescent moon.[1] On the signet-cylinder of King Urukh the Moon-god is so drawn. He sits with one

[1] There are strong grounds for connecting the tradition of Hea in the form of a reptile, making men wise as the gods, with that of the serpent in Paradise luring Adam and Eve with the promise of expanded wisdom in eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. Some forms of the Chaldæan myth are very similar to the story of Eden. (See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. I, p. 609.)

[1] It is a striking peculiarity of the drawings of the crescent moon, as they appear on the Babylonian monuments, that the semilune is always set with the bow towards the horizon—a position which in the latitude of Chaldæa could rarely happen in nature.

hand outstretched as if in salutation, and three worshipers standing before him do obeisance. This deity was the special favorite of the Chaldæan kings. To him, as already noted, the great Urukh and his distinguished son Ilgi built and dedicated the ancient temple of Ur. His worship was also popular with the princes of Borsippa and Babylon. One dynasty of Chaldæan sovereigns were in honor of this deity designated as the Sin kings. During the long period of Assyrian domination the Moon-god held his place in the esteem of the people, and as late as the times of Nebuchadnezzar his worship was perpetuated with the greatest ardor and formality.

Next to Sin among the deities of the luminaries of heaven was SAMAS, god of the sun.[1] His symbol was the circle. He was represented as illuminating heaven and earth, and was celebrated as lord of the daylight. But more generally his titles were not directly referable to the power and splendor of the sun. He was known as "the Ruler of all things," "the Establisher of the firmament," and "the Vanquisher of the king's enemies." In warlike expeditions Samas went forth with the army. He put the foe to flight. He triumphed over opposition. He extended the royal dominion and upheld the king's arm in battle. Just as the sun warms and invigorates universal nature, so Samas in the minds and hearts of men cheered with light and warmed with inspiration.

The cities of Larsa and Sippara were the principal seats of the Sun-god's worship. At the former place was the great temple reputed to have been built by Urukh and restored from time to time by the Chaldæan kings down to the times of Nebuchadnezzar. In the latter city the worship of Samas prevailed over all other forms of religion, insomuch that Sippara became known to the Greeks under the name of Heliopolis, or City of the Sun. The idolatry of Adrammelech, the fire-king, told of in the Second Book of Kings as having been introduced into Samaria from the East, was but a transplanted form of the worship of the Chaldæan Samas. The high and universal respect in which this deity was held by the princes and kings is indicated in the fact that very few of the royal signet-cylinders are without the symbol of the sun among their emblems of divinity.

High in rank among the deities of Chaldæa, though perhaps not greatly esteemed in the times of the founding of the Empire, was the storm-god BIN.[1] He wielded the power of the air, and was therefore allied in his offices to the classical Zeus. In the system of the Chaldæans, however, Bin most nearly corresponds to the Uranus of Greek mythology. He was the wielder of the thunder-bolt, the director of the storm and tempest. He it was who in the Chaldæan account of the deluge is represented as thundering in the midst of heaven. He was regarded as the destroyer of the harvest. His emblem, found upon the tablets and cylinders, is a kind of flambeau representing lightning. His character was that of a destructive agent in nature, and yet as the rain-god he was celebrated as the giver of fertility and the master of the fecundity of the earth. The rivers and canals and aqueducts were regarded as under his watch-care, and the public works by which civilization is fostered were protected by his favor.

The first of the fire-spirits of the planets was ADAR, the lord of Saturn. To him were given also the Semitic names of Bar and Nin. In character, however, the god Adar is more nearly allied to the classical Hercules than to Uranus. He was worshiped as the god of strength and courage and the lord of the brave. His face was against the enemy in battle, and the heart of the warrior was strengthened in the conflict by calling on the name of Adar. He was "the Reducer of the disobedient," "the Exterminator of rebels." Like Bel-Nimrod he trampled down the foe. Like the Roman Mars he led the king's armies to victory.

By a strange mingling of attributes, Adar is sometimes confounded with that fish-god,

[1] The name is variously written: Samas, Shamas, Shemsi, Sansi, San, etc. The English word *sun* is no doubt originally derived from the same root.

[1] This name is also variously written. Sometimes it is Iva, and more frequently Vul; but Bin seems to be indicated as the true form.

Oan, who taught the Chaldæans the beginnings of art and science. In this capacity he is represented in the reliefs as part man and part fish, and underneath is written such titles as "God of the sea" and "the Dweller in the depths." By another change of epithets he is lifted again to his own place in the skies, and adored as "the Chief of spirits" and "the Favorite of the gods." Further on, in the myths of Assyria, Adar, as the impersonation of strength and power, takes the character of the Man-bull, and as such stands guard in the sculptured courts of palaces.

IMAGE OF THE FISH-GOD.

Like the worship of Bin, that of Adar seems not to date from the earliest, but rather the later, times of the Lower Empire. The oldest of his temples were those of Calah, which rank among the more important ruins of Chaldæa. The later temple at Nineveh had so great a reputation for magnificence that the fame thereof was carried to the Western nations to be celebrated by Tacitus. The emblem of Adar is generally the fish, and the popularity of the deity and of his worship is indicated in the wide distribution of his emblem among the inscriptions.

The Jove of the Chaldæans was called MERODACH. His leading title, somewhat grotesque withal, is "the Old Man of the gods." His worship was a part of the earlier religious system, and gradually rose to preponderance, especially in the times of the Assyrian supremacy. Merodach was the god of the judgment—the patron of justice and right. In his worship there was a larger element of morality than in that of most other Eastern deities.[1] In all those lands where justice was administered by kings sitting in the gates, Merodach was regarded as presiding and watching over the right. In a philosophical way he was known as "King of the earth," "the most Ancient," and "the Senior of the gods." From the high character and spiritual nature which he bore, he was less frequently represented by material emblems than was any other of the great deities of Chaldæa. Nor is it certain that any figure in Chaldæan art is now extant which was intended to give the artistic concept of this divinity.[1] In the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II., Merodach, under the title of Belrabu, is celebrated as superior to all the deities of heaven and earth.

To the planet Mars was assigned the war-god NERGAL, whose titles are "the King of battles" and "Champion of the gods." The principal seats of his worship were the ancient cities of Kutha and Tarbissa. In the Assyrian account of the flood Nergal is referred to as the destroyer; but his chief fame was based on his power over the chase and the battle-field. In this his attributes are mingled with those of Bel-Nimrod, to whom he is also likened in the worship given him as the ancestor of the Assyrian kings. The symbol of Nergal is the celebrated Man-lion, which stands with outspread wings at the portals of the great temples and the palace gates of Susa and Nineveh. There is thus established an intimate association between the War-god and Adar, whose effigy, the winged bull, stands also as the guardian to the entrances of palaces and temples.

The Chaldæan Venus was called BILIT—a name which is given in Herodotus as Mylitta. The name means "the Lady," but the more august title of the goddess is "the Queen-mother of the gods." Sometimes she is called "the Lady of Offspring;" and it appears that the Babylonians gave her a preëminent rank as the goddess of fertility and birth. At Babylon a splendid temple was built in her honor. Within the court was a grove, under whose cool shade a fountain of water symbolized the divinity. To her the cooing dove was sacred, and the sportive fish, whose fecundity peoples the waters. The shrine of the goddess was in the grove, near the fountain, and hither came bands of pilgrims to worship.

According to the custom of the time the maidens of Babylon were once in their lives

[1] The Hebrew name of Jupiter is Sedek, meaning *Justice*.

[1] Among the sculptures of Babylon, a figure of a god walking is supposed to be an attempt to represent Merodach.

obliged to offer themselves at this shrine. At a certain season they came in companies, and sat in long rows with chaplets of cords on their heads, waiting to be chosen. With the rest came the daughters of princes, in covered cars, and with numerous attendants. Each maiden was obliged to remain until some one of the pilgrims cast into her lap a coin of gold. Then she must arise and follow him. The coin she afterwards gave to the treasury of the goddess, and was thenceforth freed from her obligation.[1] In all parts of Lower Mesopotamia the worship of Mylitta was popular, and the richness of her temples attested the faith of the Chaldæans in her whom they regarded as the giver of beauty and the author of love.

Opposed to this goddess, who presided over the birth of all things tender and beautiful, was ISTAR, the goddess of war and ruin. In her attributes she is allied to the Artemis of Greek mythology. In her relation to Mylitta we see unmistakable traces of that Eastern imagination which, in constructing its systems of theology, has shown so marked a disposition to arrange the deities in pairs—good against evil, light against darkness, blessing and fruit against death and ruin. By this strange opposition of attributes the planet Venus was assigned to Istar as well as to Mylitta, so that from this source both love and destruction were said to emanate. The double aspect of Venus as morning and evening star had caught the attention of the Chaldæans; and just as the Western nations gave one name—Phosphor or Lucifer—to the star of morning, and another—Hesperus—to the star of evening, so the astrologers of the Chaldæan plains assigned two goddesses, the one of love and blessing, the other of ruin and death, to the conspicuous planet of the morning and evening skies.

In the myths of Istar there is a great similarity to the stories of Proserpina as recited in the poems of the Latin race. The coming of Life in the spring, and her disappearance in winter, is commemorated in the narrative of Istar's journey to the nether world. She went down to the house of Irkolla, which has no exit. Istar said: "Watchman of the waters, open thy gate, that I may enter. If thou openest not, I will break thy gate and burst asunder thy bars; I will shatter the threshold and destroy the doors." The myth recites that the door was opened by the watchman, and as Istar passed into the lower world he took the crown from her head. At the successive portals through which she passed she was stripped of all her ornaments, until beyond the seventh gate she was delivered to Ninkigal, the spirit of the depths, by whom Istar was grievously afflicted.

IMAGE OF NEBO.

Meanwhile the world above lamented the loss of Istar until what time Hea sent word to Ninkigal to release her. Then was she bathed in the water of life; the seven portals were opened, and Istar came back to earth: a myth of the return of spring.

The representative of the planet Mercury among the Chaldæans was the god NEBO. His name is derived from the word *nibbah*, which in the Semitic dialects signifies to prophesy. Nebo was the god of forethought and intelligence. He presided over knowledge and learning. He was said to hear from afar off, and to teach and instruct mankind. In his attributes he resembled Hermes of the Greeks, though the character of Nebo was more exalted and less treacherous than that of the somewhat whimsical deity of the West. He was called "the Supporter," "the Ever-

[1] The stoical Herodotus, in continuing the account of the choosing of the maidens, adds: "The good-looking and graceful maidens quickly find a pilgrim; but the ugly ones can not satisfy the law, and often remain in the temple for three or four years." In the apocryphal Book of Baruch the same ceremony is described.

ready," "the Lord of the constellations." Notwithstanding the latter high-sounding title it does not appear that Nebo was a deity of the first rank in greatness.

Sometimes the name of Nebo is omitted from lists of the gods, or again it is set among the minor rather than the major divinities of Chaldæa. It is doubtful whether Nebo was worshiped from the earliest times, but it is certain that he is to be classified with the deities of Lower Mesopotamia, rather than with those of Assyria. The chief seat of his worship was Borsippa, and it was to him that the great temple of world-wide fame, known as the Birs-Nimrud, was dedicated. At Calah, on the Tigris, the ruins of one of his shrines are found, and it is from this place that the striking statues of the god were taken and transferred to the British Museum.

NANA, THE PHŒNICIAN ASTARTE.

The catalogue of planetary gods ends with Nebo. With each god, according to the system of the Chaldeans, was associated a goddess, who shared with her husband the rule of his sphere. Hea, the Chaldæan Neptune, had DAV-KINA for his queen, and her titles are the same as his. The wife of Bel-Nimrod was BELTIS, who had the highest fame, being honored with such preëminent titles as "the Great Goddess," and "Mother of the deities." Her rank in the pantheon of Chaldæa was almost as high as that of Juno among the Romans, and besides this exaltation she had also many of the attributes of Ceres and Diana. The queen of El was called ANATA, but her personality is scarcely distinguishable from his, and her titles are but a reflection from her husband's. In like manner was associated with Samas in authority his wife, the goddess ANUNIT, who was worshiped at Larsa and Sippara. The queen of Merodach was ZIR-BANIT, who had a temple at Babylon, and who divides with Beltis the honor and rank of the Juno of the Chaldæans. With Nergal was associated the goddess NANA, who appears to have been the divinity whom the Phœnicians worshiped as Astarte; while to Nebo was assigned the goddess VARAMIT, who was honored with the title of "the Exalted one"

It was thus that in their aspirations for communion with the higher powers, the yearnings of the ancient Chaldæans turned upwards to the planets and stars. The horizon of the Babylonian plain was uniform and boundless. It was the heaven above rather than the earth beneath, which exhibited variety and life. The Zodiac was ever new with its brilliant evolutions. Through the clear atmosphere the tracks of the shining orbs could be traced in every phase and transposition. With each dawn of the morning light, with each recurrence of the evening twilight, a new panorama spread before the reverent imagination of the dreamer, and he saw in the moving spheres not only the abode but the manifested glory of his gods. Between the rising and the setting of the sun and the moon and the stars and the movements and vicissitudes of human life—the waking and sleeping, the vigor and weariness of men—there seemed to be a constant relation. The one appeared to depend on the other. The affairs of life seemed to receive their laws and conditions from the skies. The antecedents of good and evil were in the stars. Merodach was the author of good; Adar, the breeder of malevolence.

In the Zodiac the sun had twelve houses. His proper home was in the sign of Leo. So likewise the planets passed through twelve stages in their journey, and each sign or "house" through which an orb thus passed became a seat of divine power, and the planets themselves were gods. With these, thirty of the fixed stars were associated as "counseling gods;" while twelve others in the northern sky and twelve in the south, were called "the judges." As many of these twenty-four luminaries as were above the horizon decided the fortunes of the living, while those below the limit of night decided the fates of the dead.

Each month of the year belonged to one of the twelve major gods, beginning with Anu. The seven days of the week were governed by the sun, moon, and five planets; and the hours of the day were apportioned to controlling luminaries.

In all this we find one of the earliest and most striking examples of the primitive unity of religion, poetry, and science. In the first ages of history the offices of the priest, the bard, and the philosopher were hardly to be distinguished the one from the other. Each had his own subjective concept of nature, and each expressed what was most strongly impressed upon his own thought. Doubtless the man of antiquity, more than the man of modern times, was *alive* to the varying aspects of the natural world. Doubtless he was thus predisposed to consider Nature, and to speak of her laws, her origin, her destiny. But each thinker responded in his own way, and gave his own interpretation as he was moved by the *anima mundi*. He uttered a prophecy, chanted a poem, or explained in prose the nature, the origin, the reason of the world, as he was moved thereto by the varying moods of his mind.

The primitive priest, as he gazed on the passing panorama of earth and heaven, caught at the idea of *intelligent causes* behind the tangible forms and processes of nature. To him the important question seemed to be *who it was* that controlled and directed the movements of the world and led onward the magnificent marches of the skies. In that part of nature which lay nearest to himself he perceived no motion or agitation which was not traceable to some intelligent agency. From this he reasoned by analogy that the greater processes of the natural world were in like manner produced by a personal will and power—that is, by a god. This idea has always seemed to men of one type of mind to be the most important thought of which mankind are capable; and deducible from this assumption, the priests of old reasoned that the most important duties of man related to a knowledge and worship of the gods, who were the causes of all things.

The poet takes another view of the same problem. It is to his *senses* rather than to his reasoning powers that Nature makes her strongest appeal. He feels what he sees. He enjoys; he suffers. Upon his sensitive nature falls the shadow of the cloud, and his thought at once changes to somber melancholy, to doubt, to gloomy forebodings. The cloud breaks away, and his spirit becomes radiant as the light. He gathers the sunbeams in his arms. He turns his face upward to the blue pavilion, and pours forth his ecstatic dream in a rhapsody of the skies. But he speaks only of what he sees and feels. His gratified senses are the sources of his song.

The sage looks at nature, not in her effects upon his senses and imagination, not in respect to the forces which lie behind her visible forms, but in *the relations of her parts*. By him every phenomenon is attributed to some other, and that to some other still. To him each fact is itself the cause of the fact which succeeds it. All things are related and dependent, and the highest knowledge is to understand the laws of these relations and dependencies. By such knowledge man may be able to control the conditions under which he exists, and to augment his happiness by an alliance with Nature rather than by the worship of the gods.

In all times the leading minds of the world have busied themselves with one or the other of these interpretations of Nature. In the primitive ages, however, when thought and feeling and emotion—sensibility, will, and passion—were still commingled in the glowing minds of men, it generally happened that the priest was in part a prophet. The sage was in some sense a philosopher; and the seer in his higher and nobler moods broke forth into song.

Of such sort were the Wise Men of Chaldæa. The interpretation of nature through the mingled oracles of priest and bard and prophet was the ground-work of that half-mythical and half-scientific lore which, at the first Chaldæan, became disseminated throughout Western Asia. To trace the paths of the stars through the sky, to note the approximation and divergence of the planets, and to estimate the influence of this ever-changing aspect on the affairs of

men,—such was the work of the priests. To show how the prosperity and reverses of the Empire depended upon conjunctions and oppositions in the skies, was a duty which has made the name Chaldæan synonymous in all ages with seer and prophet. In the Book of Daniel the Chaldæans are spoken of as the interpreters of stars and signs, and the same reputation is diffused in the literature of all nations. Until to-day, in the high light of civilization, the idea of *some* kind of domination of the stars over the affairs of human life has hardly released its hold on the minds of men; and the language of the old Chaldæan ritual of signs[1] has still a familiar sound in the ears of the credulous.

[1] The following application of star-lore to the affairs of life has been deciphered from a tablet discovered at Nineveh: "If Jupiter is seen in the month of Tammuz, there will be corpses. If Venus comes opposite the star of the fish, there will be devastation. If the star of the great lion is gloomy, the heart of the people will not rejoice. If the moon is seen on the first day of the month, Accad will prosper."

The intellectual grandeur of the Chaldæans ended with the Assyrian ascendency. The sages and dreamers of the South shrank back before the brandishing sword of the North. But the nobler part of Chaldæa, as of every nation and kindred, could not perish. The mighty works which were accomplished by the race of men who brought Lower Mesopotamia into the civilized condition are hardly any longer to be distinguished from the dust of the plain; but that beautiful astrological idolatry, of which they were the authors, has entered into the dreams and poems of all lands, and has pierced with its tender light even the gloom and melancholy of Byron:

"Ye stars! which are the poetry of heaven!
If in your bright leaves we would read the fate
Of men and empires,—'t is to be forgiven
That in our aspirations to be great
Our destinies o'erleap their mortal state,
And claim a kindred with you; for ye are
A beauty and a mystery, and create
In us such love and reverence from afar,
That fortune, fame, power, life have named themselves a star." —*Childe Harold.*

MAP II.

THE WORLD

AS KNOWN TO THE

MESOPOTAMIAN NATIONS.

From Thalheimer's Ancient History, by permission.

Scale of Miles.

0 100 200 300 400 500 1000

Book Third.

ASSYRIA.

CHAPTER XI.—COUNTRY AND PRODUCTS.

OF the general character of the country called ASSYRIA something has already been said. In the description of Chaldæa a sketch was also given of the more important region on the north. Upper Mesopotamia is strongly discriminated from the low-lying Babylonian plain. The latter is an alluvium which in the course of ages has been created by the action of the rivers; the former is an upland district, swelling into plateaus, rising into hills and ridges. The natural limits of the country are in some parts indistinct, and the political boundaries of the Assyrian Empire were at different epochs fluctuating and uncertain.

The chief seat of imperial power in Assyria lay on the Tigris, between the thirty-fifth and thirty-seventh parallels of north latitude. This region may be regarded as the geographical and political center of that vast dominion which for several centuries held the ascendency in Western Asia. The territory, however, which may be properly included under the name Assyria had a much wider limit than the two degrees of latitude which included its vital part.

The ancient historians—Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo—give no satisfactory account of the boundaries of the country. The first considered Chaldæa to be but a district of Assyria; the second made Assyria and Mesopotamia identical; while the third included Kurdistan on the east and Syria on the west under the common name.

If in order to discover the true limits of the country we turn to nature, we shall find on the east the well-defined barrier of the Zagros mountain range. This chain, which in the upper course of the Tigris presses moderately close to the river, makes a detour eastward, including the ancient provinces of Adiabene and Chalonitis, and constituting in that direction the natural boundary of the country. On the south, also, the limit of Assyria is plainly indicated in the descent from the upland to the alluvium—a line already defined as extending from Is to Samarah. On the Mesopotamian side of the Tigris the determination of a boundary is more dif-

ficult; but the best view, whether geographical or historical, is that which makes the western and south-western boundary of Assyria to be the Euphrates. On the north, that branch of the Armenian mountains known as the Mons Masius may be properly taken as the natural limit of the country. Within all this extensive area, and even beyond its borders, unmistakable traces of the great Assyrian race are to be found; and if the provinces and kingdoms conquered by this people were to be included, the boundaries would have to be greatly extended in all directions.

The maximum length of Assyria, measured diagonally from north-west to south-east, was about three hundred and fifty miles; the greatest breadth, three hundred miles. But the average length and breadth of the country were not nearly so great. The whole area of the region included in the irregular boundaries above given was not less than seventy-five thousand square miles—a district equal to the State of Nebraska, and not much below the area of Great Britain.

During the period of her ascendency, Assyria surpassed in territorial extent any of the nations with which she came in contact.[1] The great breadth of the Assyrian dominions, no less than the fortunate geographical position of Mesopotamia and the vigor of the race, contributed to the power and perpetuity of the Empire.

Assyria is divided by the Tigris into an eastern and a western part. The former stretches from the river across the plains and up the slopes of the Zagros; the latter, lying west of the Tigris, looks to the Mesopotamian uplands and is bordered afar by the Euphrates. The eastern region is amply supplied with water. A thousand springs and rivulets bursting from the mountain sides gather and rush along, combining as they near the Tigris into rapid streams and swelling rivers. On the north, also, the region is copiously watered; for the high ranges of Armenia send down to the plains a perennial supply. The central and southern region is less favored. The rivers of Mesopotamia, on the side of the Tigris, are neither numerous nor abundant in water. On the side of the Euphrates a few important tributaries are found at intervals, but all the south-western district between the thirty-sixth parallel and the northern limit of Chaldæa is an arid and unfruitful country, with many of the features of the Arabian waste.

Taken all in all, the upland region rising into hills and ridges between the Euphrates and the Tigris could not be truthfully described as fertile or as possessing any great incentives to civilization. Only in that central part, stretching in all directions from the site of Nineveh, were the fruitfulness of the soil, the salubrity of the atmosphere, and the general aspects of nature, of such sort as to reäct powerfully upon the faculties of man.

Eastern Assyria, that is, the part between the Tigris and the foot of the Zagros, is a country half hilly and half alluvial in its character. Ranges of hills, parallel with each other, and at right angles with the mountains, divide the district into a succession of valleys, broadening into that of the Tigris, fertile and highly favored. From the great river to the mountain foot is about one hundred and forty miles. The maximum breadth is attained above the thirty-fifth parallel, and from this latitude southward East Assyria narrows gradually to a point at the junction of the Gyndes with the Tigris, a short distance below Baghdad. In the river-beds the streams lie low, filling their banks only in the seasons of rain. The hills and ridges are built of limestone, and their upper slopes are covered with stunted brushwood and dwarf oaks.

Beginning above the thirty-seventh parallel and on the east bank of the Tigris, the rivers of Assyria are, first, the Kurnib, a mountain stream of rapid flow and considerable volume. The next, and greatest, is the Zab Ala, or Greater Zab, which flows with broad and steady current through the district of the most important Assyrian ruins—the region about Nineveh and Calah—and enters the

[1] The great kingdoms and empires of antiquity are dwarfed by territorial comparison with the nations of modern times. But by the aggregation of many populous cities within a narrow district, a degree of compactness and political concentration was obtained which is hardly surpassed in the more diffuse civilizations of the present.

Tigris, after a course of three hundred and fifty miles, in latitude 36° N. The Zab Asfal, or Lesser Zab, drains the ancient province of Adiabene, and the Adhem gathers its waters from the brooks of Chalonitis and falls into the main river about the thirty-fourth parallel. Last of the principal streams of Eastern Assyria is the Diyaleh, the classical Gyndes, which forms the south-western boundary of the country from the mountains of Kurdistan to the Tigris at Baghdad.

On the Mesopotamian bank, that is, in WESTERN ASSYRIA, the streams are neither many nor abundant. The tributaries of the Tigris on this side are mere creeks, but a few miles in length, and generally dry for the greater part of the year. Far to the north, however, in the district of Mons Masius, the streams are perennial, and the country, though half-mountainous, is plentifully supplied with springs and brooks. Into the Euphrates, from the side of Mesopotamia, fall only the two rivers, the Belik or Belichus, which drains the ancient Padan-Aram, and the Khabur, which waters a considerable region between the thirty-fifth parallel and the mountainous country of Mygdonia.

The traveler, as he stands on the undulating plateau lying south of Mons Masius, sees around him a somewhat elevated, but almost featureless, region, well-nigh as level and devoid of charm as is the waste of Arabia. Nevertheless, the surface of this district, like the American plains, rises and falls; and the country is far from being a sea-level flat like the alluvial region of Lower Mesopotamia. The streams of this district are few, and sink into the niter-sprinkled soil. Rains are rare and scanty, and the water which pours from occasional springs is frequently brackish and unfit for use.

Westward from the Khabur are the hills of Abdul-Aziz, an upheaved region covered with fragments of basalt, and presenting here and there the cones of extinct volcanoes. This part of Mesopotamia is favored with one small lake—the Khatouniyeh—oblong in shape, with low and sedgy banks, abounding in water-fowl and fish.

THE TIGRIS AT NINEVEH.

Western Assyria is divided into a northern and a southern slope by a range of hills called the Sinjar. This elevation stretches midway across the country from the Khabur to the Tigris below Nineveh, and constitutes the principal water-shed of Mesopotamia. The range is an upheaval of shaly limestone, fossiliferous in character, and in some parts mountainous in magnitude. Down the broken sides of this great ridge many springs pour their feeble contribution of water, but the

resulting streams are small and soon sink into the plains.

The slopes of the Sinjar are sufficiently fertile to produce fine orchards and fields of grain. The native forests are of considerable importance and extend even to the summit of the range. The country west of Nineveh is a well-wooded region, and the slopes of the hills descending to the river are in many places picturesque and beautiful.

To the south of the Sinjar range lies the flat, unbroken plain which Xenophon declares to be "a country as level as the sea, and full of wormwood;" adding that, "if any other shrub or reed grew there it had a sweet, aromatic smell, but there was not a tree in the whole region." Only one river of any consequence waters the country between the ridges of Sinjar and the northern limit of Chaldæa. This is the Tharthar, which flows in a direction parallel to that of the Tigris, and drops into a salt lake in 34° 30′ N.

Such are the natural features of Assyria. It does not appear that, to any considerable extent, the physical outlines of the country were used as the basis of political divisions. In the earlier development of a consolidated empire, such as the Assyrian monarchy, little importance is attached to provincial boundaries. The Assyrians did not themselves cultivate geography as zealously as did the Western nations; and we are accordingly dependent upon Greek travelers for most of what is known concerning the political divisions of Mesopotamia and the adjacent regions. It is from the geographers Strabo, Dionysius, and Ptolemy, that our information on this subject is chiefly derived. The writers of the Old Testament have also given us some valuable data respecting the names and positions of the Assyrian provinces. The knowledge derived from this source, combined with that which is gleaned from the classical geographers, furnishes a fair degree of certainty concerning the main outlines of the political districts of Assyria.

The central province—that which included Nineveh—was called ATURIA, which is merely the Persian spelling of the word Assyria. This district lying chiefly, but not wholly, on the east bank of the Tigris, stretches from the Greater Zab northward to above the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude, including within its limits the sites of the great central cities of the Empire. Between the Greater and the Lesser Zab lies the province of ADIABENE, in which are the ruins of Arbela. Still further south, between the Lesser Zab and the Gyndes, are the two provinces of CHALONITIS and APOLLONIATIS, the latter lying along the Tigris, and the former extending eastward to the mountains of Kurdistan. Such are the principal divisions of Eastern Assyria.

In Mesopotamia Proper, several provinces are mentioned by Strabo—ACABENE, TINGENE, ANCOBARITIS—the position and boundaries of which have not been determined. Far to the north, at the base of the Mons Masius, is the great district called by the Greeks MYGDONIA.[1] It lies to the north of the Sinjar mountains, and is drained by the tributaries of the Khabur. To the west of this, in the upper bend of the Euphrates, is the district called PADAN-ARAM—an ancient name occurring in Genesis, but not mentioned by Strabo or Ptolemy.

The limits of the provincial districts of the Assyrian Empire were, like the boundaries of the Empire itself, somewhat shifting and unsettled. There is no doubt, however, that the provinces of what may be properly called Assyria were as numerous and extensive as here described. In every part of these wide regions, with the exception of the arid plain about the intersection of the thirty-fifth degree of latitude with the forty-second meridian, fragments and ruins of Assyrian greatness are plentifully scattered. The supposition that the Empire was limited to the east bank of the Tigris has no foundation in fact. Three out of the four capital cities were built on that side of the river; but in Western Aturia, also in Adiabene and Apolloniatis, in Mygdonia and on the lower Khabur, the remains of cities and palaces indicate unmistakably the presence of imperial power and grandeur.

Assyria was fortified by nature. Along the eastern frontier lay the ramparts of the

[1] In the writings of Ptolemy this province is called Gauzanitis—the same as the Gozan mentioned in Second Kings.

Zagros—a succession of mountainous ridges, rising grandly ten thousand feet into summits clad in snow. As the Alps to Italy, so stood these lofty battlements to the fruitful lowlands and plains of Mesopotamia. The few gateways in the fastnesses of the Zagros are almost impassable even in summer, and the warlike races who dwelt beyond were quite shut out from foray and incursion.

On the north the Assyrian plateau was equally defended. Here the mountains of Armenia form an insurmountable bulwark. The summits are perpetually snow-capped, and the deep gorges are impassable. This great range stands nearly at right-angles to the Zagros, and rises abruptly from the plain, of which it is the natural rampart. Military operations in such a region are impossible, and in this fact are found the natural conditions of that warlike independence immemorially enjoyed by the native tribes of Armenia. Like the Swiss among the Alps, the fierce mountaineers who overlooked Assyria from the north smiled at military menace and scorned the subjection of the peoples of the plain.

On the west and south-west Assyria is skirted by the wastes of Syria and Arabia. Beyond the Euphrates westward, and above the thirty-sixth parallel of latitude, lies the rocky desert of the Hittites, with its capital Carchemish; while to the south stretch away the illimitable sands of Arabia. The obstacles to invasion from this direction were few and inconsiderable, but the paucity of the population which could be sustained on the blackened hills of Syria and the scorched sanddunes of Arabia was a barrier quite as effectual as the ridges and snows of the Zagros and the Armenian highlands.

The southern border of the Empire was by nature the weakest. On the side of Chaldæa the country lay open to hostile demonstrations; nor can it be doubted that the relations, both warlike and pacific, of the Assyrians and Chaldæans are to be traced in large measure to the feeble demarkation drawn by nature between the two countries. To create and maintain the line which was naturally wanting the peoples of Upper and Lower Mesopotamia resorted to dykes and canals; but these, even when grand in extent and construction, could furnish but a poor substitute for those immense and imperishable bulwarks of stone—the mountains.

The climate of Assyria was as varied as her physical outline. The degree of elevation, the character of the soil, the latitude, the proximity of mountain, river, or desert—all contributed to give variety to atmospheric phenomena, and variability to the aspects of nature. For convenience of discussion the whole of Assyria may be divided into four climatic districts. The first of these is Eastern Assyria—the country beyond the Tigris. The second is Northern Mesopotamia, being that part which is under the immediate influence of the Armenian mountains. The third division is Central Mesopotamia, including the northern and southern slopes of the Sinjar; and the fourth is Southern Assyria—being that portion which borders on the plains of Chaldæa.

The climate of Eastern Assyria is cool and moist. The proximity of the Zagros with its snowy heights reduces the temperature, wakes the breeze, sends down the showers of rain. Even in summer, when rains are more rare, copious dews are distilled by night, refreshing vegetation and cooling the atmosphere. In winter and early spring there is a heavy rainfall, and the streams run bankful down to join the Tigris. Very rarely does the terrible *sherghi*, or hot wind of the desert, blow its withering breath on the green slopes of Adiabene and Chalonitis. Snow falls, but scantily, in December and January, and ice of considerable thickness forms on the ponds and brooks. Farther to the south, in Apolloniatis, the climate grows more torrid, approximating that of Chaldæa. The winters but slightly chill the traveler; the summers scorch and burn.

The climate of Northern Mesopotamia is rather severe. The temperature falls to ten degrees below zero. Winter lasts for half the year. The elevation of the country about the head-waters of the Tigris is as much as one thousand three hundred feet above the level of the sea. The close proximity of the snow-

covered mountains on the north renders the atmosphere invigorating in summer, and in winter adds rigor to the climate. Snow prevails, falling to great depth in the gorges. The spring is late and chill; the early summer brings abundance of blossoms; July and August have excessive heat, the temperature rising to 110° or even 115° in the shade. The whole range of the thermometer from winter to summer is above 120 degrees, being as great as in any country in the world.

The climate of Central Mesopotamia is milder than in Mygdonia and the north. Here it seldom snows, except on the summits of the Abdul-Aziz and the Sinjar. The winter is no more than four months in length; the spring is as charming as in any region of the globe; for a short season the landscape is carpeted with the richest verdure and adorned with the most beautiful and fragrant flowers; but in midsummer comes that intense heat from which Central and Southern Mesopotamia have always suffered. From noon till night of the summer day nor man nor beast can well endure the glow of the furnace. Fortunately, with nightfall the fiery heat subsides, and the nights and early mornings are not unpleasant. Anon the calm of the day is broken by storms of rain and thunder and hail, bursting from the Sinjar. The tempests are of almost tropical violence, furious with contending winds and lurid with incessant lightnings. After the storm has lashed itself to rest, the earth and air are refreshed, and animals and man find a pleasant respite from the heat. The autumn throughout the greater part of Western Assyria is remarkably fine, suggesting the halcyon days by the banks of an American river.

As Southern Assyria narrows and sinks into the alluvial plain of Chaldæa, the torrid element in the climate becomes more pronounced. A strictly tropical country can not, of course, be found as far north as the thirty-fourth parallel; but the districts of Lower Assyria, too far inland to be moderated by the ocean, too far from the mountains to feel the invigoration of their snows, and near enough to tne hot sands of Arabia to inhale their fiery vapor, may well be regarded as suffering all the ills of the tropics—and without the tropical charm.

It is not to be doubted that in ancient times the climate of these regions was considerably modified by the agency of man. The waters of the two great rivers were carried far into what are now desert districts, and were distributed in channels over the surface of the country. By this means the soil was irrigated and the air cooled. Vegetation, springing rank along the banks of the canals, became at once a cause and an effect of growth and moisture. As far as the power of man could thus be extended the arid wastes were planted with trees and cities. Still, in the greater part of Southern Assyria the country can never have been fertile; and the district between the river Khabur and the northern confines of Chaldæa has always been what it was in the times of Cyrus and Alexander—a country of extreme heat and barren deserts. Xenophon declares that there was no meadow, no tree, no leaf or twig of green, but only a herbless waste, parched by the heat of the sun.

There is, perhaps, no country in the world which is subject to such great changes in the appearance of the landscape as in Assyria. In the spring the sudden outburst of verdure spreads a carpet of green grass and brilliant flowers on every hand in infinite profusion; but no sooner is the summer ushered in than green gives place to yellow, freshness to sterility, life to death. The same district which seems in April and May to be a boundless prairie of blossoms and foliage is in a few weeks burnt to a crisp, blackened and desolate as Arabia.

In modern times the inhabitants of Southern Assyria are dependent upon the course of nature for whatever they produce. Irrigation is but little practiced, and only the sudden gush of seasonable weather in the spring prevents the reduction of the country to a desert. While the pastures are still green from the continuance of the early rains the flocks find a luxuriant supply; and there is even time before the beginning of the drought for the production and harvest of an abundant crop of those cereals which are adapted to short

seasons. After that, all herbage begins to shrivel, the streams dry up to their fountains, and the earth becomes as barren as the alkaline plains east of the Rocky Mountains.

Notwithstanding the fierce summer heats and the long continued drouths to which Assyria is exposed there is no other country better situated by nature for the artificial distribution of water, and the consequent favorable modification of its climate. For hundreds of miles from their sources the Euphrates and the Tigris have so great a fall as to make practicable and easy the distribution of their wealth through all the thirsty districts of which they form the boundaries. Nor were the ancient Assyrians slow to avail themselves of the suggestion of nature respecting the watering of their plains. Besides the canals and aqueducts, the ruins of which are plentifully scattered in Assyria as well as in Chaldæa, much evidence exists of the skill of the people in lifting water from the rivers and distributing it for the use of man and the refreshing of the fields.[1] Machinery of many kinds was erected along the banks of the Tigris, as along the river of Egypt, by which the fertilizing fluid was lifted and borne to where it was required. By this means large districts which are now, from the brief continuance of the spring showers, reduced to a precarious state, with a minimum of population, were, in the times of the Empire, the seat of abundance and luxury—crowded with great markets and populous cities.

The products of Eastern Assyria are not very fully recorded by the classical authors. The olive grew in Chalonitis. Pliny in his *Natural History* speaks disparagingly of the quality of the Assyrian dates. Spices and aromatic plants were found in the valleys east of the Tigris. Xenophon enumerates sesame, millet, wheat, and barley as the principal grain products of Mesopotamia. For its citron trees Assyria was famous from antiquity. They not only gave fruit to the hand, and fragance to the sense, but were also esteemed as to leaves and blossoms for their invaluable medicinal properties. The tree was native to the country, and has never flourished equally in any other region. Silk was also, according to Pliny, a natural product of Assyria, the worm producing it being of a peculiar species and unusually large.

It is rather by the present productions of Mesopotamia than by incidental references thereto by ancient travelers and historians that we are enabled to form a true idea of the vegetable and mineral resources of the empire of Sargon and Sennacherib. The general climatic conditions remain unchanged, and the modifying influence of human skill may be fairly estimated. To begin with the fruits, the most important are, as they no doubt were twenty-five centuries ago, the orange, the pomegranate, the apricot, the lemon, the olive, the fig, the grape, the apple, the pear, the quince, the plum, the cherry, melons of many kinds, filberts, pistachio-nuts, and chestnuts. The orange flourishes only in Southern Mesopotamia, and those semi-tropical parts bordering on Chaldæa. The pomegranate grows in all the provinces except where the chill of the mountain peaks is too perceptibly felt. The native place of the fig is on the slopes of the Sinjar and the hills of Abdul-Aziz. Here too the vineyards flourish, as also further south. The lemon accompanies the orange; and the orchards of apples and pears are most productive on the ridges of Chalonitis and Aturia. Along the spurs of the Zagros the olive grows wild, while the fragmentary woods of the north are enriched with abundance of filberts and chestnuts. In the valleys of Eastern Assyria melons flourish, and the pear and the plum produce fairly on both banks of the Tigris.

The edible vegetables of Assyria still more abound. Capers and esculent mushrooms are native to large districts. Beans and peas and lentils yield abundantly and without much labor. Onions, cucumbers, and spinach, and indeed most of the garden products of the United States, have been immemorially cultivated in Assyria. One of the commonest

[1] At one place in Aturia the water of the Tigris was carried in a tunnel through the hills and then conducted a distance of eight miles in a direction opposite to that of the tributary streams. The aqueduct was supplied with locks and other contrivances for regulating the supply and flow of the current.

shrubs of the country is that odorous *absinthium*, or wormwood, mentioned by Xenophon. Its native place is Western Mesopotamia in the region south of the Khabur. Here also are occasional groves of tamarisk near the river. The most beautiful of the natural growths of the sparse woodlands are the myrtles and oleanders, which lift their large and brilliant blossoms in great profusion along the banks of the eastern tributaries of the Tigris; nor should mention be omitted of the famous *Salix Babylonica*, or weeping willow, whose delicate drooping sprays have been the admiration of all peoples.

The list of Assyrian products would not be complete without a mention of manna. It is chiefly secreted by the dwarf oak, from the branches of which, under favoring conditions, it is gathered in considerable quantities. Other trees and shrubs also yield a supply, but less abundantly; and in seasons of plentiful moisture, especially during the prevalence of foggy weather, the manna is distilled on rocks or even in the sand. This variety, though scant in quantity, is greatly prized. In times of drouth there is no secretion at all.

The seasons of the manna harvest are spring and autumn. At these times it is gathered by being shaken upon cloths spread under the oaks. The manna preserves its sweetness only for a brief period after being collected. If not eaten in its natural state it soon sours and becomes offensive. In order to prevent decay, and to give the product a mercantile value, it is boiled into a kind of paste, which can be preserved in cans and transported like other articles of the market.

The mineral supply of Assyria is much more varied and important than that of Chaldæa. Throughout Mesopotamia, as well as in the provinces beyond the Tigris, limestone and sandstone are plentifully distributed. The Mons Masius is built of basaltic rock—a substance almost as firm and heavy as the Syenite of Upper Egypt. The base of the Zagros is packed with several fine varieties of marble, and in Aturia and Adiabene, along the Tigris, beds of gray alabaster furnish a material for the sculptor's chisel hardly surpassed by the soft marbles of Italy. The Assyrian clay, though unequal in quality to that of the Chaldæan plain, is nevertheless well distributed and of superior quality.

Eastern Assyria had a wealth of metals. In the immediate vicinity of Nineveh are found rich mines of iron, copper, and lead. The ores crop out of the hill-sides and are exposed to view where they were worked by the ancients. In the mountainous regions of the upper Tigris the same metals are found. The Kurdish ranges have mines of silver, tin, and antimony; nor is it improbable that some of the gold of the palaces of the Assyrian monarchs was produced within the limits of the Empire.

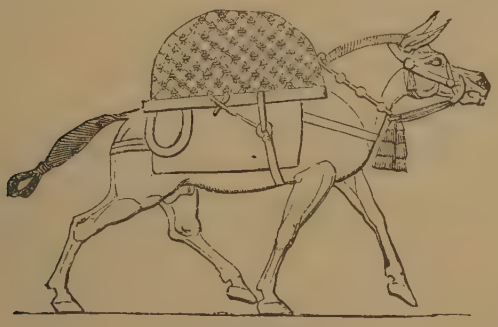
Other valuable minerals abounded in different districts. Sulphur, alum, and salt were articles of exportation. In the country between the Lower Zab and the Gyndes inexhaustible supplies of bitumen, naphtha, and petroleum were drawn from pits and wells. Further north, near Nineveh, there were petroleum springs which furnished perennial streams of the same materials. Salt was produced from springs found in the same locality and also from a few salt lakes in Mesopotamia.

The animal life of Assyria was as varied as the climate. Wild beasts, such as are peculiar to deserts, as well as those whose lairs are in the mountains, abounded both in Mesopotamia and in Assyria beyond the Tigris. The lion roamed over the wastes of the south-west, and was also seen on the cliffs of the Sinjar.[1] In similar situations the leopard, the lynx, and the hyena were found; and the tiger, which is not now a native of this part of Asia, was quite certainly among those creatures with which the primitive Assyrians had to contend for the mastery.

Among the other animals—beasts of the hill-country rather than of of the plain—may be mentioned the bear, the jackal, the

[1] Assyrian lions are generally represented in the sculptures as maneless. In some cases the drawing shows a peculiar, horny claw at the end of the tail, half hidden in the tuft of hair—an eccentric feature not known to exist in any living species. In some of the sculptures the lion is shown with a mane, in which case he is a fair counterpart of the lion of the African desert.

wild boar, and the fox. The wild sheep, the ibex, and the gazelle were of the mountains. The wolf, the porcupine, the badger, and the hare were, for the most part, limited to the plains and to regions of moderate elevation. The ibex abounded in the Zagros and in the highest ranges of the Sinjar and Abdul-Aziz. The deer was found only in Eastern



ASSYRIAN MULE.
From the Sculptures.

Assyria, near the mountains. The hyena, the lynx, and the beaver were not very common. The last-named animal—differing somewhat in form and instincts from the American beaver—had his habitat on the Khabur, where, until his race was hunted almost to extinction, he built his house and flourished.

According to Xenophon, the most common animal in the region south of the Khabur was the wild ass. At the present day, however, the creature is rare and has even been thought to be extinct in its native country. This supposition is incorrect, the animal still being found in the district in which it was seen by the Greek historian. The Assyrian wild ass is of the genus *Equus*, is delicate in form and color, and exceedingly swift of foot, insomuch that, when adult and vigorous, it outstrips all other animals in flight. The young of the species are sometimes taken by the Arabs, but pine and die under domestication.

The Assyrian sculptors delighted in drawing animal forms. The inscriptions of Nimrod, Khorsabad, Koyunjik, and Nineveh abound in carvings of wild beasts. The forms of the lion, the leopard, the tiger, the wild boar and ass, the mule, the stag, and the gazelle were in great favor with artists, and the skill with which these animals are carved would, in many cases, do credit to Greece.

The domestic animals of modern Assyria are mostly of species common in Europe and America. And to these must be added the camel. The horse was in use in Mesopotamia, for the saddle but not for draught, long before his introduction into Egypt. Judging from the sculptures, as well as from the existing breeds of the country, the Assyrian animal is, for speed, symmetry, and power, fully the equal of the modern Arabian. From time immemorial the chief wealth of the native tribes of Southern Assyria has consisted in horses. Anciently, as well as to-day, travelers, princes, and kings gratified their pride and ambition by purchasing, albeit at fabulous figures, the fleet and beautiful steeds of the Mesopotamian and Arabian wastes. The Assyrian horses are less in stature than the heavier breeds of the West, but of exquisite symmetry of form and grace of movement.

The cattle of Assyria are relatively poor in quality. Not so, however, the sheep and goats. The former are of good size and well-wooled, furnishing fine, heavy fleeces and a superior article of food. The goat, as in most oriental countries, is the principal dependence of the people for milk and cheese. Asses and mules are chiefly used for carrying burdens and drawing loads—a task to which the horse

ASSYRIAN PARTRIDGE.

is never subjected. In long journeys requiring speed, endurance, and docility, the faithful camel lends his unflagging strength and unfailing patience. There are two species—camels proper and dromedaries, the latter being the more fleet and sagacious.[1]

[1] The two-humped camel of Bactria is no longer found in Assyria, though the sculptures show that he was known in the times of the Empire.

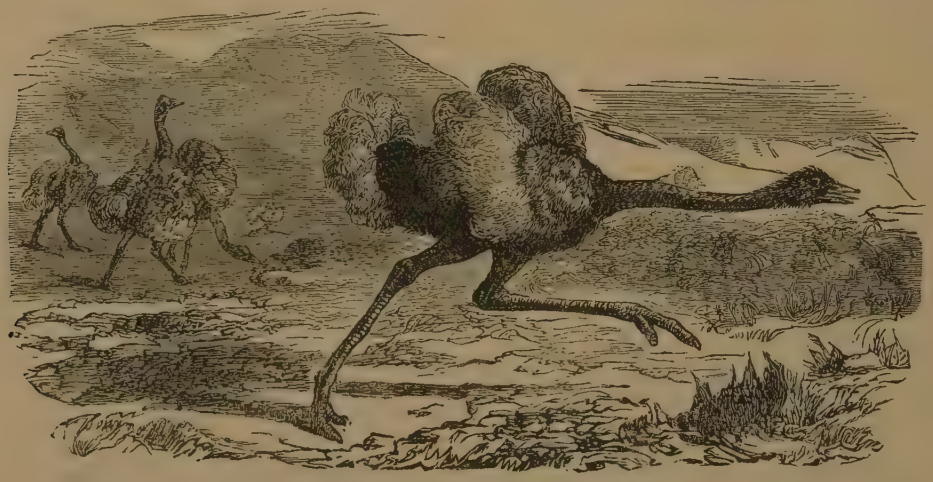
The domestic animals of ancient Assyria were nearly the same as those of the present day. The monuments show that the camel was more in use by the enemy than by the Assyrians themselves. The donkey was not in use. The dogs were of a heavy and fierce-looking stock, resembling the mastiff, and quite unlike the fleet and slender greyhound of modern times.

The sculptures and tablets of ancient Assyria have made us acquainted with but three of the birds known to the people of the Empire. These are the vulture, the ostrich, and the partridge. No others have been identified with existing species. The vulture is exhibited in connection with battle scenes, where he is seen devouring the bodies of the slain. Sometimes he is made to execute poetical justice by pursuing and tearing the enemies of the king. The ostrich inhabited Mesopotamia below the Khabur, though he has long since abandoned that region for the wider freedom of the Arabian desert.[1] The partridge of two or three varieties was found in great abundance, and was the delight of sportsmen and gastronomers.

The birds at present inhabiting Assyria—which are no doubt identical with species existing in the country two thousand years ago—are nearly the same in character with those inhabiting like latitudes in Europe and America. The water-fowl—wild goose, wild duck, teal, tern, plover, sandpiper, and swan—are similar to those of the United States. The crane, the stork, the pelican, and the flamingo, have the same appearance, habits, and haunts which are peculiar to those species in the Southern States of the Union. The most noted Assyrian birds of prey are the eagle, the hawk, the falcon, and the owl. The song birds are the nightingale and the Seleucian thrush; and the birds of the desert and plain are—besides the ostrich—the great and lesser bustard, the sand-grouse, and the francolin.

Assyrian art furnishes abundant proof that the rivers and ponds were thronged with fish. The sculptures are not, however, of a sort to identify varieties, the forms being somewhat rude and conventional. At the present day the two great rivers of Assyria, as well as the smaller streams and the marshes, are crowded, as they no doubt have always been, with barbel and carp, which here grow to an unusual size. In the eastern tributaries of the Tigris, especially in the mountain brooks of the Zagros, trout are found, and in the deeper streams pickerel and pike.

Taken all in all, the physical environment of the ancient Assyrians was not materially different from that of the central latitudes of Europe and America. The variations from this standard were the presence of large waste



ASSYRIAN OSTRICHES.

[1] Xenophon describes the ostrich as seen on the line of march, pursued by hunters, fleeing with long strides across the desert, and "using its wings for sails."

districts, the absence of great forests, the fiery heats of summer, and the consequent appearance of semi-tropical plants and animals. In other respects the country in which the Empire planted by Tiglathi-Adar and Shalmaneser rose, flourished, and fell, possessed the same general antecedents of civilization, the same elements of power and development, the same incentives to human ambition and achievement, as have played upon the faculties of man in Central Europe and the United States.

CHAPTER XII.—PEOPLE AND CITIES.

ASSYRIA was peopled by the race of Shem. Whatever controversy has existed respecting the ethnic character of the primitive Chaldæans, concerning the race affinities of the Assyrians there is none. The vague conjectures, which until the present century were used as the foundation of historical writings, have given place to exact knowledge, resulting from antiquarian research and definite principles of criticism. Ancient traditions, the discoveries made among the ruins of the country, and the science of language, have all contributed their testimony as to the origin and kinship of the people who built the cities on the Tigris. The stock is called Semitic; its branches are the Aramaic, the Hebraic, and the Arabic. To the first of these, the Aramaic—that is, the race of Arâm, or the Highlands—belonged the Assyrians. The latter are thus allied by close affinity with the Syrians, the later Babylonians, the Phœnicians, the Hebrews, and the Northern Arabs. All these people had common progenitors, who, moving westward from Susiana or beyond, spread out into Mesopotamia and thence into Arabia and Syria. The language which has been preserved on the tablets, cylinders, and bricks of the Assyrian ruins is unmistakably of the same origin with the Hebrew and the Phœnician; and unless it could be shown—a thing never attempted—that the people of Upper Mesopotamia had changed their language in some primitive stage of their development, the proof of the Semitic character of the race is positively established.

If we pass from the language of the Assyrians to the traditions of various nations, we find additional evidence of the kinship of Asshur and Shem. In the Book of Genesis, the ancestor of the Assyrians is classified with the progenitors of the Aramæans, the Hebrews, and the Northern Arabs. The inhabitants of

NINEVITE HERO, SHOWING TYPICAL PHYSIOGNOMY.

Kurdistan, who are regarded as the descendants of the Assyrians, not only speak a Semitic language, but believe themselves to be of the same race with the Arabs and Israelites. The same tradition was held by the people of Assyria themselves, who in their brief historical fragments recognize as their kinsmen the Syrians, the later Babylonians, the Phœnicians, and the Joktanian Arabs. Whatever hesitancy

there may be on the part of some historians and ethnologists to use the term "Semitic" as descriptive of one of the primitive families of mankind, there can be none as it respects the question of classifying in one group the peoples of ancient Assyria, Northern Arabia, Syria, and Canaan.

An examination of the physical characteristics of the Assyrians tends to establish the same conclusion. The art of these people has preserved their face and form and stature. On examining the Assyrian sculptures, even

ASSYRIAN KING.

the uncritical can but be struck with the resemblance of the form and features to those of the Hebrews. Here we have the same face which is seen among the Jewish captives of Amenophis III. on the monuments of Egypt. The Assyrian physiognomy, as determined by the sculptures exhumed from the ruins of Nimrud and Khorsabad, is identical with that which the Israelite has made familiar to all the world. The forehead is low and straight; the brow prominent; the eyes large and oriental; the nose aquiline and sometimes coarse; the mouth firm-set; the lips rather thick; the chin strong and symmetrical. The same countenance belongs, with slight variations, to the Bedouin Arabs, and with no variation to the present inhabitants of Kurdistan. Such were also the features of the Syrians and Phœnicians, and wherever a Hebrew is found, in any quarter of the world, there the type is perpetuated.

In person the ancient Assyrians were stronger and heavier than any existing Semites except the Kurdistanese. The Arab of to-day is rather light and slender. The Hebrew of the Orient has not the short, stout body peculiar to his kinsmen of the West. The ancient Assyrian was brawny and powerful. The tremendous limbs depicted in the sculptures of Nimrud suggest to the beholder the massive muscles and incalculable strength of gladiators. The weapons which they handle and the sports in which they engage show that the Assyrians, more than any other Asiatic people of their times, were men of the heroic mold. And the sculptors, to whose delineations we owe our knowledge of this robust and vigorous race, seem to have taken delight in doing full justice to the brawny limbs and powerful breasts of their countrymen.

In the traits of mind exhibited by the Assyrians there is additional evidence of their Semitic origin. Like the Israelites and the Arabs, the people of Assyria were devoted to religion. The public documents—statutes, edicts, and proclamations of the kings—which the tablets have preserved are characterized by the same iteration of religious forms which marks all the literary productions of the Semitic race. Prayers, invocations, solemn appeals to their gods, praise to the hidden power who ripens the first fruits and gives the victory in war—such are the dominant ideas in the laws and state papers of the Assyrian kings, and such have ever been the prevailing forms of expression in all branches of this family of men. The Bedouin of to-day who dismounts from his camel and prostrates himself on the gleaming sand of the desert bears not more certain testimony to his race affinity than did the inhabitants of Upper Mesopotamia in their prayers, and psalms, and proclamations. The language is the tongue of Israel,

though used in the praises of Baal and Astarte.

The ancient Assyrians were a people of extraordinary valor. Everywhere man is seen in heroic action. He struggles with the adversary. With the strong lion he grapples hand to hand. Against all the ferocious creatures of the deserts and mountains he goes forth without trepidation. Nothing can surpass the defiant courage with which he hazards his person in the conflict. He meets the wild bull, maddened with wounds, and brings him bellowing to his knees. He quails, not before any aspect of man or beast, but with firm set lips and eyes fixed on his antagonist bends to the struggle and rises victorious.

ASSYRIANS GOING TO BATTLE.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

The stalwart character and aggressive bearing of the Assyrians were particularly shown in war. The same ferocity which they manifested in the pursuit and destruction of beasts they also exhibited in hunting men. The sculptures show that the feeling of the Assyrians towards the foe was one, not of hostility only, but of hatred and contempt. Against the enemy the bow is drawn with vindictive willingness. The dead of the vanquished army are trampled in the dust, and their bodies mutilated, in proof of the victorious vengeance of the conqueror. The heads of the slain are chopped off with swords and enumerated by a scribe, indifferent as a hunter counting his game. Before the walls of a mutinous city the bodies of the rebels are impaled on stakes. Others of the dead are flayed; for the skins are an article of mer-

ASSYRIAN WAR CHARIOT.

chandise; and anon a group of captives appear, led by cords with rings inserted in the under lips of the prisoners, after the manner of leading beasts. This, however, is true only

of captive men: women the Assyrian soldiers treat with respect and tenderness.

In personal bearing the Assyrians were characterized by pride and haughtiness. The inscriptions and tablets are filled with vain-glorious boasting. The other nations are described as cowards, whose gods have abandoned them for shame. Fools also are the aliens, unworthy of the favor of either earth or heaven. They are fit only to be spurned—ground under the heel of Assyria, whose cities are great, whose armies are always victorious, whose gods are wise and mighty. No good thing is conceded to foreign nations. They are weak, effeminate; even their own deities have given them over to merited destruction. Like the language of the Greeks and the Romans respecting the barbarians is this jargon of Assyrian pride towards the peoples beyond the borders of the Empire. Like Jewish anathemas poured on the heads of the Gentiles is this pompous strain of self-adulation wherewith the Assyrians celebrated themselves and disparaged the neighboring nations.

CAPTIVES OF THE ASSYRIANS.

The historians and prophets of Israel denounce the Assyrians as a people of cunning and cruelty. Part of this may, no doubt, be charged to the enmity existing between the two nations; but it is clear that the people of Assyria were not free from subtle and treacherous practices. Craft and cruelty were, however, as they are to-day, the common vices of the Asiatics; and the frenzied denunciations of Jewish authors come with a bad grace considering that their own annals are stained with deceit and treachery and blood. If the Assyrians were in the habit of breaking their treaties, so also were the Greeks. If the people of Nineveh and Babylon were crafty in peace, and perfidious in war, so too were the Phœnicians and the Romans. On the whole, the moral standard of the Assyrians, and their consequent conduct in the practical affairs of life, were not different from that of other ancient nations inflamed by successful conquests, and made arrogant by the possession of unlimited power.

In their luxurious habits the later Assyrians resembled the Romans. In the early epochs of the robust and manly virtues foreign wars swept into the capital city, as afterwards into Rome, legions of captives, trains of spoils and treasures. The great monarchs of the Empire, corrupted by riches and booty, then began to set the example of voluptuous living. Princes and priests vied with each other in luxury; and the people, who might have been capable of liberty, fell into licentiousness. The philosophy of Assyria, teaching that happiness was at one with license, gave the reign to individual will, and enthroned pleasure as the chief aim and end of human endeavor. And though the native vigor of the race was for a long time proof against the effeminating tendencies of wealth, the time came when the national character yielded to those vices which attend upon material magnificence, and sank into decay.

ASSYRIAN PRINCESS IN FULL DRESS.

The art and learning of Assyria were, for the greater part, derived from the older civilization of Chaldæa. But the Assyrians were by no means wanting in original force and genius. Whether as it respects a certain skill in mechanical invention or creditable achievements in those higher arts which humanize mankind, they reached a degree of excellence not hitherto attained in Asia. Especially in political

science and in the development of civil institutions did the Assyrians surpass any contemporaneous nation. The administrative skill displayed by the government in

ASSYRIAN PRINCE IN FULL DRESS.

the brighter epochs of the Empire would have done credit to the later states of the West. The aptness and ability of the Assyrians in organizing, equipping, and training armies has been proverbial for twenty centuries, and their fierce valor on the field of battle is recorded wherever their history has been mentioned. Only a knowledge of the means by which the forces of nature are subordinated to the will of man was lacking to give to the Assyrians the precedence in military renown over all the nations of antiquity except the Romans. The greatness and glory of the people is fully conceded by the bards of Israel, especially by Isaiah and Ezekiel, whose writings are filled with mingled praise and censure of that colossal power which, under the similitude of a lion, is represented as "devouring the prey and tearing it asunder for his whelps."

The architecture of a non-literary people is the best record of their grandeur. The houses and cities which men build are commensurate with their ambition. Great building springs not so much from sense and necessity as from imagination and dreams—a certain yearning to express in tangible form the outlines of things seen by vision and the inspiration of genius. Races without imagination live close to the ground. They crawl into hovels. They sleep a gross and sensuous sleep. They dream not of palace and city. Without are tall, green trees, and white clouds piled up mountainous, the arching dome of heaven, and the glitter of the stars; but these things reäct not on the dull senses of an unimaginative people. Only in the spirit of him who dreams of palms and fountains can spring the desire, the will, to hew the airy column, to rear the splendid edifice, to adorn his abode and glorify the records of his race with palace and temple and tomb.

In monumental grandeur Assyria stands next to Egypt. The great cities of the Upper Tigris, though inferior in splendor to the marvels of the Nile valley, were the admiration of their own and after times. The existence of these renowned cities, albeit the dust of centuries has settled on their ruins, proves beyond a doubt the amazing vigor and intellectual force of the race of men who built them and gloried in their splendor.

Opposite the modern village of Mosul, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, in latitude 36° 20′ N., lie the ruins of NINEVEH, the capital of

THE REGION ABOUT NINEVEH.

the Assyrian Empire, and one of the great cities of the ancient world. The site is at present marked by two remarkable mounds, the one called Koyunjik and the other Nebbi-Yunus.

These mounds are distant from each other a little more than half a mile, and between them flows the Khosr-Su, a small tributary of the Tigris. The mounds are of vast proportions. The Koyunjik covers an area of over a hundred acres, and rises to the height of ninety-five feet above the plain. The Nebbi-Yunus has an area of forty acres and a height of over a hundred feet. The mass of the larger mound is so immense that, according to careful estimates, it would require the continuous labor of twenty thousand men for a period of six years to raise it to its present proportions. The structure is ellipitical in shape, rising in a gradual slope on one side and abruptly on the other. This immense artificial elevation was crowned in ancient times with the palaces of the Assyrian kings, and the ruins of these magnificent edifices now lie imbedded in the surface.

The smaller, Nebbi-Yunus, is triangular in shape, and is cleft in twain by a deep ravine which, in the course of centuries, has been washed through its central part. The western half is known as Jonah's Tomb, and the eastern portion is used as a burying-ground by the Turcomans and Kurds who have possession of the site of the ancient city. This mound, like the Koyunjik, was covered anciently with public buildings and royal palaces.

Nineveh had a river front of about three miles. This was guarded throughout with a wall stretching along the river bank from the upper to the lower limits of the city. The bed of the Tigris, however, owing to a change in the channel, now lies about a mile to the west of the line of the ancient wall. This western rampart embraced in its course both of the mounds above referred to, so that originally their site was on the bank of the river. The northern wall runs back from the Tigris to the distance of between one and two miles. The eastern rampart is above three miles in length and approaches to within about a thousand yards of the river, which is reached by the shortest of the four walls by which the city was originally inclosed and defended. The whole circuit of the walls was about eight miles, and the area of the city thus included by impregnable defenses was nearly a thousand eight hundred acres. Many of the cities of the East number from one hundred to two hundred inhabitants to the acre—an estimate which would indicate a population for ancient Nineveh, within the walls, of from one hundred and eighty thousand to three hundred and sixty thousand souls. Outside of the defenses the city, no doubt, extended far to the east and north, and in all probability beyond the river to the west.[1]

The dimensions of Nineveh have been greatly overestimated. The discovery of the ruins of magnificent cities in the immediate neighborhood of the capital has led many antiquarians to suppose that the whole district for a distance of many miles was one immense municipality. The space in which the remains of Khorsabad, Koyunjik, Nimrud, and Keremles—the four great ruins of this region—are found, is an oblong square, eighteen miles in length and twelve miles in breadth; and there have not been wanting eminent scholars and historians who have maintained that this whole district *was included in Nineveh.* The area thus described is about ten times that of London, and it seems quite inconceivable that so great a district should have been covered by a single city. The researches of Layard and others have shown quite conclusively that the four ruins above referred to are really the remains of four distinct cities, and that only one of these—Koyunjik—is included within the limits of what was Nineveh. Nevertheless, so wide were the bounds of each, and so far forth stretched the suburbs of the one towards the other, that ancient travelers, such as Diodorus, might well have considered the whole region as one vast city. In passing from the one to the other, however, there is always found a considerable space unmarked by ruins, and the bricks and tablets prove that each city had its own name and institutions.

[1] If we are to suppose that the part of Nineveh included within the walls bore about the same proportion to the whole as did *Roma Quadrata* to the imperial city, it is safe to conclude that the above estimates of the extent and population of the capital of Assyria are greatly below the truth. In most cases the walled outline of old cities included but a fraction of the district covered with buildings and thronged with human life.

The modern Nimrud is called Calah in the inscriptions of that locality; Khorsabad is written as Dur-Sargina, or City of Sargon; while the bricks of Keremles show that the ancient name of that place was the City of God.[1] It is only the ruin of Koyunjik and the neighboring remains known as Nebbi-Yunus that can be properly identified as the capital of the Assyrian Empire.

The wall which inclosed Nineveh was of enormous proportions. Xenophon describes it as being fifty feet in thickness and a hundred and fifty feet high. Diodorus says that three chariots could drive abreast on the top; and Layard admits that the ruins of the ramparts are so vast as to justify the description given by the ancient historians. According to the details furnished by Xenophon the first fifty feet of the wall was constructed of hewn blocks of fossil-bearing limestone, polished to smoothness on the outside, and finished above in a series of battlements. At this point the thickness of the wall was diminished, and thence carried up with sun-dried bricks. At the top the structure was again broken into ornamental battlements and towers.

SITE OF NINEVEH.

At irregular intervals the rampart of the city was pierced with openings for gates. The most important of these was about the middle of the northern wall. Here a great gateway, fifty feet in height, entered the city. At the outer and inner openings stood colossal figures carved in stone—bulls with the heads of men. The wall above was surmounted with lofty towers and others of less elevation were raised at intervals along the summit of the rampart. The gateway itself was provided, in the center of the wall, with vast recesses or chambers on either side, in which bodies of armed men might be stationed to repel attack. The entrance was guarded by triple gates, and was arched above with solid masonry ornamented with reliefs. The floor of the gateway was paved with flags of limestone, and upon these slabs are seen to the present day the marks made by the wheels of the war-chariots of Assyria as they went forth to conquest.

Great as were the walls that surrounded Nineveh the defenses were still further increased by a barrier of water on all sides. On the west, along the whole extent of the city, lay the Tigris; and just outside of the short wall on the south a natural tributary made access from without impracticable. Around the remaining two sides, and close to the rampart, a great moat, filled with water from the Khosr-Su, hindered all approach.[1] On the north side of the city, and beyond the wall and moat, are the remains of a fortress; and far beyond the eastern and southern ramparts the lines of ancient circumvallation and detached earthworks are discoverable. No city of antiquity was protected by a more elaborate and well devised system of defenses than was the capital city of the Assyrian Empire.

[1] The statement of the author of the Book of Jonah that there were in Nineveh one hundred and twenty thousand people who did not know their right hand from the left, is perhaps a metaphor intended to describe the extreme ignorance or moral blindness of the whole population. Taken literally the statement would indicate either an enormous population or a dense ignorance inconsistent with the building of great cities.

[1] In one place a moat, two hundred feet broad and of great depth, is carried through silicious conglomerate for a distance of two miles, and on either side of the ditch, which was filled with water from the Khosr, was a strong and high wall, rising on the outside, even at the present day, to the height of a hundred feet from the bottom of the moat.

Of the internal structure of Nineveh the ancient historians have given us no elaborate account; nor are the ruins in such a condition as to indicate with any considerable precision the character of the city. The lines of the principal streets have not as yet been traced. The sites of the great buildings with which it is certain the city abounded have only in a few instances been identified. The warlike kings whose conquering soldiery made the earth tremble and the splendid edifices wherewith they adorned their capital have gone down to dust together. No doubt the elegant and princely parts of Nineveh lay along the Tigris, in the western district of the city. Here are the two chief ruins of Koyunjik and Nebbi-Yunus, on which were the palaces of the kings, and here has been exhumed the larger part of those interesting remains by which the life, manners, and language of the Assyrians have been so richly illustrated.

About thirty miles down the Tigris from Nineveh are the ruins of Nimrud, the ancient CALAH. The remains are found on the east bank of the river, a short distance above the confluence of the Greater Zab. Calah was the second city of the Empire. The ruins at present cover about a thousand acres, being more than one-half as great in extent as those of Nineveh.

It is evidenced by the ruins, moreover, that the Tigris has carried away a part of the remains, and the small tributaries of this region have also reduced the limits of the ancient city. Calah, like Nineveh, was surrounded with a great wall, which was surmounted with towers and pierced at intervals with gateways. The general shape was rectangular, but on the southern side the limits of the city have been so obliterated by the hand of time as to be no longer distinguishable. As in the case of Nineveh, the Tigris has, on the west, receded from the rampart which it once skirted until a low-lying plain a mile in width stretches between the river and the wall. On this western side of the ancient city, and overlooking the bed of the Tigris, was an elevated plateau, raised artificially to the height of forty feet and covering an area of sixty acres. On this mound stood the royal palaces, and it is in this quarter that the antiquarian has made his most interesting discoveries. The platform itself was built of successive layers of sun-dried bricks, and the edges of the mound were protected by ramparts of solid masonry. These were ascended from the lower parts of the city by flights of steps, inclined planes, and staircases of stone. Nearly the whole of the elevation is covered with ruins and relics, the *débris* of fallen palaces and temples.

Calah was seen and described by Xenophon, who passed that way with the retreating Greeks. He speaks of it as a vast deserted city, formerly inhabited by the Medes. The walls are described as twenty-five feet in thickness, a hundred feet high, and nearly seven miles in length. The foundation of this extended rampart was of limestone to the height of twenty feet, and the upper portion of burnt bricks. Xenophon also mentions the remarkable tower or pyramid which stands at the north-western angle of the elevation here described, rising in its present condition above the surrounding country to the height of a hundred and forty feet. It is the most striking object of all the remains in the neighborhood of Nineveh. On this summit originally stood what was perhaps the greatest and most splendid of all the tower-temples of Assyria—a structure, as is shown by the foundation, about a hundred and sixty-seven feet square at the base, and rising in a succession of diminishing rectangles to the height of fully two hundred feet.

Ascending the Khosr-Su from Nineveh to a distance of nine miles, the traveler comes to the village of KHORSABAD, the site of Dur-Sargina, another buried city. The ruins here, though less in extent than those of the capital, are of almost equal magnificence. Here again we have the rectangular rampart drawn around the city, with the four sides thereof facing the cardinal points of the compass. Here, too, are the artificial elevations or flat-topped mounds from which the proud palaces of kings and princes looked down upon the city and surrounding country.[1]

[1] It appears that Khorsabad, Nimrud, and one or two other cities in the immediate vicinity of

The wall of Khorsabad is about two thousand yards in extent on each side, and is less massive than that drawn around the capital and Nimrud. About the middle of the north-west side and occupying a part of the line of the rampart was the usual palace-mound, on which stood the principal buildings of the city.

About fifteen miles due east from Nineveh are the ruins of KEREMLES, the fourth of those cities which antiquarians have been disposed to include within the limits of the capital. If such a conjecture could be entertained, it would indicate an area for the entire city of not less than *two hundred and sixteen square miles!* Certain it is that at Keremles, as well as at Calah and Khorsabad, the ruins are indicative of royal residences and the presence of princely modes of life.

Passing from these cities immediately associated with the capital, the next in importance among the Assyrian ruins are those of ASSHUR, marked by the modern village of Kileh-Shergat. The site is on the west bank of the Tigris, about seventy miles below Nineveh. From this point southward the remains begin to partake of the peculiarities of Babylonia, and to be no longer distinctly Assyrian. Like the greater cities to the north, Asshur was quadrangular. The lines of the walls are still traceable across the plain, and the mounds within the ramparts are of the same general character as those already described. One of the palace-mounds within the inclosure of the city is two and a-half miles in circumference, and is raised in some places as much as a hundred feet above the plain. This stupendous platform is covered with heaps of rubbish, fragments of hewn stone, masses of burnt brick, shattered remains of unknown structures, the *débris* and dust of ages.

Besides the extensive ruin of Kileh-Shergat, not many sites of ancient cities have been discovered west of the Tigris. The ancient Nazibina has been identified with the modern Nisibin. In like manner, the town of Diarbekr, on the Upper Tigris, is thought to mark the place of the ancient Amidi. Passing to the east, in the region between the Greater and Lesser Zab, the modern Arbil is easily identified with the ancient Arbela, the scene of one of Alexander's great battles. In the vicinity of Nineveh several villages—Tarbisa, Selamiyeh, and Senn—are thought to cover the ground once occupied by important towns and cities. Many other places, especially in Mesopotamia, are known only approximately or not at all.

The names of a multitude of cities, towns, and localities have been preserved, and their sites in several instances determined with some degree of certainty. After the conquest of Assyria by the Medes, the cities, particularly those west of the Tigris, fell rapidly into decay. The building activity of the nation which had wrought such wonders was suddenly paralyzed, and the splendor of fane and palace was soon hidden in the smoke of devastation, or dimmed and defiled by the dust that rolled in clouds after the conquering legions of a foreign soldiery.

Of the great deeds of the Assyrians, considered as a people—of their renown in war and progress in peace—it is now appropriate to speak.

Nineveh, were a kind of suburban capitals, to which, perhaps, at certain seasons of the year, the Assyrian kings betook themselves for a temporary residence. The style of the palace ruins in four or five of these cities is unmistakably royal, indicating that they were built and occupied by kings or princes of the highest rank.

CHAPTER XIII.—CHRONOLOGY AND ANNALS.

ASSYRIA was colonized from Chaldæa. According to Genesis, Asshur went forth from the land of Shinar and builded Nineveh. It appears clear that at a certain epoch the spirit of colonization prevailed in Lower Mesopotamia. One company under the leadership of Terah left Ur, and settled in Haran. Another colony—progenitors of the Phœnicians—departed from Chaldæa, and established themselves on the shores of the Mediterranean. A third and more important migration was conducted up the Tigris, and choosing the region afterwards known as Adiabene, laid the foundations of Asshur—so called from the tribal name of the colony. Around this city as a center and germ soon grew the dominions of an independent province, widening at first into a tributary kingdom and afterwards into a vast and aggressive empire.

Among the ruins of Kileh-Shergat and other Assyrian cities are found unmistakable traces of the Chaldæan or Babylonian origin of the people. The oldest bricks are stamped with Babylonian characters, and bear witness to the fact that the country at that time was under the rule of provincial governors. An important tablet also contains the proof of the coëxistence of Chaldæan and Assyrian kings and of their relations by treaty. The names of several monarchs of the most ancient times are thus preserved, and a dim outline given of the royal families, their intermarriages and lines of descent. The elements of a meager and imperfect history of primitive Assyria are thus exhumed from the dust.

Data for establishing a trustworthy chronology of the earlier epochs are vague and fragmentary. Conjecture and right reason, rather than ascertained facts, have been called in to fill out the broken outline of the provincial and kingly periods of Assyrian history. By this means a sketch, not wholly imaginary but falling far short of authenticity, has been produced of the movements of civil society in Assyria before the establishment of the Empire. After the accession of Tiglathi-Adar[1] at the beginning of the fourteenth century B. C., the scheme of chronology may be fairly regarded as established on historical foundations. Before that period all dates in Assyrian history are the result of conjecture and hypothesis.

Gathering together the best results that have thus far been attained for the construction of a chronological outline, the following table may be accepted as the nearest approach to historic accuracy which is attainable in the present state of knowledge:

PERIODS.	RULERS.	COMMENTS.	DATES.
PROVINCIAL PERIOD.	Bel-Sumili-Kapi, . . .	Provincial governors sent out from Babylonia. Names preserved on fragments of tablets found in Assyria.	Before the middle of the fifteenth century B. C.
	* * *		
	Irba-Vul, ...		
	* * *		
	Asshur-Iddin-Akhi, .		
EARLY KINGDOM.	Asshur-Bil-Nisi-Su, . .	Contemporary with Purna-Puriyas, King of Chaldæa,	About 1440 B. C., to 1420 B. C.
	Buzur-Asshur, ...	Successor to preceding, ...	" 1420 " 1400 "
	Asshur-Upalit, ...	Successor to preceding, ...	" 1400 " 1380 "
	Bel-Lush, ...	Son of preceding, ...	" 1380 " 1360 "
	Pud-Il, ...	Son of preceding, ...	" 1360 " 1340 "
	Vul-Lush, ...	Son of preceding, ...	" 1340 " 1320 "
	Shalmaneser I, ...	Son of preceding, ...	" 1320 " 1300 "

[1] Frequently called Tiglathi-*Nin*—*Nin* being another name for Adar.

PERIODS.	RULERS.	COMMENTS.	DATES.
THE GREAT EMPIRE.	Tiglathi-Adar (Nin),	Son of preceding,	About 1300 B. C. to 1280 B. C.
	* * *	A break in the succession,	
	Bel-Kudur-Uzur,	. . . . .	" 1230 " 1210 "
	Nin-Pala-Zira,	Successor to preceding,	" 1210 " 1190 "
	Asshur-Dayan I.,	Son of preceding,	" 1190 " 1170 "
	Mutaggil-Nebo,	Son of preceding,	" 1170 " 1150 "
	Asshur-Ris-Ilim,	Son of preceding,	" 1150 " 1130 "
	Tiglath-Pileser I.,	Son of preceding,	" 1130 " 1110 "
	Asshur-Bil-Kala,	Son of preceding,	" 1110 " 1090 "
	Shamas-Vul I.,	Brother of preceding,	" 1090 " 1070 "
	* * *	A break in the succession,	
	Asshur-Mazur,	. . . . .	
	* * *	A break in the succession,	
	Asshur-Dayan II.,	. . . . .	" 930 " 911 "
	Vul-Lush II.,	Son of preceding,	" 911 " 889 "
	Tiglathi-Nin II.,	Son of preceding,	" 889 " 883 "
	Asshur-Izir-Pal,	Son of preceding,	" 883 " 858 "
	Shalmaneser II.,	Son of preceding,	" 858 " 823 "
	Shamas-Vul II.,	Son of preceding,	" 823 " 810 "
	Vul-Lush III.,	Son of preceding,	" 810 " 781 "
	Shalmaneser III.,	Successor to preceding,	" 781 " 771 "
	Asshur-Dayan III.,	Successor to preceding,	" 771 " 753 "
	Asshur-Lush,	Successor to preceding,	" 753 " 745 "
LATER KINGDOM.	Tiglath-Pileser II.,	. . . . .	" 745 " 727 "
	Shalmaneser IV.,	Successor to preceding,	" 727 " 722 "
	Sargon,	Successor to preceding,	" 722 " 705 "
	Sennacherib,	Son of preceding,	" 705 " 681 "
	Esar-Haddon,	Son of preceding,	" 681 " 668 "
	Asshur-Bani-Pal,	Son of preceding,	" 668 " 626 "
	Asshur-Emid-Ilin,	Successor to preceding,	" 626 " 625 "

On the above scheme it may be remarked that the dates are certainly established only as far back as the reign of Asshur-Dayan II., in 930 B. C. From this time downwards to the overthrow of the kingdom under Asshur-Emid-Ilin, a period of three hundred and four years, the list embraces fifteen monarchs, which gives an average of twenty years to each sovereign. Applying the same average to the seventeen preceding rulers, we find the establishment of the early kingdom to date back to about the middle of the fifteenth century B. C. But it will readily be confessed that the assignment of twenty years to each of this long line of monarchs is no better than a rough approximation to the truth. So far as the lists themselves, and the order of succession, and in general the relations of descent, are concerned, a tolerable degree of certainty has been attained, but the dates of all the earlier period are tentative and conjectural.

In the second place, it should be remembered that no consecutive annals of the so-called Early Kingdom exist. True it is that a great and aggressive empire like that of Tiglathi-Adar can not spring into being at once. Previous progress in civilization, with special reference to the forms and modes of administration, must have been reached by stages slow and painful before the nation can display itself with regal splendor or imperial power. Again, it is shown by analogy that a race of kings—natural leaders and rulers by preëminence — generally precedes the pronounced expression of nationality in the history of peoples. In the case of Assyria we have the names and order of succession of seven such rulers; and even before the first of these a broken list of provincial chieftains or governors has been preserved. The names, if not the deeds, of these primitive heroes of the Assyrian dawn are as real as those of Numitor and Romulus.

A few glimpses of the historic life of Assyria are caught as far away as the times of the earlier kings. No account, indeed, has been preserved of the revolt or peaceable secession by which the Assyrian provinces became independent of the mother kingdom of the South. But the time came when the

growing people about Asshur were not longer dominated by Chaldæan authority. A royal family sprang up in the North having established relations with the princes of Babylon.

Especially did ASSHUR-UPALLIT, the third of the early kings, cultivate the friendship and favor of the Southern monarchy. He gave a daughter in marriage to Purna-Puriyas, the Chaldæan, and the son of this union became king after the death of his father. A revolt presently ensued, the subjects of this grandson of Purna rebelling against him until the Assyrian king marched an army into Lower Mesopotamia, overthrew the usurper, Nazi-Bugas, and put another son of Purna on the throne. The whole transaction shows that the rulers of Chaldæa and Assyria regarded each other as equals, and were capable of acting from the same large motives which determine the policy of rulers in times of the most advanced civilization.

After Upallit for a period of sixty years—covering the reigns of BEL-LUSH, PUD-IL, and VUL-LUSH—nothing except the names of the kings is known of the civil history of Assyria. The bricks of Asshur show that that city was still the capital; neither Calah nor Nineveh had yet been built.

In the next reign, that of SHALMANESER I., the seat of power was transferred further north and to the eastern bank of the Tigris. The whole region on both banks of the river was now dominated by the Assyrians. The semi-peninsular and easily defended district between the Tigris and the Greater Zab was chosen as a site for the new city of Calah or Nimrud. This delightful locality became known as Aturia, or Assyria Proper, and remained through many reigns the center of influence in the Empire. From this city the first conquering armies of Assyria were led forth by Shalmaneser to enlarge and strengthen the borders of his dominions on the north. Successful expeditions made the king's arms known on the Upper Tigris where towns were conquered and colonies planted, and the royal power magnified in the presence of the barbarians. It is the epoch of the first Assyrian wars.

TIGLATHI-ADAR, son and successor of Shalmaneser, is regarded by common fame as the founder of the Empire. Herodotus bears witness to the fact that the supremacy which had hitherto been Babylonian became Assyrian. The spirit of conquest became dominant in the Northern kingdom. After a successful war in Lower Mesopotamia, Tiglathi-Adar subscribed himself as conqueror of Babylon. He even established his capital in the subject metropolis, and therefrom issued his edicts during the greater part of his reign. Here, too, a branch of his family continued in authority for nearly a century. At times these Assyrian vice-regents of Babylonia were in revolt against the Ninevite dynasty. For a season the independence of Chaldæa is partially restored or again lost as some more ambitious monarch of the Empire would turn his arms to the south. This condition of semi-dependence continued for five or six centuries; though there was a never a time after Tiglathi's conquest when Assyria was not regarded as the dominant power between the Armenian mountains and the Persian Gulf. The race ascendency of the Empire during the whole period from the fourteenth to the seventh century B. C., is clearly marked in the prevalence of Semitic names and Assyrian inscriptions at Babylon and throughout Chaldæa. Nor does it appear that at any time the old Chaldæan dynasty was able to reässert itself successfully against the rulers of Nineveh.

After the death of Tiglathi-ADAR the succession was broken for a period of a half century. Whether BEL-KUDUR-UZUR, whose name next appears on the tablets, was a relative of the preceding monarch or the founder of a new dynasty has not been determined. After Bel-Kudur, however, the succession is again unbroken till the reign of Shamas-Vul I., in 1070 B. C.

The reign of King Bel-Kudur is chiefly noted for his disastrous war with Babylon. The viceroy of that city and province raised the standard of rebellion against his master, who, in 1210, went out to war with his refractory vassal, and was himself defeated and slain in battle. Vul-Baladan, the Babylon prince, now inflamed with victory, organized an expedition against Nineveh, and proceed-

ing thither was met near Asshur and annihilated by the army of Nin-Pala-Zira, who had succeeded Bel-Kudur on the throne of Assyria.

Asshur-Dayan, the third Assyrian emperor, was blest with peace. First of all he marched into Babylonia and restored that province to order. He next busied himself with the demolition of the old and half-ruined temple of Vul at Asshur—a work so vast that the reconstruction of the edifice was not undertaken for the space of sixty years.

Of Mutaggil-Nebo, the fourth from Tiglathi-Adar, only a single record has been preserved, and in that we are told that "Asshur, the great Lord, aided him according to the wishes of his heart, and established him in strength in the government of Assyria." With the reign of Asshur-Ris-Ilim, the next in succession, the military spirit was revived, and an inscription records that the monarch was a powerful king, the subduer of rebellious countries, and the conqueror of all the accursed. He waged several foreign wars, carrying his arms—if one tradition is to be credited—as far west as the Mediterranean. Certain it is that he made a great campaign against the Babylonians, whose viceroy Nebuchadnezzar—first sovereign of that illustrious name—had raised the standard of revolt and led his rebellious subjects up the Diyaleh, and along the foot-hills of the Zagros towards the Assyrian capital. The invasion was met by the king's army and beaten back, but Nebuchadnezzar's forces again gathered head and advanced across the open plain until they were met by Ris-Ilim's generals and completely routed. Forty chariots and a banner remained in the hands of the victors.

With the accession of Tiglath-Pileser I. the details of Assyrian history become more abundant. The new monarch came to the throne about 1130 B. C. The story of his military exploits and civil career is elaborately recorded on two cylinders, which are preserved in the British Museum. The record is made by the king himself, and making allowance for the egotism which has always characterized royal autobiography, and the bombast peculiar to oriental style, the inscription may be accepted as a true history of Tiglath-Pileser's reign.

This ancient chronicle begins with a lengthy and formal invocation to the gods of Asshur, by whose help and protection the king's greatness had been won and maintained. Then follows a detailed account of the five great campaigns which he had conducted against foreign nations. The first of these was directed to the north against the Moschians, at the foot of the Taurus. For fifty years the tribes on this skirt of the Empire had neglected to pay the tribute which had been imposed on them by previous rulers. Now they were subdued, and the tribute-money regularly exacted. Another rebellious Assyrian dependency, called Kasiyara in the language of the inscription, was also subjected with a great slaughter of armies and overthrow of towns and cities. The second campaign was waged through the same provinces, and was chiefly directed against the Kaskians and Urumians—two tribes which had been making depredations on the Assyrian frontier. These also were overpowered. The wealth of the nation, including one hundred and twenty chariots of war, was transferred by the conqueror to his own capital. Turning to the east, the armies of Tiglath-Pileser next crossed the Lower Zab, and carried the banners of Assyria to the foot of the Zagros.

In the third year of his wars the king led his forces westward to the Euphrates, against the tribes called the Naïri. This semi-barbarous people had never been subjected to Assyrian authority. In Mesopotamia the progress of the king was not seriously resisted, but west of the Euphrates the Naïri gathered in great strength, and fought bravely in defense of their country. The discipline of the royal armies, however, soon triumphed over native valor, and the scattered tribes were pursued as far west as the Mediterranean. Great spoils were taken, and a tribute exacted amounting to two hundred cattle and twelve hundred horses.

The third campaign led to a fourth. The Aramæans, whose country skirted the Euphrates from Is to Carchemish, attracted the attention of Tiglath-Pileser, and drew him, already heated with conquest, into an invasion. This was the most brilliant and successful of

his wars. He swept through the long, narrow territory of the Aramæans for a distance of two hundred and fifty miles. Six cities were captured, and the whole country ravaged to its northernmost limits. The Assyrian army then drew back to the capital, bearing vast quantities of booty.

In the next year a fifth and last campaign was conducted in the country between the Greater Zab and the Eastern Khabour—"the land of Muzr." Here the spurs of the Zagros rendered military movements difficult, and the courage of the mountaineers of Kurdistan was conspicuous in defense of their fastnesses; but the king's army assaulted the strongholds and put down all resistance. Arin, the capital, was taken, and a tribute was imposed as the condition of peace. The Comari, also, a neighboring nation that had lent aid to the Kurds in their recent hostilities, were next punished for their part in the war. Their army of twenty thousand men was routed, and their castles and cities taken and burnt. At the close of the chronicle of his exploits the king sums up as the result of his great campaigns forty-two conquered countries, extending from the headwaters of the Greater Zab to the Euphrates, and beyond to the west as far as the Mediterranean. Cities, towns, castles, kings and peoples had been subdued and reorganized "under one government"—the imperial government of Assyria.

The great exploits of Tiglath-Pileser as a hunter of wild beasts are likewise thought worthy to be recorded. Wild cattle had he pursued with his arrows. Nearly a thousand lions had he destroyed while going to and fro on his conquests. Some of the ferocious creatures of the mountains and plains he had confined in cages and dragged back, bound with thongs, to the capital. There did the royal keepers show them alive as the indubitable proofs of the king's prowess and of the favor of Nin and Nergal, who gave the advantage in conflict, and guided the royal arrow in its flight.

Great buildings also attested the enterprise of the king. The gods of Asshur-Ishtar, Bel, and Il were honored with new and magnificent fanes. Mention has already been made of the demolition by Asshur-Dayan of the ancient temple of Anu and Vul, which, after remaining for six and a half centuries the wonder of the capital, had fallen into ruin. Neither Asshur-Dayan himself, nor Nebo, nor Ris-Ilim had been able to restore the structure to its former grandeur. It remained for the victorious Tiglath-Pileser, enriched by conquest and inflamed with pride, to rear again in pristine splendor the barbaric temple of the gods of his fathers.[1] The wars of Tiglath-Pileser were mostly waged with tribes which had just emerged from barbarism. The half-civilized peoples whose countries skirted the dominions of Assyria on the west, the north, and the east, were but poorly able to cope with the well-drilled legions of Pileser's army. Only in one direction was there a kingdom possessing sufficient political unity to stand on equal terms with the conquering monarch of Asshur. On the south lay Babylon, old and well-organized, and of ancient renown in arms. In the earlier years of his reign, and even

[1] As a specimen of the royal style, the following somewhat vainglorious account of the rebuilding of the temple of Anu and Vul, as given in Tiglath-Pileser's inscription, is appended: "In the beginning of my reign, Anu and Vul, the great gods, my lords, guardians of my steps, gave me a command to repair this their shrine. So I made bricks; I leveled the earth; I took the dimensions; I laid down the foundation upon a mass of strong rock. This place, throughout its whole extent, I paved with bricks in set order; fifty feet deep I prepared the ground: and upon this substructure I laid the foundation of the temple of Anu and Vul. From its foundation to its roof I built it better than it was before. I also built two lofty towers in honor of their noble godships, and the holy place, a spacious hall, I consecrated for the convenience of their worshipers, and to accommodate their votaries who were numerous as the stars of heaven. I repaired and built and completed my work. Outside the temple I fashioned every thing with the same care as inside. The mound of earth on which it was built I enlarged like the firmament of the rising stars, and I beautified the entire building. Its towers I raised up to heaven, and its roofs I built entirely of brick. An inviolable shrine for their noble godships I laid down near at hand. Anu and Vul, the great gods, I glorified inside the shrine. I set them up in their honored purity, and the hearts of their noble godships I delighted."—Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. II., pp. 69–70.

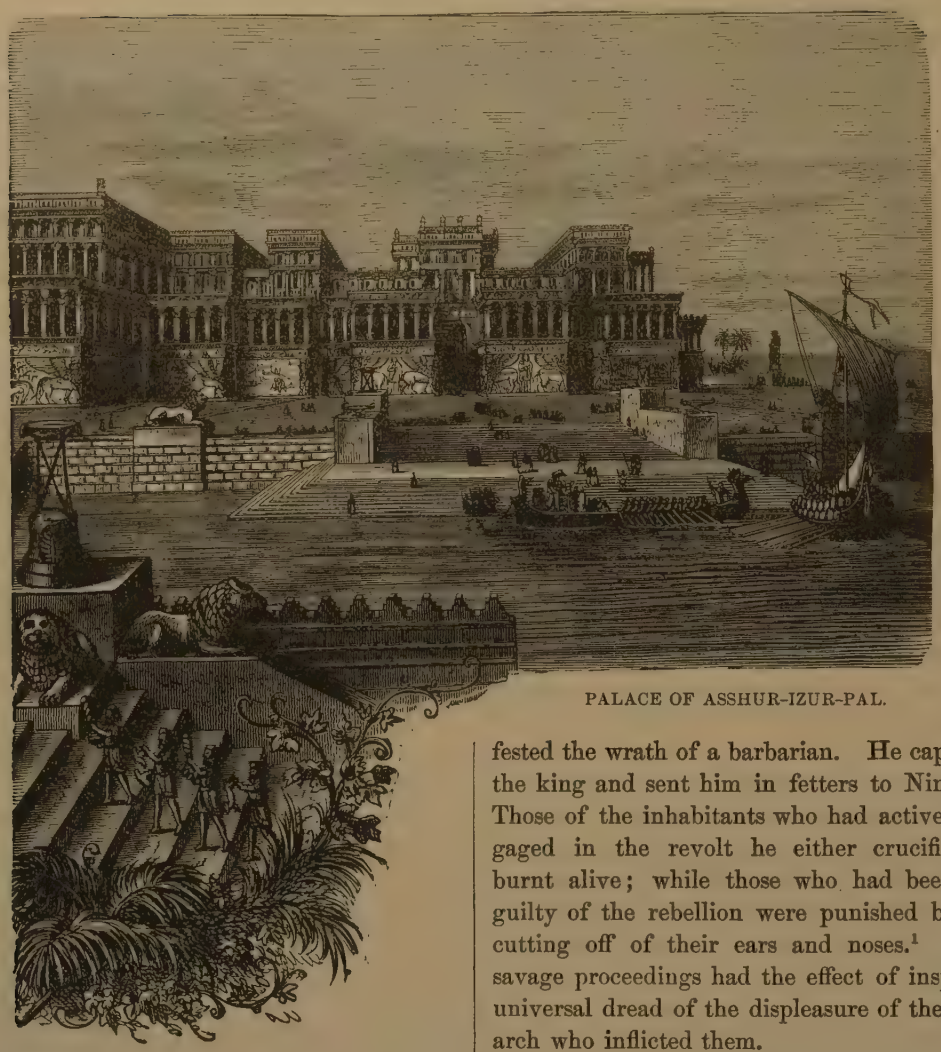
during his great campaigns, the relations between Tiglath-Pileser's government and the viceroyalty of Babylon continued friendly; but after his other wars were completed, and he had for a while devoted his energies to works of peace, the king's belligerent disposition broke out in an invasion of Chaldæa.

He first led his army into the northern provinces, and for two years laid waste the country. The two Sipparas were taken, and Kurri-Galzu, and Opis on the Tigris. Finally Babylon itself was besieged and captured, after which the royal army began to withdraw up the valley of the Euphrates, taking several cities on the march, and meeting but feeble resistance. No sooner, however, had the Assyrian forces departed from Babylon than Merodach-Iddin, the viceroy of the kingdom, gathered an army and began a vigorous pursuit. Hanging on Tiglath-Pileser's rear, he gained several advantages, insomuch that the Assyrian march was converted into a retreat. An assault was made on the king's camp, and the gods of Asshur were captured and borne away in triumph to Babylon, where they were kept, to the shame of the Ninevites, for more than four hundred years. Neither Tiglath-Pileser himself nor any of his successors was able to retake the idols which the king had borne with him through all his conquests, and which had thus become a part of the fame of Assyria.

About the close of the twelfth century B. C., Tiglath-Pileser was succeeded on the throne by his son, ASSHUR-BIL-KALA. Of this prince and his reign not very much is known. The Babylonian difficulties which had for several generations afflicted the kings of Assyria, again broke out in the reign of Bil-Kala. Shapik-Zira, prince of Babylon, following the example of his father, Iddin-Akhi, revolted, and the Assyrian monarch made an effort to subdue him, but with what success is uncertain. There are some evidences also that Bil-Kala devoted his energies in part to the religious enterprises which had characterized the time of his father. The temples, however, do not bear any distinctive marks of this prince's fame or ambition. He was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother, SHAMAS-VUL, by whom a temple was built at Nineveh. Besides this fact nothing is known of the events of his reign. It is a time of decadence in the history of Assyria. For two centuries—from the close of the reign of Bil-Kala to the accession of Tiglathi-Nin, in B. C. 889—there is an almost total blank in the annals of the Empire. Only the names of the kings (and but a few of these) have been preserved to indicate the outline of events and the ebb and flow of power.

The continued existence of a single dominion, with its capital at Asshur, was of itself an important fact in ancient history. The families of the Assyrian kings and nobles became well established. The Assyrian stock was the most notable in Western Asia. The princesses of this line were sought in marriage by the illustrious sovereigns of Egypt, and the kings of the surrounding nations nearly all courted the favor of an alliance with the House of Nineveh. As the result of such unions Assyrian names begin to appear in the royal families of the circumjacent kingdoms. For when has the mother forgotten to call her child by the name of her father or brother?

Passing over the undated reign of ASSHUR-MAZUR and the obscure times of ASSHUR-DAYAN II. and Vul-Lush II., we come, with the accession of TIGLATHI-NIN II., to another dawn in Assyrian history. The reign of this second Nin was brief and inglorious, and his name and place in the history of his country are only preserved in a single inscription. Not so, however, with his son and successor, the distinguished ASSHUR-IZIR-PAL, who came to the throne in B. C. 883. His accession marks the beginning of a great renaissance in the art, learning, and political development of Assyria. Whether in warlike vigor or civil enterprise, this monarch stands preëminent among his contemporaries. In the first six years of his reign he waged no fewer than ten campaigns against the surrounding nations, carrying his victorious arms from the upper fountains of the Euphrates on the north-west to the spurs of the Zagros, where the tributaries of the Diyaleh gather their waters, on the south-east. The Kurdish tribes and mountaineers of Armenia; two races of Western



PALACE OF ASSHUR-IZUR-PAL.

Mesopotamia called the Serki and the Laki; the rebellious inhabitants of Assura; the Naïri, previously mentioned as a subject-people of the Upper Tigris; the highlanders of the Mons Masius and of the district on the north of Susiana; the Shuhites, who had again revolted; and especially the Syrians, including the people of Carchemish and westward through the regions about Antioch and Aleppo as far as Tyre and Sidon and the other Phœnician cities—were each in turn made to acknowledge the valor and supremacy of Asshur-Izir-Pal's armies. In the progress of these extended expeditions, not only the military prowess but also the ferocious disposition of the king was fully developed. At the siege of the rebellious town of Assura he manifested the wrath of a barbarian. He captured the king and sent him in fetters to Nineveh. Those of the inhabitants who had actively engaged in the revolt he either crucified or burnt alive; while those who had been less guilty of the rebellion were punished by the cutting off of their ears and noses.[1] These savage proceedings had the effect of inspiring universal dread of the displeasure of the monarch who inflicted them.

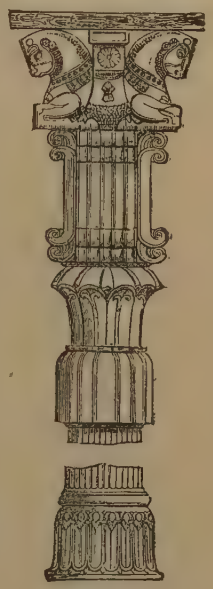
The general effect of Asshur-Izir-Pal's wars was greatly to enrich the Empire. Increased tributes poured into the capital. Contribu-

[1] Such brutal methods of subjugation were too much employed by the Assyrian generals and kings. The case of Asshur-Izir-Pal seems to be extraordinary. He appears not to have been troubled with compunctions, but to have gloried rather in his savagery. With the utmost *nonchalance* he thus relates the sequel of the capture of Tela, one of the towns that resisted his authority: "Their men, young and old, I took prisoners. Of some I cut off the feet and hands; of others I cut off the noses, ears, and lips; of the young men's ears I made a heap; of the old men's heads *I built a minaret!* I exposed their heads as a trophy in front of their city. The male children and the female children *I burnt in the flames!* The city I destroyed and consumed and burnt with fire."

tions of gold, silver, horses, and cattle were levied without scruple and collected without abatement from the conquered countries. A great stimulus was thus given to the architectural and æsthetic development of the Assyrians. The later years of the reign of Asshur-Izir-Pal became a kind of Augustan Age, in which literature and the arts flourished with a brilliancy which even from the dust of centuries has flashed out on the surprised vision of modern times. This era marks a revolution in architectural taste—a change so great as strongly to distinguish the remains of the earlier age at Asshur from the splendid ruins found at Calah and Nineveh. Whereas the former are so rude and unpretending as to be at once assigned by the antiquary to the monumental endeavors of a primitive people, the latter are so grand in conception and so artistic in execution as to be properly classified with the great works of Greece and Egypt.

The favorite city of Asshur-Izir-Pal was Calah. Under his ambitious and powerful patronage this soon became the metropolis of the Empire. Here he built a royal palace that far outshone any structure hitherto reared within the limits of Assyria. The edifice was three hundred and sixty feet in length by three hundred feet in breadth. The general plan of the structure was a series of halls and chambers and a great central court a hundred and thirty feet long and a hundred feet in width. The palace proper was raised upon a vast rectangular platform of burnt bricks cased with slabs of hewn stone. Facing the city on the north and the Tigris on the west were flights of steps ascending to the grand façades, while beside the high gates by which access was had to the principal hall, were sculptured slabs representing the great deeds of the king. The gateway in the southern wall was guarded on either hand by winged bulls with human heads carved in yellow limestone, and the halls and chambers within were decorated with enameled bricks, sculptures, and frescoes.

The splendid example of the king as a builder and patron of art reäcted powerfully upon the princes and nobles of the Empire. Calah and Nineveh rose in grandeur. The rough stone-work and rudely burnt clays of the preceding ages gave place all at once to elaborate designs in bas-relief and magnificent architectural ornaments. The influence of the capital was felt even to the provincial towns, and the native energy of the Assyrian race quickly displayed itself in the higher achievements of civilization. Manufactures sprang up and flourished. Shops for the making of fabrics, furnaces for the burning of enameled bricks, forges for the working of metals, factories for the building of coaches and war-chariots, studios for the production of designs, the treatment of colors, and the use of the chisel—grew up, flourished, and multiplied. Assyrian artists traveled to Phœnicia and even to India, and introduced on their return the styles and designs of both the East and the West. Memorial obelisks like those of Egypt were seen on the banks of the Tigris. The taste of Assyria became cultured, cosmopolitan.



ORNAMENTED PILLAR, TIME OF ASSHUR-IZUR-PAL.

Asshur-Izir-Pal died in B. C. 858, leaving a consolidated Empire which extended from the mountains of Armenia to the Mediterranean Sea. He was succeeded on the throne by his son, SHALMANESER II., who reigned for thirty-five years. This prince had grown up among the Assyrian soldiery. As a boy he had accompanied his father on his great campaigns, and had imbibed the spirit of conquest. As a consequence of this training his chief energies were devoted to war. No fewer than twenty-seven campaigns are enumerated in the history of his military career. By far the most important of these wars were those waged against Babylonia and Damascus. In the former country a civil conflict had broken out between Sum-Adin, the king, and his rebellious younger brother named Bel-Usati. This

disturbance gave Shalmaneser an opportunity to interfere, and in the eighth year of his reign he led an army into Babylonia and overthrew and slew the insurgent brother; but instead of settling the crown upon the rightful claimant he wheeled suddenly about and marched into Babylon. Here he was received by the people as a deliverer, and easily made himself master of the country. He then continued his conquest southward through Chaldæa to the Persian Gulf, and afterwards returned without opposition to his own capital.

In 874 B. C. Shalmaneser began his wars with Damascus. Ben-Hadad, king of that country, had become alarmed at the growing dominions and aggressive spirit of the Assyrians, and had determined to anticipate the expected invasion of his territory by preparing to repel it. He accordingly entered into a league with Tsakhulena, king of Hamath, and Ahab, king of Israel. The kings of the Hittites and Phœnicians were also drawn into this alliance; and when Shalmaneser marched westward into Syria he was confronted by a large and ably commanded army. Nevertheless in a great battle which ensued the allied forces led by Ben-Hadad were defeated. Twenty thousand of their number were killed, and the spoils of the field remained in the hands of the Assyrians. The resistance, however, had been so serious, the battle so hotly fought, that Shalmaneser withdrew from the country, and did not renew the war for a period of five years.

By and by Shalmaneser, having completed some other conquests, returned to his Syrian war. The Western confederacy had meanwhile fallen to pieces. Hamath had internal dissensions, and Phœnicia had shut herself up in her fortified towns. Ben-Hadad, however, induced the Hittites to join him, and stood forth to meet the Assyrians in battle. The victory, though indecisive, was again gained by Shalmaneser, but he was unable after the conflict to press forward to complete his conquest. After retiring a second time to his own country, he gathered a third army, far surpassing the others in numbers and equipments, and returning against Damascus met and defeated the army of Ben-Hadad with great slaughter. The war, however, continued. Ben-Hadad was assasinated by the treacherous Hazael, who usurped the crown and the command of the army. Taking advantage of the mountain range he posted himself in the valley of Cœlo-Syria, where he was assaulted by the Assyrians and utterly routed. Sixteen thousand of his men were killed, and the spoils of the battle-field, including eleven hundred and twenty chariots of war, remained in the hands of Shalmaneser. The spirit of resistance was broken. Town after town was taken, and the Assyrian banners were carried without further opposition to the shores of the Mediterranean. It was at this time that Jehu, king of Israel, submitted to the yoke of Assyria, and sent an embassy, bearing presents of silver and gold, to the court of Shalmaneser.

After completing his wars, Shalmaneser, like his father, turned his attention to the adornment of his capital. The great temple of Nin, the Assyrian Hercules, which had been begun by Asshur-Izir-Pal, was now brought to completion. Not choosing to occupy the palace which his father had built, the king selected another site within a stone's throw of the former edifice, and there reared for the gratification of his pride a structure more vast and splendid than any hitherto built by an Assyrian monarch. The literary development, however, which had been so rapid in the preceding reigns, was, in the time of Shalmaneser, completely checked, and the style employed in the inscriptions is even more deficient in perspicuity and elegance than in the time of the king's grandfather. The narrative given by the rude annalist of the court is fit to be compared with only the coarsest essays of primitive literature.

A single monumental record of Shalmaneser's reign is worthy of special note. Under the *débris* of the king's palace at Calah (Nimrud) the historian Layard discovered an obelisk of black marble, perfectly preserved and covered on its four sides with bas-reliefs and historical inscriptions. The sculptures represent the monarch as receiving tribute from five nations. Ambassadors bearing the presents are led before the king, to whom they bow, laying down at his feet the treasures of

gold and silver and ivory which they have brought from distant regions to appease the majesty of Assyria. The inscriptions contain the annals of the Empire during the reign of Shalmaneser, with the usual vainglorious phraseology of the court.

The last years of Shalmaneser II. were clouded with disaster. One feature of his military policy had been distasteful to the people. Several of his campaigns had been intrusted to Dayan-Asshur, the leading general of the army. The ascendency of this military hero over the king and court was a source of displeasure and jealousy. Meanwhile, with the long continuance of Shalmaneser's reign, the ambitious Asshur-Danin-Pal, eldest son of the monarch, grew restive with the unprecedented procrastination of his father's death, and thinking to seize the fruit before it was ripe raised the standard of revolt. Twenty-five different cities, including Asshur (the former capital), Arbela, and several other old and important centers, ready to hail the rising sun, accepted the revolution as an accomplished fact, and proclaimed Danin-Pal as king. In this emergency the aged monarch conferred the regency upon Shamas-Vul, the younger brother of the rebel, and intrusted to him the command of that part of the army which had maintained its loyalty. With these forces Shamas-Vul took the field, rapidly reduced the revolted cities, overthrew his brother in battle, and restored the king's authority throughout the Empire. Soon afterwards Shalmaneser died, and the loyal son was rewarded with the crown, which he received with the title of SHAMUS-VUL II.

The reign of the new king lasted thirteen years—from 823 to 810 B. C. His public career was not so distinguished as had been foreshadowed by the ambitions of his youth. His royal acts, like those of his father and grandfather, are chronicled on an obelisk, which has reached our times in a tolerable state of preservation. From this we gather an outline of his military exploits and what he achieved in peace. His campaigns were directed first against the half-civilized Naïri, whom the memory of previous chastisements was not sufficient to keep in subjection. Afterwards the king's army was engaged on the eastern frontier, where, for the first time, the

JEHU'S EMBASSY BEFORE SHALMANESER.

swords of Assyria clashed with those of Media and Persia—an ominous sound, foretokening the day when the Aryan race, bursting through its mountain barriers, should break the dominion of Shem and take Western Asia for a heritage. From his eastern war, in the fourth year of his reign, Shamas-Vul led his army against Babylonia. He entered the country near the mouth of the Diyaleh and pressed on towards the capital; but before reaching his destination he was encountered by Belatzu-Ikbi, king of the Babylonians, who had gathered his forces, seized an advantageous position, and stood ready for the hazard of battle. The Assyrians gained the day. Of the Babylonians eighteen thousand were killed and three thousand captured. Shamas-Vul pressed hard after the flying enemy. Near the city Belatzu-Ikbi rallied all his forces, embracing his allies on the south and west, and staked all on the issue. An overwhelming defeat followed. The Babylonian army was decimated. The royal banner of Babylon and the pavilion of the king were taken, with two hundred tents and one hundred chariots of war. The power of the Babylonians was broken for several generations, and the son of Shamas-Vul became viceroy of the South. The obelisk of Shamas-Vul exhibits the same spiritless style of writing which prevailed in the times of his father: a flat narrative of monotonous facts, inelegant and dull. Nor does it appear that the architectural taste of the king and his nobles was superior or even equal to that of the times of his grandfather. He was content to occupy his father's palace at Calah, and to pass the days not given to military enterprises in rather inglorious ease. Only once does the chronicle of the king break off to tell the story how, while conducting his Eastern war, at the foot of the Zagros, the monarch entered with spirit into a hunt of wild bulls, and himself killed many in the chase.

The annals of the reign of Vul-Lush III., who succeeded Shamas-Vul on the throne in B. C. 810, are meager and imperfect. Enough is known, however, to show that his kingly career, extending over a period of twenty-nine years, was crowded with great events. Like his ancestors for several generations, his chief energies were devoted to war. Under the influence of his military successes and his skill in administration, the bounds of the Assyrian Empire were permanently enlarged. In seven different campaigns he carried his banners across the Zagros into Media. Three successful expeditions he made into Syria, pressing his way even to the city of Damascus, which he entered in triumph. Turning to the northwest, he swept through Palestine, reducing Tyre and Sidon, breaking the power of the Philistines, and subjecting Edom to his authority.

In the further prosecution of his wars Vul-Lush humbled the Naïri, and the Persians and the Medes sent presents in token of submission. Babylonia remained loyal to the king, who journeyed into that country, entered the temples of Borsippa and Babylon, and offered sacrifices to Nebo, Nergal, and Bel. Like his father, Vul-Lush had but little ambition as a builder. His inscriptions bear witness that he restored many of the public edifices, which through neglect were falling into ruins. His own palace was at Nineveh, on the mound called Nebbi-Yunus; but this vast heap, in which, perhaps, lie buried the records of his reign, has never been properly explored.

Two important relics of Vul-Lush and his time have reached our day. These are duplicate statues of the god Nebo, which, though imperfect as works of art, are of the highest interest from the inscriptions which they bear. The dedication on the pedestal is to the lord Vul-Lush and his queen Semiramis. The place in time and the rank of this famous princess are thus fixed by indubitable evidence. The credulous historians of Greece and Rome had assigned Semiramis to an epoch almost as remote as the founding of Nineveh, and had given to her a character as wild and overdrawn as the dreams of a mediæval fiction. She was represented as the most extraordinary personage of the ancient world, subduing princes by her fascinations, and leading vast armies to victory. A part of this romance can no doubt be accounted for by the fact that the ancient Assyrians carefully

secluded their women, regarding them as inferiors unworthy of commemoration in chronicle or sculpture. It thus came to pass, that when at rare intervals, by some fortuitous circumstance, a princess was thrown into the foreground, Oriental imagination and Western credulity combined to invest her with the character of a goddess. So, when the real Semiramis, a princess of Babylon, having rights of her own to the viceroyalty of the South, was taken in marriage by Vul-Lush III. and brought as queen to Nineveh, she was treated with exceptional regard. The Assyrians accepted her as an additional guaranty of the stability of the Empire; and the Babylonians, looking from afar, saw in her the possible mother of a line of kings who should be *their* rulers as well as monarchs of the North. Beyond the exceptional prominence thus given to Semiramis, it does not appear that her personal genius or achievements would have greatly distinguished her above the other noble ladies of her time. The fabulous stories told of her by the uncritical historians from Diodorus to Rollin, when stripped of fiction and tradition, shrink into a plain narrative of a Babylonian princess, married to an Assyrian king, retaining her own rights, and adding by personal superiority to the dignity and charms of the palace-halls of Nineveh.

After the death of Vul-Lush III., in B. C. 781, a period of decline ensued, in which, for thirty-six years, no great events are recorded. The names of three kings belonging to this period—SHALMANESER III., ASSHUR-DAYAN III., and ASSHUR-LUSH—have, indeed, been preserved; but their reigns were brief and devoid of interest. It appears that, after the great wars of the preceding half century, by which the boundaries of the Assyrian Empire had been pushed back and established at the foot of the mountains and the shore of the sea, the energies of the kings and people, finding vent and development no longer in the peril and glory of military campaigns, fell quickly into decay. The luxury which follows successful war brought effeminancy into the market-place and ease into the palace. The heavy sleep which follows indulgence was for a while unbroken, even by the rumor of barbarians in arms or the clamor of rebellious cities.

In the fifteenth chapter of the Second Book of Kings, an account is given of the invasion of the kingdom of Israel by PUL, king of Assyria. Menahem, the Israelitish ruler, levied upon his chief men and the people a tribute of a thousand talents of silver, and gave it to Pul to be at one with him and his interests. The narrative seems to place this Pul in such relations of time as to make him the immediate predecessor of Tiglath-Pileser II., who came to the throne of Assyria in B. C. 745. The Assyrian Canon, however, gives for the eighth century the following list of kings:

Shalmaneser III.,	781	B. C. to	771	B. C.
Asshur-Dayan III.,	771	"	753	"
Asshur-Lush,	753	"	745	"
Tiglath-Pileser II.,	745	"	727	"
Shalmaneser IV.,	727	"	722	"
Sargon,	722	"	705	"

In this list there is no place for Pul. The name itself is not an Assyrian name, and does not anywhere occur in the annals of the Empire. The most probable explanation of this striking and patent contradiction in the records of the two nations is that the Jewish writers frequently use the term "king" of subordinate rulers.[1] Pul was, probably, a Babylonian officer of high rank, perhaps the viceroy himself, who, in the disturbed and obscure epoch following the death of Vul-Lush III., became sufficiently independent of the Ninevite dynasty to make war and levy tribute on his own account. A campaign thus issuing from *Babylon* against Israel could easily be mistaken for an *Assyrian* invasion, and the leader of such an expedition would be more than usually susceptible to the influences of a bribe, such as Menahem gave him, "that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his [own] hand."

[1] Thus we have in the Book of Daniel the striking account of the overthrow of Babylon by Cyrus, in which Belshazzar, the lieutenant of Nabonadius, is constantly referred to as *king*. Belshazzar, or Bel-Shar-Uzur, as the name is written in the Babylonian inscriptions, never held a higher rank than satrap of Babylonia, and can only in an accommodated sense of the word be called "King of the Chaldæans."

After an obscure interval of thirty-six years the Empire, under TIGLATH-PILESER II., again emerges from darkness. Just previous to this event, in the time of the temporary eclipse of Assyrian greatness, occurred the episode of Jonah, who came into the capital and began crying in the streets, "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown." The alarm of the king—perhaps Asshur-Lush—led to a reform in the morals of the city, and the threatened judgment, for which the prophet sat waiting in his booth of woven boughs without the gates, passed by. The relation of blood, if any, of Tiglath-Pileser II. to the preceding kings of Assyria is unknown. There are evidences that the line of succession was broken, and that Tiglath-Pileser was a logical necessity of his times rather than the legitimate heir to the Empire. Certain it is that he came to the throne in the character of a reformer. The previous era of weakness had encouraged lawlessness and insurrection in the provinces. The frontiers were broken in by the audacity of barbarian chieftains. To reëstablish his borders and restore the spirit of the Empire were the first care of the king.

At this time Nabonassar, the ruler of Babylon, encouraged by the long lapse of Assyrian authority, had risen to the rank of a rival, and the petty princes who held sway in the southern parts of Chaldæa had ceased to pay tribute to either the Northern or the Southern court. It was against this race of kinglets that the reorganized Assyrian army, led by Tiglath-Pileser, was first conducted. The king's campaign in Lower Mesopotamia was immediately and completely successful. The towns of Sippara and Kurri-Galzu were taken, and whole country bordering on the Gulf brought quickly into subjection. Nabonassar was forced to renew his allegiance, and Tiglath-Pileser was publicly proclaimed as king of Babylon. In the temples of that city, as well as on other famous shrines of the land, the monarch of Assyria offered sacrifices to the gods of the South, and then returned victorious to his own capital.

Still more important were the wars of Tiglath-Pileser in Syria. During the decadence of the three preceding reigns, the kings of Damascus, Samaria, and Tyre, like the Babylonian rulers, had broken faith with the House of Nineveh and assumed their independence. In 743 B. C. Tiglath-Pileser set out to subdue them. Rezin, king of Damascus, was first made to feel the angry stroke of the power which he had provoked to war. In Samaria, Menahem, who was still ruler of Israel, was brought into subjection; and the kings of Tyre, of Hamath, and of the Arabian tribes on the borders of Egypt, were quelled by siege or battle. Azariah, who led forth the army of Judah against the Assyrian, was defeated, and the whole land was traversed by the invader as far as the sea of the West. The campaign lasted for five years, and was never seriously impeded; and yet, as soon as the army of Tiglath-Pileser was withdrawn into Assyria the insurrectionary movement began again in all the Syrian nations.

The leaders of these Western rebellions were Rezin, king of Damascus, and Pekah, king of Israel. Instigated by their example, the Hittites and the people of Hamath were induced to take up arms. Ahaz, king of Judah, refused to become a partner to the league; and when the rulers of Israel and Damascus undertook to compel him to join the alliance, by declaring war against him, with the avowed purpose of setting up a partisan of their own as king of Jerusalem, Ahaz sent an embassy to the court of Tiglath-Pileser, offering to become his vassal if he would send aid against Rezin and Pekah. The Assyrian monarch at once complied, and in 733 B. C. marched for the third time into Syria. Rezin was beaten in battle and driven into Damascus, which after a two years' siege was taken by the Assyrians. The rebel king was captured and slain, and all resistance ended.

Pileser next wheeled his army into Samaria, attacking first the provinces beyond the Jordan. Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh were overrun, and the people led into captivity. Beyond the Euphrates, along the Khabour and other rivers of Upper Mesopotamia, the vanquished Israelites were scattered in colonies and towns, where further rebellions would be impossible. The inhabitants of a few of the towns west of the Jor-

dan shared the same fate, and the shadow of Assyria already fell athwart the whole of Palestine.

The Assyrian monarch next invaded and subdued Philistia. The tribes of Ishmaelites who peopled the peninsula of Sinai were next smitten and scattered. Their native queen, Khabiba, was deposed, and in her place an Assyrian governor was appointed who could be trusted to do his master's will. Returning from these conquests to Damascus the king summoned the rulers of the neighboring states and chiefs of the tribes to send in their submission and pay the tribute which he had imposed upon them. To this call the kings, great and small, of nearly all the Syrian nations responded. Ahaz, king of Judah; Mitenna, of Tyre; Pekah, of Samaria; Khanun, of Gaza; Mitinti, of Ascalon; and the chiefs of the Idumæans, the Moabites, and the Ammonites,—sent in the tokens of their submission and paid the tribute exacted by the Assyrian.

Tiglath-Pileser again crossed the Euphrates. For a few years affairs remained quiet in the West. Meanwhile, however, Hoshea, an Israelitish chieftain, made a conspiracy against Pekah, the king, and killed him. The disturbed condition of affairs in Samaria which followed this insurrection, together with a revolt in Tyre, headed by Mitenna, made it once more necessary for Tiglath-Pileser to march into Syria. Hoshea quickly submitted, and agreed to hold his kingdom as tributary to the great king. The rebellion in Tyre was also easily quelled, and Tiglath-Pileser, after a bloodless campaign, returned to his capital of Cahah, where, for the remainder of the eighteen years of his reign, he devoted himself to the work of improving and adorning the city. The great palace of Shalmaneser II. was restored to its pristine grandeur, and a new edifice of the king's own, little inferior in beauty and magnificence to the great works of the classical age of Assyrian architecture, was raised on the mound of Nimrud.

In 727 B. C. Tiglath-Pileser II. died and was succeeded on the throne by SHALMANESER IV. The attention of this monarch was almost immediately drawn to the kingdom of Israel. Hoshea, the king, had ever since his accession to power been hot and cold in his allegiance. With a change of rulers in Assyria he began to make demonstrations of independence, but a threatened invasion by Shalmaneser brought him into submission.

Meanwhile, however, a condition of affairs had supervened in Egypt, which fanned into new heat the slumbering disloyalty of the Israelitish king. The monarchy of Lower Egypt had gone to decay. The spirit of the old Pharaohs was extinguished, and the country lay open to the designs of the first ambitious comer. Shabak, the Ethiopian, saw his opportunity, and leading an already victorious army down the valley of the Nile, quickly subverted the kingdom. Bocchoris, the Saïte Pharaoh, was taken and burnt to death. All remains of opposition were stamped out by the ambitious Ethiopian, whose fame soon spread throughout Syria and the East. In him Hoshea of Israel found a natural confederate, and having secured his coöperation, hastened to break his own pledges of allegiance to Assyria. Shalmaneser quickly scented the revolt, and came with impetuosity upon his perfidious subject. Hoshea was defeated in battle, captured, and cast into prison. In the further prosecution of his campaign the Assyrian king laid siege to Samaria. The city was bravely defended by the garrison, aided by Egyptians, but after a two years' environment was taken by storm.

During the progress of this siege the city of Tyre, encouraged by the obstinate resistance of the Israelitish capital, threw off the Assyrian yoke. Shalmaneser proceeded thither with his army, and having gathered from the Phœnician sea-ports, which had remained loyal to his authority, a considerable fleet he surrounded the revolted city by land and water. The skillful sailors of Tyre, however, were more than a match for their assailants, and Shalmaneser, after a vigorous and protracted effort was obliged to abandon the siege. In withdrawing from the coast he contented himself with cutting off the water supply of the Tyrians by destroying the aqueducts in the rear of the city. For five years the people of Tyre saved themselves from perishing of thirst by gathering the rainfall into cisterns.

Meanwhile, in B. C. 722, a revolution occurred in Assyria by which Shalmaneser was ejected from the throne. His long absence in the Syrian war had given both cause and occasion for rebellion against his authority at home. Now it was that an obscure popular leader named SARGON, or Saru-Kina, appeared in Nineveh, and putting himself at the head of the revolutionary party, was proclaimed king. After a space—Shalmaneser not returning—the usurpation was accepted by the Ninevites, and the revolution became an accomplished fact.

Sargon at once began to make good his usurped title by military achievement. During the fifteen years of his reign he was constantly engaged in war. His first campaign was directed against Susiana, whose king, Humbanigas, had conspired with the now aged Merodach-Baladan, of Babylon, to declare independence of Assyria. These kings were defeated by Sargon, but before his success was complete he was called into Syria to determine the conditions on which the surrender of Samaria should be accepted. The city was deprived of its independence; an Assyrian governor was appointed and 27,280 of the inhabitants were carried into captivity beyond the Euphrates. The rest were left undisturbed on condition of the prompt payment of the annual tribute.

Scarcely had the affairs of Israel been settled until Sargon was called upon to suppress another Syrian revolt. This time the leader of the insurrection was Yahu-Bid, king of Hamath. This usurping ruler had persuaded the cities of the whole circumjacent region to join him in a league to resist the authority of the Assyrian monarch. An allied army was brought into the field and was met by Sargon at Karkar. Here a decisive battle was fought. The allies were defeated. Yahu-Bid was captured and his head cut off. The other leaders in the rebellion were likewise taken and put to death. Gaza, one of the dependencies of Egypt was next attacked, and the whole region to the Red Sea and Mediterranean subjected to the king's authority.

The invasion of Gaza brought into conflict for the first time the two great powers of Asia and Africa—Assyria and Egypt. Shabak, the Ethiopian sovereign of Egypt, led out his army in defense of his province. Khanun, the king of Gaza, rallied what forces he could gather and joined his master to beat back the invading army. Sargon came on to the city of Rhaphia, and here was fought the great battle which decided for a while the mastery of the world. Assyrian valor and discipline prevailed. The Egyptian army was routed. Khanun, of Gaza, was captured and sent to Nineveh, and Shabak was obliged to save himself by flight. Sargon did not, however, for the present press his conquest further, but recrossing the Euphrates spent several years in quelling the half-civilized races that on the north and north-east of Assyria found refuge in the mountains, while ever and anon they broke out in predatory wars upon the rich and populous districts of their southern neighbors.

Before his northern campaigns were ended news came to Sargon that the Arab tribes of the Sinaitic peninsula were occupying their time by making inroads into his tributary and now defenseless kingdom of Israel. Setting out into Syria, the king soon brought an army against the marauders, whom he defeated, scattering some into the deserts of Arabia, and colonizing others in the waste places of Samaria. The presence of the great monarch in the West alarmed the kings of the neighboring nations, and they all, including the Pharaoh of Egypt, made a hasty submission, accompanied with tributes.

The next military expedition of Sargon was in B. C. 711. After the battle of Raphia, Ashdod, a city of Philistia, became a tributary of Assyria. The native prince of the city was Azuri, who presently revolted, and was thereupon deposed by the king. One Akhimit was appointed in his stead, but him the people rejected and chose a prince called Yaman to be their ruler. He too was a conspirator who soon seduced the cities of Philistia, and even Egypt, to join him in revolt. This led to a siege of Ashdod by the army of Sargon, who captured the city, seized the family of Yaman, sent them prisoners across the Euphrates, and chased the prince himself into Egypt. Shabak, alarmed at the prospect,

quickly made his peace by surrendering the fugitive, and sending humble apologies to the king. Over Ashdod an Assyrian governor was appointed, and the Western dependencies of Sargon were again reduced to quietude.

Meanwhile the condition of affairs in the South had become such as to demand the king's attention. Merodach-Baladan, ruler of Babylon, had flattered himself, after the withdrawal of Sargon's army in the first year of that monarch's reign, that no further danger of Assyrian domination was to be feared. This hope was greatly strengthened by the twelve years of independence which Babylonia had enjoyed while Sargon was absent in his Western and Northern wars. The king of Babylon had further fortified his desires by uniting in league with himself the king of Susiana, and the chiefs of the Aramæans, who occupied the banks of the Euphrates above the capital. Notwithstanding these preparations, when the army of Sargon marched southward, the courage of the Babylonian king oozed away; his allies mostly deserted him, and he himself sought refuge in the fortified town of Beth-Yakin. Hither he was followed by the Assyrian army. A battle was fought; the Babylonians were routed, the king was taken, and the city burned. Susiana was also quickly overrun, and the territory partly filled with colonies transported from the north of Assyria. It was the last serious insurrection in Babylonia previous to the overthrow of the Assyrian Empire. Henceforth the power and authority of the House of Nineveh were established along the shores of the Persian Gulf, and Chaldæa became an integral part of the dominant kingdom.

For two years Sargon held his court in Babylon, and while here received the extraordinary honor of embassies from distant islands of the seas. Upir, the king of Khareg, in the Persian Gulf, sent messengers to propitiate the great king; and far off Cyprus, "in the Sea of the Setting Sun," came by envoys from her seven kings to make offerings to him who had grown "as the goodly cedar, spreading his branches over the nations."

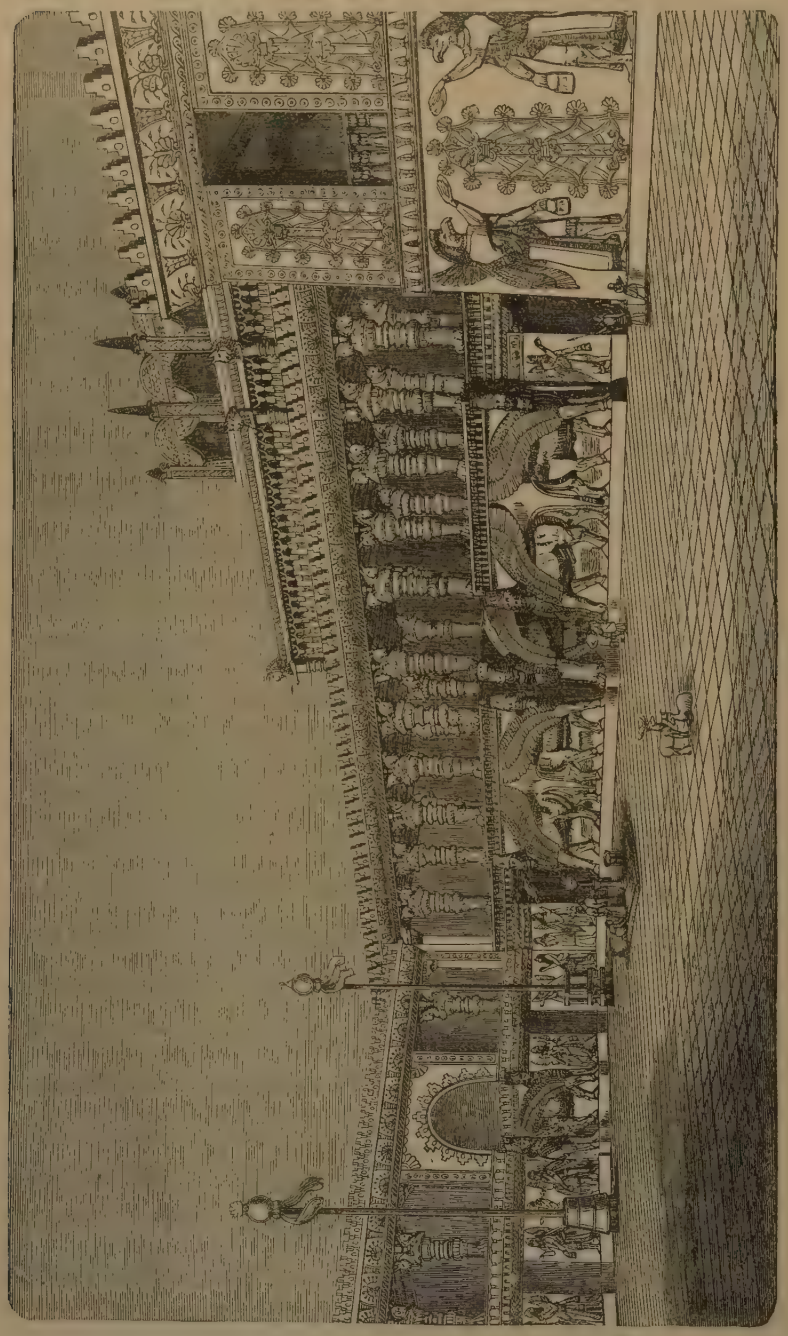
In general the northern expeditions of Sargon were much less successful than in the South and West. The hardy mountaineers of Armenia, finding ever a ready refuge in the fastnesses of the hills, and inured by exposure and perilous conflicts with savage beasts, were a better match for the trained soldiery of Assyria than were the half-nomadic races of Syria and the effete battalions of Egypt. On the south-east Sargon's success was so distinct in his occasional conflicts with the Medes that a good part of their country was reduced to the condition of an Assyrian province. In order to retain his foothold the king established several fortified posts in the region which he had overrun, and imposed on the conquered districts a tribute to be paid in horses of the fine breeds native to Media.

The last war of Sargon—waged in the last year of his reign—was against the province of Illib, bordering on Susiana. In a dispute for the chieftainship of that country one of the claimants sent for aid to Nakhunta, king of Elam, and by him was promised assistance. The other claimant thereupon solicited help of Sargon, who gladly accepted this opportunity of interference in the affairs of the Elamites, and sending thither an army under his generals, defeated Nakhunta, and established the partisans of Assyria in power. But in the next year the king of Elam was successful, regained what he had lost, and even carried the war into the Assyrian territories.

It was during the reign of Sargon that the plan of keeping conquered countries in subjection by deportation of the people became a part of Eastern policy. The tribes of the northern regions, which were subdued by Sargon, were partly carried away and settled in Hamath and Damascus. Home colonies were occasionally organized and sent into districts which had been subdued by the Assyrian arms. The races of the Zagros who became subject to the great king were transferred in vast numbers to the towns on the Tigris, and many of the people of the more trustworthy Assyrian provinces were sent to districts which, like Samaria, were ever on the alert for some opportunity of revolt. It was the general policy of dispersing malcontents that led to the wholesale transportation of the Israelitish population into Mygdonia and other

regions beyond the Euphrates. By this means Sargon labored assiduously, and not without success, to diffuse the evil elements of his Empire, and to render homogeneous the diverse populations over which he was called to rule.

As a builder Sargon compared favorably with the most illustrious of the Assyrian kings. At Khorsabad he built for himself a palace which scarcely paled before the most splendid structures of the Empire. Rather by the profusion of its ornamentation than by its size did the architecture of the epoch of Sargon surpass the work of previous builders. For his palace Sargon selected a site quite apart from other structures. The high platform was approached by flights of broad steps. Around the exterior of the building extended two series of elaborate sculptures, and above these the surface was covered with enameled bricks, arranged in beautiful patterns. About this magnificent palace as a center was built the "City of Sargon,"[1] in form a square, laid off with geometric regularity, one and a sixth miles on either side, capable of accommodating eighty thousand inhabitants. This city, strangely enough, was built remote from the Tigris, back at the foot-hills of the Zagros, where, with mountain scenery in the background, cool air for the brow, and the water of



PALACE OF SARGON (RESTORED), WESTERN FAÇADE.

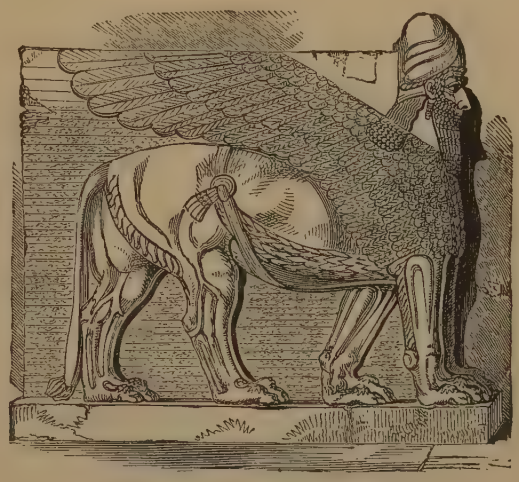
[1] The town of Khorsabad occupies, in whole or in part, the site of the ancient city *Dur-Sargina*.

pure springs to quench his thirst, the king, no doubt, dreamed to spend the evening of his life. His former residence had been at Calah, where many improvements and repairs attested his public spirit. Likewise at Nineveh, and elsewhere throughout the Empire, are found the traces of his enterprise and genius. His reign of seventeen years was one of the most prosperous and successful for many generations, and was a fitting dawn for the rising day that was to follow.

SENNACHERIB, son and successor of Sargon, is generally reputed the most illustrious of the Assyrian kings. He is likewise, on account of the frequent mention of his name and deeds in the writings of the Jews, the best known of all the Eastern monarchs. He began his reign in B. C. 705, and held the throne for a period of twenty-four years. In the later times of the Assyrian monarchy, as in most old empires, the demise of the king was frequently attended with outbreaks and insurrections; for the malcontents were ever persuading themselves that the new king would prove a weakling, unable to maintain the prerogatives of his fathers. On the accession of Sennacherib a movement of this sort occurred in several of the provinces. Merodach-Baladan, the exiled king of Babylon, returned to the capital, murdered the viceroy Hagisa, and resumed the throne from which he had been driven in the first year of the reign of Sargon. For nearly two years Sennacherib was so much engrossed with the home affairs of the Empire that he found no time to punish the Babylonian revolutionists. In B. C. 703, however, he put himself at the head of his army and proceeded against the combined forces of Babylonians and Elamites, whom Merodach-Baladan had induced to support his claims.

The Assyrians gained an easy and complete victory, and the usurping king was glad to escape into Susiana. Sennacherib pressed on to Babylon, captured the city, and appointed the Assyrian general, Bilipni, as viceroy of the South. On his way back to Nineveh the great king devasted the country of the Aramæans and the neighboring nations on the Middle Euphrates, and returned to his capital laden with booty, and driving a host of two hundred thousand captives, whom he colonized in different provinces of the Empire. Shortly afterwards the king made a brief campaign against those tribes of the Zagros in whose affairs Sargon had found occasion to interfere. Sennacherib deposed the governor whom his father had appointed, and set up in his stead another who was considered more worthy of trust.

In the next year, B. C. 701, the Assyrian monarch was called to the West. There Luliya, the king of Sidon, who had obtained authority over most of the cities of Phœnicia, raised the standard of revolt, and made a blustering preparation to meet Sennacherib in



WINGED LION, TIME OF SARGON.

the field; but on the approach of the latter the Sidonian filibuster escaped and fled to Cyprus. The hostile cities immediately submitted, and received in the place of Luliya an Assyrian prince, Tubal, as governor. Only Ascalon and four dependent towns gave Sennacherib trouble, and these places were soon reduced by siege.

Meanwhile, the city of Ekron, in Philistia, had revolted, expelled the Assyrian general Padi, and solicited the aid of Egypt. The Egyptian king, who was the Ethiopian Shabak II.—supported by his viceroys, the native princes of Egypt—espoused the cause of Ekron, and for the second time the great powers of Asia and Africa were brought to the arbitrament of battle. The Assyrian and Egyp-

tian armies met at a place called ELTEKEH, a Levitical city in the vicinity of Ekron. Here a great battle was fought, and the banners of Egypt again went down before the invincible soldiery of Assyria. Many trophies and vast spoils fell to the victors. Resistance ceased. Ekron was taken. The captive princes were killed, and their bodies, impaled on stakes, were made a spectacle outside the walls of the city. Padi, the expelled ruler of Ekron, was restored to his office, and Hezekiah, king of Judah, was thus embroiled in the conflict.

For the king of the Jews had been the keeper of Padi during his imprisonment. Thus was he confederated with the anti-Assyrian party, and accordingly Sennacherib turned against him in wrath. The "fenced cities" of Judah, forty-six in number, were taken and pillaged, and Hezekiah himself was, in the language of the Assyrian king, "shut up in Jerusalem like a bird in a cage."

When thus brought into a strait place, the Jewish monarch sent out messengers with princely presents, and bought a peace by the payment of eight hundred talents of silver, three hundred talents of gold, "and divers treasures, a rich and immense booty." In withdrawing from the country Sennacherib, in accordance with what had now become the settled policy of Assyria, carried with him into his own country out of the lands which he had subdued—chiefly the kingdom of Judah—more than two hundred thousand people, whom he colonized in various parts of the Empire. Hezekiah, in order to obtain the means of paying the heavy tribute which was imposed upon his nation, was obliged to despoil the temple of its treasures, even to the extent of stripping off the gold and silver with which the doors and pillars had been overlaid by the artificers of Solomon.

In the meantime, Bilipni, the Assyrian governor of Babylon, had proved false to his trust. The aged and ever-vigilant Merodach-Baladan returned into the country, and appealing to the native Chaldæan nobles, once more fanned the embers of insurrection into a flame. Against these insurgents Sennacherib, almost immediately after his return from his wars in the West, proceeded with an army. Merodach-Baladan and the Chaldæan confederates were routed from the country, and the old revolutionist, fleeing from Babylonia, found refuge on an island in the Persian Gulf.

In the following year the attention of the Assyrian king was again drawn to the turbulent states bordering on the Mediterranean. Very soon after the previous withdrawal of Sennacherib from Palestine, Hezekiah, the king, chafing under the exactions of tribute, renewed negotiations with Egypt, and afterwards, believing himself secure in the prospect of an Egyptian alliance, wholly renounced his allegiance to Assyria. Sennacherib, having not much to fear from the petty king of Judah, and a great deal to fear from the immemorial prowess and renown of Egypt, determined to direct his efforts first against the Pharaoh and afterwards against the lesser foe. Therefore, leaving Palestine to the left, the Assyrian marched by the sea-coast route directly to the borders of Egypt, where he laid siege to Lachish, one of her tributary towns.

From this point he sent forward an embassy to Jerusalem, and straitly demanded reparation for the king's breach of faith. Hezekiah adopted a temporizing policy, and the embassy was sent a second time with demand for submission and threat of punishment; but the Jewish king had meanwhile been encouraged by the counsels and good cheer of Isaiah, the prophet, who declared that the Assyrian monarch should not come nigh Jerusalem, but should return into his own country by the way that he had come.

In the mean time Lachish had been invested and taken by Sennacherib, and also Libnah, from which place he advanced upon Egypt, and was confronted near the town of PELUSIUM by the Egyptian army under Seti, one of the native princes. It was the eve of a great battle, and the two armies lay facing each other by night, when a pestilential hot wind burst out of the desert and swept over the camp of the Assyrians. Dead men by thousands, smitten by this unexpected and viewless angel of destruction, strewed the earth. A doleful uproar broke out among the veteran soldiery of the East. The camp

was struck with a panic, and a spontaneous rout ensued, which was quickly aggravated by the hosts of Egypt pressing upon the flying legions of Assyria. Without further consideration of the affront of Hezekiah, the great king quickly withdrew his army, recrossed the Euphrates, and returned to Nineveh.[1]

Notwithstanding the serious reverse which he had sustained, Sennacherib soon recovered himself and continued his military operations with unabated vigor. His fifth great campaign was directed against the mountaineers of the Upper Zagros, in the country north of Lake Van. The whole of this region, from Media to the borders of Cilicia, was overrun by his armies, but permanent conquest was impossible in such a land inhabited by such a people. Besides plundering the towns, gathering such booty as the hill-country afforded, and carrying away captive as many of the inhabitants as fell within his power, Sennacherib accomplished little in these northern wars.

A novel episode now occurred in the history of Assyria. The people of Beth-Yakin, the native town of the chronic rebel Merodach-Baladan, never satisfied with the domination of the North over their city, determined to expatriate themselves and establish a colony in Susiana. They accordingly took to sea with their gods and goods, and landing on the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf, laid the foundations of a new city. This depopulation of one of his provinces angered Sennacherib, and he immediately made preparations to reclaim the fugitives by force. Until this epoch the Assyrians had won no laurels on the sea. They were an inland people, and only by contact with Phœnicia—mistress of the Western waters—had they acquired any skill in the construction and management of ships. So notorious was the inaptitude of the nation for naval affairs that the king of Susa, who had received the refugee Babylonians into his dominions, hearing of the wrath of Assyria, never dreamed of danger from a hostile *fleet*, but made strenuous preparations to repel the expected invasion by land.

Sennacherib, however, keenly alive to the advantages of the situation, imported into his dominions an army of Phœnician ship-builders and marines, and hastily constructed on the Tigris a fleet of biremes, so formidable in appearance as to strike the Assyrians with amazement. As soon as his fleet was finished and equipped, Sennacherib dropped down the Tigris and crossed the Gulf in the wake of his fugitive subjects. Before either they or the Susianian king were aware of the approach of an enemy, the Assyrians invested the town. The place was taken almost without opposition. The refugees were hurried on board the fleet, and while the king of Susa was still awaiting an expected invasion of his dominions by land, the Assyrians with their train of captives, returned into Babylonia.

Meanwhile the Babylonians themselves, believing—and hoping—that the rash galleys of Assyria which had gone out into the open sea would never return, and that both Sennacherib and his fleet were by this time at the bottom, raised the standard of revolt and chose a certain Susub to be their king. The Susianian monarch also crossed over with an army into Babylonia, so that Sennacherib found himself between two foes—an army of Chaldæan insurgents on the one side and an army of Elamites on the other. Both were disastrously defeated by the Assyrian king, who drove back with him to Nineveh a vast multitude of prisoners—a heterogeneous throng of Babylonians and Elamites, whom the monarch distributed as he would. Susub himself was led a captive to be gazed at by the Ninevites.

The next two expeditions of Sennacherib were directed against Susiana. The frequent encouragement and positive aid rendered by Nakhunta, the king of this country, to the

[1] "And there passed not five and fifty days before two of his [Sennacherib's] sons killed him, and they fled into the mountains of Ararath."—Book of Tobit, I., 21.

"And this proved to be the conclusion of this Assyrian expedition against the people of Jerusalem. . . . At this time it was that the dominion of the Assyrians was overthrown by the Medes."—Josephus: *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book X., chaps. 1, 2.

Both of these statements are grossly incorrect. Very far was Sennacherib from being killed within fifty-five days of his return to Nineveh; and the Empire of the Assyrians was not overthrown by the Medes until B. C. 625, seventy-four years after the discomfiture of the great king at Pelusium.

ever-insurrectionary Babylonians, furnished sufficient motive and excuse for an Assyrian invasion. Besides, two cities belonging to Assyria had been taken by the Elamites and were held by defiant garrisons. Against these Sennacherib directed the first movements of his campaigns. Both towns were taken, after which the Assyrian army marched into the interior, capturing and destroying no fewer than thirty-four large cities and a great number of less important places, devastating the country and carrying terror to both king and people. The former fled affrighted from his capital and sought refuge in a fortified town at the foot of the mountains. At this point in the campaign the home affairs of the Empire demanded the attention of Sennacherib, and he returned to Nineveh laden with spoils.

In the meantime, Susub, the Babylonian prisoner, escaped from the Assyrians, and returning to Chaldæa was once more proclaimed king. He made the most vigorous preparations to defend himself against the inevitable, and even went so far in his desperation as to break open the great temple of Bel at Babylon and seize the sacred treasures, in order to buy the alliance of the king of Susiana in the approaching conflict. The aid thus sought was promptly given, and an Elamite army was quickly sent into Babylonia to support the insurgents. But it was all of no avail. The veteran army of Assyria was soon in the field; the allied host of the South was beaten down in the hard-fought battle of CHALULI and scattered to the winds. Babylon was entered and pillaged. The temples were ransacked, and the golden gods of the ancient ages were broken in pieces by a derisive soldiery.

The last campaign formally undertaken by the great Assyrian was against Cilicia. Here for the first time the armies of Asshur encountered the Greeks in battle. For a Greek fleet was guarding the Cilician coast at the time of the invasion, and this fleet the Phœnician navy of Sennacherib met and defeated. In the land contest, also, the Cilicians were overthrown. Then it was that the Assyrian king, in order to carry out his policy of peopling conquered provinces with the inhabitants of other countries, founded the city of Tarsus, after the model of Babylon. For just as the latter city was divided by the Euphrates flowing through the midst, so Tarsus, cleft by the Cydnus, was divided into twain.

It appears that several years—near the close of his reign—were occupied by Sennacherib in this Cilician war. Whatever successes he may have gained during these aggressive movements in Asia Minor were, perhaps, counterbalanced by losses and insurrections on the south and east. The records of Babylon indicate that the last eight years of the reign of Sennacherib were coïncident with an era of turbulence and misrule in the Southern provinces. It is not unlikely that the king was in his decline, and the vigor with which he was wont to chastise rebellious countries was no longer manifested in his administration. The Chaldæans, in common with the rest of the human race, had learned that liberties can be taken with the aged lion. It is clearly indicated that at the close of the great king's reign Babylon was once more in a state of semi-independence.

During the vicissitudes of his military campaigns, Sennacherib found time to distinguish himself and his epoch by splendid monuments. At the capital he built a great palace, surpassing in beauty and size any edifice hitherto erected in Assyria. The foundation, which was a vast platform raised about ninety feet above the plain, covered a space of more than eight acres. Within the palace were three great quadrangular courts.[1] The principal halls were the one one hundred and eighty feet, and the other one hundred and fifty feet in length, the width of each being above forty feet. Around these halls and courts galleries and apartments were arranged in an artistic manner. The whole number of rooms, besides the courts and halls, was about eighty, of which forty have been explored, and their dimensions and ornamentation ascertained.

In the matter of ornamentation the work of Sennacherib was distinguished from that

[1] The ground-plan shows that the main courts were respectively 154x125 feet; 124x90 feet; and 90x90 feet, in dimensions.

of his predecessors by its superior finish and the introduction of backgrounds in the sculptures. In the reliefs which adorn the halls and corridors of the great king's palace there is an elaboration and profusion of details which remind the beholder of the infinite particularity and realism displayed in the temples of Egypt. In Sennacherib's sculptures there is a constant comformity to the facts and a total absence of imagination, as if any departure from the real had been regarded by the sculptor as a crime against the laws of art.

The great works of Sennacherib's time were mostly produced by slave labor—that is, the labor of captives who were thrown into the cities of the Empire by the tides of conquest. Multitudes of Elamites, Jews, Aramæans, Chaldæans, Cilicians, and Armenians had been added to the laboring population, and these were organized into companies and driven by task-masters to perform the chief part in rearing the prodigious structures which made Assyria famous.

Sennacherib may well be regarded as a typical warrior-king of ancient times. Among Assyrian monarchs he was perhaps the greatest. Considering the extent of his wars his success in the field was quite unparalleled. Except the disaster at Pelusium and the loss of Babylon in his old age, no single reverse checked the victorious progress of his arms. He possessed a degree of will and self-confidence not easily matched among the rulers of the ancient world; and when we consider the cares and burdens which he must have borne in the civil administration of so vast a government, and the versatile and original talents displayed in the architectural and industrial progress of the kingdom during his reign, we are struck with admiration at his tremendous activities and force of character.

After reigning for nearly a quarter of a century Sennacherib was assassinated by two of his sons. The eldest son, Asshur-Inadi-Su, who had been viceroy of Babylon, died before his father. Nergal, the second son, became heir-apparent to the throne; but Adrammelèch and Sharezer, two other sons, fired with jealousy on account of their brother's preferment, conspired against their father's life and killed him while he was worshiping in the temple.[1]

For the moment the insurrection was nearly successful; for Nergal was driven out of the kingdom. But a reaction soon set in, and the people, shocked, perhaps, at the crime of the parricides, turned to Esar-Haddon, a fifth son of Sennacherib, who was then in command of the army. As soon as the prince could march on the capital—for it was winter then, and the army was far from Nineveh—he was recognized as king, and expelling the assassins, who escaped into Armenia, began his reign in the spring of B. C. 681. He reigned for thirteen years, and like the kings, his ancestors, was principally engaged in the conduct of wars. At the first he put down some forces which were endeavoring to maintain the claims of the assassins of his father. In the next year he led an army into Phœnicia, where Abdi-Milkut, the king of Sidon, had raised a revolt and induced some of the neighboring rulers to join him. Esar-Haddon promptly suppressed the rebellion, and having captured the city, pursued the fugitive king to Cyprus, whither he had fled, and making him prisoner, put him to death.

An Assyrian governor was appointed over Sidon. Large numbers of her people were transported beyond the Euphrates, and their places were filled by Assyrian subjects taken from the provinces. The next expedition was into Armenia. Here the king captured the city of Arza, and carried away the inhabitants to labor upon the public works of Nineveh. In the following year his army was in Cilicia, where he overthrew a large force of insurgents, and took and destroyed twenty-one towns, with deportation of the people into Assyria.

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[1] In the commission of this crime we see the indubitable symptoms of the overthrow of the Empire. The dagger of the assassin was now at work in the palace. The sacred character of the king was no longer proof against that insane ambition which could not patiently abide the processes of nature. What the violence of foreign war could not accomplish in that it was weak, that the blasted affection of the son for the father stood ready to do by the atrocity of secret crime.

In the sixth year of his reign Esar-Haddon marched into Chaldæa, where, for about fourteen years, civil affairs had been in a condition bordering on anarchy. One Nebo-Zirzi-Sidi—son of the old revolutionist, Merodach-Baladan—was now in authority at Babylon, holding the place of ruler with little or no respect to the wish of the Empire. A younger brother of this reigning prince, Nahid-Marduk by name, had meanwhile gone to Nineveh, where, pledging his own loyalty, he represented to Esar-Haddon the condition of affairs in Babylonia. The king gladly espoused the cause of Marduk, and overthrowing the power of the rebellious prince conferred the sovereignty on him who had professed loyalty.

The seventh campaign of Esar-Haddon was against Hazael, king of Edom. The capital city of this ruler was taken, and the Edomite gods were carried along with a captive train to Nineveh. The images, however, were soon afterwards sent back in answer to the prayer of Hazael, who was restored to authority and accepted as a subject of Assyria. Hazael should marry an Assyrian princess and pay an annual tribute of sixty-five camels. So there was peace in Edom.

The next expedition of Esar-Haddon was into a country beyond the Arabian desert. At least such is the statement of the Assyrian Canon. If the record be true, the campaign was a most extraordinary one, extending four hundred and ninety miles across a leafless, trackless, waterless waste of sand. That the Assyrian king was able to subsist a great army in such a region on such an expedition seems incredible. Esar-Haddon is said to have triumphed over this far-off country of Bazu. Laile, the king, escaped, but afterwards went in person to Nineveh to obtain by humility what he had been unable to secure by arms—a favorable peace for his people.

Shortly after this rather apocryphal episode, Esar-Haddon is found engaged in a war with the Aramæans, in the marsh-lands of the Euphrates. The Gambulu, one of the tribes, had neglected their tribute, and the king went thither to punish them; but the terrified chief sent in his submission and made haste to pay the tribute. Afterwards the Assyrian led his army into the remote confines of Media, where a confederation of tribes was broken and some of the chiefs carried to Nineveh. This campaign completed the tenth year of Esar-Haddon's reign. The last and most important of all his wars was his conquest of Egypt.

Tirhakah was now the Pharaoh. His court was at Memphis. He belonged to that Ethiopian dynasty established by Shabak I. The Assyrian invasion was directed first against Memphis and afterwards Thebes. Both of these ancient capitals were taken, and Tirhakah was driven out of the country by the way that his ancestors had entered. All of Egypt between Thebes and the Mediterranean was conquered by the Assyrians. The country was divided into twenty provinces, and over each a governor was set, the whole being subject to the viceroy Necho, father of Psametik I. After reducing the country to an orderly administration, Esar-Haddon returned to his capital, where he inscribed himself on the entablature of his palace, "King of the kings of Egypt and conqueror of Ethiopia."

About this time occurred the rebellion of Manasseh, king of the Jews. The Assyrian generals were sent against him, and he was quickly overthrown. Being taken prisoner, he was conveyed in chains to Babylon. After a while, when his pride was broken, he was liberated by the king and restored to his dominions. In accordance with the custom of the times, the tribute laid on Judah was increased after the rebellion; and to make assurance doubly sure, a great train of colonists, gathered from Babylon, Susa, and even from Persia and other foreign regions, was turned into Palestine, until the immigrant population predominated over the native-born in Jewry.

At this juncture, 669 B. C., Esar-Haddon fell sick and resigned the crown of Assyria to his son, Asshur-Bani-Pal.[1] The enfeebled monarch retained for himself only the viceroyalty of Babylon, and retiring thither, passed at his southern capital the remaining year of his life. He died in 668, and Asshur-Bani-Pal became sole monarch of the Empire. His younger brother, Saul-Magina, was appointed to the viceroyalty of Babylon. The

[1] The *Sardanapalus* of the Greeks.

reign of the new king was ushered in by a war with Egypt. For as soon as Tirhakah, the expelled Pharaoh, heard that Esar-Haddon was powerless to punish him further, he headed back to Egypt, and driving out Necho and his band of Assyrian kinglets, restored the old *régime* as quickly as it had been instituted. Asshur-Bani-Pal hastily marched into Egypt, and encountering the Egyptian army at KAR-BANIT, gained a complete victory. Tirhakah fled at once from Memphis, and was pursued by the Assyrians to Thebes, and *through* Thebes into Ethiopia.

Tirhakah, when the Assyrian army had retired from the country, undertook to secure by intrigue what he was unable to achieve in battle. Several of Asshur-Bani-Pal's governors, including the viceroy Necho, were seduced from their allegiance and led into a conspiracy. This was discovered, and the conspirators were taken by the loyal princes and sent to Nineveh. But the rebellious party gradually gained the ascendency, and Tirhakah, returning to Thebes, was reëstablished in the kingdom. Meanwhile Necho had pleaded for his life and liberty, and, being set free, was intrusted by the Assyrian king with the duty of restoring order in Egypt.

An army was intrusted to his command. Tirhakah was once more defeated, and flying from the country, perished in Ethiopia. His step-son, Urdamané, succeeded to the crown, and soon developed military talents superior to those of the late king. He carried on a campaign in Upper Egypt, took Thebes, and restored the Ethiopian dynasty to undisputed authority. Pursuing the Assyrians into Lower Egypt, he besieged Memphis, captured the city, and regained a complete supremacy over the whole country. Asshur-Bani-Pal, on hearing the news—for he was now in Assyria—returned with all haste, entered Egypt, put to flight the combined forces of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, chased them up the Nile valley and out of the land. He then sacked Thebes, and carried away a train of spoils such as had never before been taken from a city of the Pharaohs—gold, silver, gems, costly garments, priestly vessels and robes, ornaments of ebony garnished with precious stones, obelisks, domestic animals, slaves, and hostages. Native Assyrian governors whose loyalty could not be doubted were then appointed in place of the deposed princes, and the king returned victorious to his own capital.

In the meantime a certain Baal, king of Tyre, had thrown off his allegiance and defied Assyria. Returning out of Egypt, Asshur-Bani-Pal attacked the insurgent city, subdued the king, and laid upon the people a still heavier tribute. A different motive drew the Assyrian monarch into Cilicia; for the king of this country had invited him thither and offered him his daughter in marriage. The offer was accepted, and the Cilician princess accompanied her lord to Nineveh.

Soon after these events Asshur-Bani-Pal made an expedition into Asia Minor, crossing the Taurus, and directing his campaign against several hitherto unknown provinces. After subduing these and returning to his capital, he was honored with an embassy from Gyges, king of Lydia, who sent in a voluntary submission on the part of himself and his country. Afterwards in a war which Gyges waged with the Cimmerians he was successful, and sent some of their chiefs as a curious present to the king of Assyria. The next invasion by the monarch was into the mountainous country surrounding Lake Van. Aksheri, king of the tribes in this region, was defeated by the Assyrians and put to death by his own subjects. His son Vohalli quickly made peace with the Empire on the condition of paying a heavy annual tribute.

A new complication now arose in a different quarter. Some Susianian tribes, being hard pressed by famine, obtained permission to remove within the borders of the Empire. As soon, however, as plenty returned, the immigrants wearied of their new surroundings and desired to return into Susiana. This was refused, and Urtaki, the king of the Susianians, thereupon *demanded* that his subjects be liberated. Hostile movements followed on both sides. The cause of Susiana was espoused by the Aramæans; but Asshur-Bani-Pal quickly marched into the country of his antagonist, defeated his army, and took him prisoner. Urtaki soon died, and his brother

Umman-Aldas, who had been in exile on account of his friendship for the Assyrians, was restored to his country and the throne. After his death, however, his sons were excluded from the kingdom by their uncle, who was of the anti-Assyrian party. The princes fled to Nineveh, and Asshur-Bani-Pal found it necessary to undertake their restoration.

The usurper of Susiana made prodigious efforts to save himself, drawing several adjacent nations, including Babylonia, into an alliance against the Assyrian monarch. But the latter was again easily victorious. The allied army was defeated in battle; the king was taken and put to death, and his head nailed up over the gate of Nineveh. The two young Susianian princes returned under the protection of Asshur-Bani-Pal, and to each was given a half of the kingdom. The rebel princes were well-nigh exterminated. Some had their tongues cut out; others were beheaded.

But the spirit of rebellion was not at all extinguished. Saül-Mugina, the deposed king of Babylonia, fomented an insurrection, and induced several surrounding states to join him. Even one of the princes of Susiana, whom Asshur-Bani-Pal had recently restored to power, was bribed to break his allegiance and join the revolt. The other brother, however, remained loyal to the king, who had conferred the right to rule, and so raising an army, he attacked his brother, most of whose forces were absent in Babylonia, and defeated and killed him. For this he was rewarded by Asshur-Bani-Pal with the undivided sovereignty of Elam.

But this merited honor he did not long retain, for the army in Babylonia would not follow his lead; and in the meantime, Inda-Bigas, a chieftain who ruled the mountaineers of Luristan, led a counter revolution, and placing himself on the throne compelled Tammarit—for that was the name of the Susianian king—to fly for his life. Saül-Mugina also was attacked by *his* brother, acting in the Assyrian interest, and thus the rebellion was brought to nought. Asshur-Bani-Pal overran the country, captured the towns one by one, and extinguished the last sparks of opposition. Saül-Mugina was taken and burnt to death.

Several years of quiet followed; but the elements of sedition were constantly working in Susiana. There was an Assyrian party and an anti-Assyrian party. By and by, the success of the latter was so marked that in B. C. 645, Asshur-Bani-Pal again entered the country and captured twenty-six of the principal cities, including Susa. Western Elam was thus brought completely under the domination of Assyria, while Eastern Elam remained to the opposing party. Not long, however, was even this status maintained. A fresh insurrection once more called the Assyrian king into the country, which he now entered in extreme wrath. Fighting his way victoriously to Susa, the capital, he took the city by assault, and for the space of twenty-three days gave it up to the rage of his soldiers. An edict was issued abolishing Susianian independence, and the whole country was formally annexed to Assyria as one of the provinces of the Empire.

The hard work given to the Assyrian army, for the space of twelve years, by these Elamitic wars lent encouragement to political discontent in the West. Psametik of Egypt made a dash for independence. Gyges, king of Lydia, for some time the voluntary subject of Assyria, hearing of the Egyptian outbreak, sent aid to Psametik, and broke with Asshur-Bani-Pal. Scarcely, however, had he done so when the savage Cimmerians, whom he had recently subdued, burst in upon his kingdom, overran the whole country, defeated the king's army, and put him to death. Ardys, his successor, hastened to make peace with Assyria, and the revolt was at an end.

The last of Asshur-Bani-Pal's foreign expeditions was directed against those Arabs of the desert who had aided the Babylonians in their recent rebellion. Several of the wild tribes allied themselves to resist the power which they had provoked, and a desultory warfare was waged over a wide district of country. That part of the waste region lying between the Persian Gulf and Syria was overrun by the Assyrian army. Damascus, Petra, and the towns of Moab were taken by the king; and in the Damascene mountains, at a place called KHUKHURUNA, a decisive battle

was fought, in which the Arabs were disastrously routed. The two chiefs who had been conspicuous in furnishing aid to Babylon were captured, taken to Nineveh, and beheaded.

During the latter years of Asshur-Bani-Pal's reign, Assyria suffered a decline from which she never recovered—a decadence attributable in part to the internal forces of dissolution which were at work in the Empire, and in part to external violence. It was between the years 634 and 626 B. C. that Assyria began to feel the effect of hostile demonstrations from without, and to realize in her own experience the difference between invader and invaded. The same treatment which she for so many centuries had visited upon surrounding nations was now to be remeasured to her in her own cup.

For in the mean time the kingdom of Media, on the south-east mountain skirt of the Empire, had grown into a vigorous and warlike life. The native forces of nationality had here received a remarkable development, and immigration from the East had both contributed to the population and made versatile the genius of the Medes. Several times in their foreign wars the kings of Assyria had struck the Median soldiery, and not a few wrongs had been done by the Ninevite dynasty to the rising kingdom beyond the south-eastern mountain chain. The effect of these acts had been to arouse the animosity of the Medes, and they only waited until their power should come, to be avenged upon their great enemy.

In the year B. C. 634, the king of the Medes felt himself strong enough to begin the conflict. With a well equipped army he invaded Assyria and offered battle to Asshur-Bani-Pal in his own dominions. The gauge thus thrown down was accepted by the haughty monarch, and the Median king was utterly routed. His army was cut to pieces and himself left among the slain. The effect of this rout, however, was rather to enrage than to terrify the Medes, whose spirit rose with the conflict, and whose immediate note of preparation for renewal of the struggle sounded through the land. It was at this juncture of affairs that a new peril, unseen, undreaded alike by Media and Assyria, flung an ominous shadow over all of Southwestern Asia.

For now it was that the barbarous SCYTHIANS swarming in the steppes of the North, attracted by chance perhaps to the sunny plains and fruitful fields of the Southern nations, began to pour through the mountain passes and devastate the country. It was a consuming horde of ravenous semi-savages, more savage than savagery, that settled upon every green shrub of civilization, and, locust-like, devoured both leafage and fruit. The organization of the race was tribal. One "Head Tribe" had a kind of loose supremacy of the rest. The chief pursuit was that of herdsmen and soldiers. Huge droves of half-wild cattle were followed from steppe to steppe by the nomadic barbarians, who slaughtered when they would, gorged themselves with blood and flesh, and grew ferocious as the beasts that raven.[1]

It was this prodigious race of savages that, while the Medes were preparing for a second invasion of Assyria, burst through the passes of the North and poured into the Median fields. Devastation and ruin followed in their wake. Whatever was destructible perished. The inhabitants either fled for refuge to the fortified towns or were cut down wherever overtaken with the short swords of the barbarians. All of Upper Media was trodden under foot of the Scythian host, on whose ferocity neither the weakness of woman nor the helplessness of age left any softening trace. Some of the towns were besieged and starved into submission, and in such cases the inhabitants were given up to merciless butchery.

[1] Many are the cheerful descriptions drawn by the Greek historians of this gentle breed of savages. Herodotus and Hippocrates were evidently struck with the sterling, though somewhat stalwart, virtues of the race. They describe the Scythians as creatures with overgrown and beastly bodies; covered with coarse hair; gross and fat; loose jointed; abdomens protruding like pots; unwashed and filthy; smeared with paste; stuffing themselves with cheese and the sour milk of mares; hanging their slain enemies' scalps to their bridle reins, and lapping the blood while hot; using human skulls for drinking bowls; and snoring in the dirt and ashes under rude tents of felt or among the rubbish of their carts. The Scythian armor, besides the bow and arrow, consisted of shield and spear and battle-axe.

In other places the supplies were abundant, and when the patience of the barbarians was exhausted they passed on to ravage other districts.

Although Media and Iberia were the first countries to feel the shock of the Scythian invasion, the ravages of the horde were by no means confined to these states. The savage tide rolled on into Mesopotamia and Armenia, and then swept westward and south-westward into Syria and Palestine. Assyria—especially the better portion between the Zagros and the Tigris—was completely devastated. The energies of the Empire had, no doubt, flagged as the vigor and will of Asshur-Bani-Pal went out in old age. Assyria had so long enjoyed immunity from invasion—had so little imagined it a possible thing for any nation to enter her dominions—that many towns and even great cities were built without special reference to defense. Into these the Scythian hosts poured without a check. The accumulated treasures of ages melted away before them. Blood flowed in the streets where the shout of an enemy had never before been heard. Palaces were sacked and given to the torch, and all who were not butchered outright were scattered in terror to the hills.

Of all the countries trodden under foot by the barbarians, the rich and luxurious but now decrepit Assyria suffered the most terrible disasters. It was a blow from which she never recovered. On the west the effect of the invasion, spreading and diffusing itself like a flood of waters, was less seriously felt. Syria soon recovered herself and continued as before. Psametik, of Egypt, met the Scythians on the confines of his kingdom and purchased exemption.

In the course of time, however, the barbarian deluge subsided and the dry ground appeared. According to Herodotus, the savages held the mastery of Western Asia for twenty-eight years. After a time they receded, and most of the nations which had fallen under their sway regained their freedom. In Media, especially, was the power of recuperation manifested. The people were warlike; the country was hilly; most of the towns were fortified. The barbarian progress—especially in Lower Media—had thus been impeded; and as soon as the swarm had in some measure disappeared, the Medes turned upon the remaining savages and expelled them. Then, with great vigor, the damage done was repaired; and while Assyria, whose very opulence was proving her ruin, still nourished the gluttonous brood at her breast, Media recovered her strength, and made ready to finish in Mesopotamia the work which the Scythic horde had so fearfully begun. Such was the course of events between the first and the second invasion of the Assyrian Empire by the Medes.

The aged Asshur-Bani-Pal made some efforts to restore and reorganize his kingdom. In this work, however, he was cut short by death. In the year 626 B. C. the great king died, and was succeeded by his son, Asshur-Emid-Ilin, more generally known by his Greek name of Saracus. It is here, moreover, that the confusion of the Western historians regarding the last years of the Assyrian Empire, begins. By them the character and deeds of Saracus, who was a voluptuary, without spirit or enterprise, were transferred to Asshur-Bani-Pal—Sardanapalus—from which it has happened that the latter, one of the greatest of the warrior-kings of Assyria, has generally borne the reputation of an effeminate Oriental, who went about his palace dressed in woman's apparel, feasting in his seraglio, sleeping the sleep of the glutton. The confusion has extended still further, making Sardanapalus to be the last king of Assyria, him whom Cyaxares destroyed amid the ruins of the Empire. The Assyrian records have now made it clear that to the voluptuary Saracus belongs the discredit of being extinguished in the ruins of his palace and kingdom.

This prince came to the throne in 626. He began his brief and inglorious reign at Nineveh. Preferring Calah as a capital, he laid, in that city, the foundations of a palace which, in its diminished proportions, was but a caricature of the grand works of his father and grandfather.[1] But it was not reserved

[1] Esar-Haddon's conquest of Egypt made him familiar with the famous architecture of that country. He carried home with him from Thebes some of her guardian sphinxes, and the traces of Egyp-

DEATH OF SARACUS.

for Saracus to be either builder or king. The handwriting was already on the wall, and the fiat was gone forth. Cyaxares, king of the Medes, was already gathering and equipping an army for a renewal of the war which had been so long interrupted by the coming of the Scyths. He drew into an alliance with himself the Susianians, the ancient and inveterate foes of Assyria, and in B. C. 627, a few months before the accession of Saracus, was ready to begin the war. The plan of the campaign involved a double invasion of the Empire. The army of Susiana was to march from the south, while Cyaxares himself, with the Medes, was to enter the country from the east.

To resist the enemy Saracus made such preparations as the enfeebled state of the kingdom would permit. To meet the double invasion which was threatened he divided his army, and appointed the general Nabopolassar to command one of the divisions. To him was intrusted the work of repelling the Susianians, who were expected to enter the country on the side of Babylonia, while the king himself was to face Cyaxares. From the beginning the Assyrian cause was beset with disaster. Nabopolassar betrayed his king and country. Between him and Cyaxares negotiations were opened, and, on condition that the Median king would give his daughter in marriage to Nebuchadnezzar, the oldest son of Nabopolassar, the latter agreed to go over to the Medes and join in the invasion of Assyria.

The defection was fatal. The spirit of Saracus and of those who still supported his cause was broken; and before the combined army of Medes, Susianians, Babylonians, and disloyal Assyrians under Nabopolassar, Saracus fell back to Nineveh, and entered her gates to go out no more. It was now 625 B. C. The city was at once invested. The siege was pressed with ever-increasing vigor, and despair settled like a pall over the proud metropolis which had so long been the terror of the nations. Saracus was unequal to the great emergency which was upon him and his people. The last day of Assyrian greatness drew into twilight. The river conspired with fate to overthrow the defenses of the city. The tramp of the Median soldiers was heard in the streets. The inhabitants, who had never before beheld a foreign foe except as trembling captives, fled in dismay before the fiery Medes. The king hastily entered his palace, ordered the slaves to heap the sacred things into a funeral pyre, and mounting to the summit with his wives and servants, applied the torch and perished in the flames. His ashes lay white upon the marble floor, mingled with the ashes of the Assyrian Empire. A new power had arisen beyond the mountains to take the place of the colossal fabric reared by the genius of Shalmaneser and Tiglathi-Adar. Another race had come into the ascendant, and the glory and greatness of the Assyrians were shrouded in everlasting night.[1]

tian influence are noticeable from this time forth in the royal buildings of Assyria. Esar-Haddon's great palace at Calah—one of the most splendid of all the kingly edifices—bore in many parts the touch of the Egyptian. The grand doorway leading to the inner chamber of the palace was guarded by colossal sphinxes and lions after the manner of the temples of Egypt. The palace of Asshur-Bani-Pal at Koyunjik was also touched with this foreign influence; and it was more than likely that that monarch's taste for literature, of which he and his scribes were the greatest lights of the Empire, was in like manner traceable to an inspiration caught in Egyptian campaigns.

[1] Lord Byron, in his tragedy of *Sardanapalus*, has given a most vivid picture of the closing scenes of the Empire. Following Diodorus and Ctesias, the great poet has committed the usual error of confounding Saracus with Asshur-Bani-Pal, attributing to the latter the vices and follies of the former; and to this is added the geographical absurdity of making the battlements of Nineveh to be washed down by a flood in *the Euphrates!* Indeed, throughout the whole drama the Assyrian capital is placed on the banks of the Euphrates, instead of those of the Tigris. Nevertheless, the tragedy is an imperishable, though highly poetic, account of the sunset of Assyrian glory.

CHAPTER XIV.—RELIGION AND ART.

THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEM of the Assyrians was well-nigh identical with that of the Chaldæans, from whom it was borrowed. When the colonists that founded Asshur went forth from the low-lying plains of the South, they carried with them the cycle of ideas which the fish-god, coming up from the sea, had taught them. In both countries the external forms of religion were alike. The temples, the altars, the sacred offices of Calah and Nineveh, were a transcript of those of Borsippa and Babylon. And, subjectively considered, the religious theories and beliefs of Assyria were of the same warp and woof with those which had immemorially prevailed on the Lower Euphrates and the borders of the Gulf.

So far as the objects of Assyrian worship were concerned, they were a group of gods of various degrees of importance. There was not sufficient unity in the system to warrant the use of the term monotheistic as descriptive of its character. The deities rose the one above another, but none so high as to be regarded as by preëminence the supreme god of Assyria. Each had his own sphere, within the limits of which his godhood was unquestioned and unquestionable. It was the difference in the elevation of the sphere by which these divine activities were circumscribed that determined the rank and honor of the respective gods in the Ninevite pantheon.

To the general rule of identity between the deities of Upper and Lower Mesopotamia there was one notable exception. ASSHUR, the special god of the Assyrian Empire, was unknown in the South. He was the tutelary deity of the race. To him both kings and people looked as the peculiar guardian of the city, the court, the nation. His praise was sounded through all the inscriptions, and the prayer of the priest always began with an appeal to Asshur. Thirteen kings of the line of Nimrod bore the name of this deity—and the name was identical with that of the country: so that the highest patriotism and the most fervid religious zeal found at the beginning of their quest a common fountain of inspiration: to the one he was the hero Asshur, the son of Shem; to the other, the god Asshur, lord of the Assyrian race. Asshur was worshiped as the King of the Gods. He was the Destroyer of the Enemy and the Giver of Victory. When the colonists waxed strong in the upper country they called their earliest capital Asshur; therefore was he the Founder of Cities. The enemies and servants of the Assyrians were the enemies and servants of Asshur, and to him was due the ascendency of the race over the barbarians. So general and wide-spread was the adoration of this deity that his worship was never localized; nor does it appear that a temple was ever built in his honor. It was to the lesser gods that the greater fanes were reared.

There can be little doubt that the myth of Asshur was based on the founding of the race by Asshur, the son of Shem. He, like Romulus, passed by apotheosis from earthly fame to divine honors. In this can be seen, also, the reason for the worship of the Assyrian kings. They were god-born. They were the offspring of Nimrod—of Asshur. Like his ancestors, the monarch of Assyria was one of the immortals, whom to injure or neglect was to offend against the most high powers of heaven and earth.

The emblem of Asshur was the winged globe. From the midst of the circle issues a royal figure, crowned, bearing the bow, or extending his hand in authority. Sometimes the divine effigy is seen drawing the bow against the enemy, and sometimes only the hands of the unseen god are lifted from the disk. In a few cases two other royal heads, one on either side of the true deity, are seen emerging from the outspread wings; but the figure of Asshur is generally singular—alone.

The divine emblem is profusely employed in all the Assyrian sculptures, and is, indeed, their distinguishing characteristic. Besides this, however, there is another—the sacred tree—which, like the winged circle, is much employed as an emblem of Asshur. From between the horns of a ram the trunk mounts as a palm, and spreads in symmetrical branches, or is laden with cones after the manner of the fir-tree.

Next after the almost universal adoration of Asshur was the worship of those Chaldæan deities whose titles and attributes have already been given in a previous chapter.[1] The principal names included in this list are Anu-and-Vul, Bel, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Nin, and Nergal. After these were the goddesses Ishtar, Beltis, and Gula, and in later times, Hea, Nebo, and Merodach. Only Anu-and-Vul were deities whose worship was coincident with the founding of the Empire. The rest were of more recent date, having come into the Assyrian Pantheon about the times of Asshur-Dayan II. The general theory of the godhead of these deities was so nearly the same in Assyria and in the South that only occasional variations from the primitive Chaldæan type are to be noted in the religious beliefs of the Assyrians.

The worship of Anu-and-Vul was introduced from Chaldæa into Assyria long before the latter became an independent kingdom. It is thought that Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon of Chaldæa, set up a shrine in Asshur and dedicated it to ANU before Assyria had grown into any distinct importance. This old temple was for a long time a landmark, then fell into decay, was demolished by Asshur-Dayan I., and afterwards rebuilt by Tiglath-Pileser. There was no other important temple of Anu in all Assyria; the worship of this deity was never popular, and hardly practiced beyond the limits of Asshur.

Many of the inscriptions and invocations which enumerate the gods of Assyria omit Anu altogether, and the word is not employed as a part of any royal name. Nevertheless, when Anu is mentioned, as in the prayer of Tiglath-Pileser I., the name stands second in the list of the divinities invoked. The other Assyrian monarchs who seem to have looked with most favor on Anu's worship were Asshur-Izir-Pal and Sargon. The place of Anu among the gods of the Empire was neither definite nor conspicuous.

The third deity of the Assyrians was BEL, the classical Belus. The principal seat of his worship was at Nineveh, which was frequently designated as "the City of Belus." The monarchs of the Empire sometimes addressed their subjects as "the People of Belus;" and as many as three of the earlier sovereigns bore his name. In those invocations—not a few—from which the name of Anu is omitted, that of Bel stands next to Asshur; and there is everywhere evidence in the inscriptions of the high honor in which this deity was held by the nation. The introduction of his worship was almost contemporaneous with the founding of the Early Kingdom; and Bel-Sumili-Kapi, first of the traditional kings, bore the name of this renowned deity. It appears that, among the later monarchs, Sargon looked with especial favor upon the worship of Bel. One of the gates of Dur-Sargina was dedicated by this king to his favorite divinity and to Beltis, his queen. The emblem of Bel most used in the sculptures was the horned cap, which, besides being a general emblem of divinity, was peculiarly appropriated by the third of the Assyrian deities. He was held in great honor by the nobles and princes of the Empire who rarely, if ever, omitted from their prayers, edicts, and inscriptions the distinguished name of "the Warrior Bel."

The fourth Assyrian divinity, already mentioned in connection with the Chaldæan Pantheon, was HEA. He was the god of the human mind, having dominion over the senses, the intellect, the feelings. The concept of such a deity was rather too spiritual for the materialistic disposition of the people, and the worship of Hea was neither popular nor splendid. A few temples were erected in his honor,[1] and one of the principal gates of Dur-Sargina bore his name. Sennacherib, on his

[1] See Chapter X, pp. 132–140.

[1] The ruins of two—one at Asshur and the other at Calah—have been discovered and partly explored.

Susianian expedition, stopped on the sea-shore to make an offering of a golden boat; for how should an army be carried across the untried deep unless Wisdom should direct and guide? Hea's symbol was a serpent—an image but infrequently found among the sculptures of Assyria. This, added to the fact that the name of Hea was not employed as a part of royal titles and but seldom used in invocations, is another proof of the unpopularity of his worship.

The Moon-god SIN stood at the head of the planetary deities of Assyria. His rank and attributes were not greatly different from those of his Chaldæan counterpart. The crescent moon, which was the emblem of Sin, is perhaps the most common of all the divine symbols found among the Assyrian sculptures; and here again we see the predominance of Southern influences in the fundamental religious beliefs of this great people. Sin was recognized as the oldest of the gods, and when the Assyrians desired to express their thought of the beginning of things they said, "from the origin of the god Sin." Two great temples dating from the reign of Sargon, the first to Sin and Shamas at that monarch's favorite city, and the other to Sin alone at Calah, marked the esteem in which the Moon-god's worship was held in the later times of the Empire; and when Sargon sought a name for his son, afterwards so greatly distinguished, he said *Sin-Akhi-Irib* (Sennacherib), "Sin multiplies brethren."

As in Chaldæa, so in Assyria the divinity of the moon outranked the Sun-god, SHAMAS. But the worship of the latter was exceedingly popular, and but for the Chaldæan dogma of the precedence of Sin, would perhaps have stood next in importance to that of Hea and Bel. There are instances, indeed, in which the name of Shamas is placed in invocations next to that of Asshur, and in a few cases the emblem of the latter is blazoned in the center with the four-rayed orb, which is the symbol of the former.

With most of the monarchs Shamas was held in favor. To him Tiglath-Pileser ascribes his right to be ruler of the people; and to him Asshur-Izir-Pal gives the honor of his victories. The great north gate of Dur-Sargina was dedicated by Sargon to Shamas with the high rank of third among the gods of Assyria; and by Sennacherib and Esar-Haddon he is placed, in their lists of deities, next to Asshur himself. The emblem of Shamas is generally associated in the sculptures with that of Sin, the sun being placed to the left of or below the moon. At least two of the monarchs of the Empire took the name of Shamas as a part of their own.

One of the most primitive forms of Assyrian worship was that of the god VUL. This deity, like most of the others, was introduced into Upper Mesopotamia by the immigrants who peopled the country in the times of the early kingdom. His attributes have never been clearly discriminated from those of several other divinities with whom he was generally joined in worship. Perhaps his original Chaldæan character was but little changed by the transfer to the North, while his uncertain rank was attributable to the growing preference of the Assyrians for more favored deities. Several of the kings, however, bear the divine name of Vul, and his temples at Asshur and Calah give evidence of the devotion of both sovereigns and people to this ancient god of the Chaldæans.

In the old-time, half-traditional history of the Assyrians—fathered and perpetuated by the Greeks, and by them transmitted to the Western nations—the race was said to have been founded by NINUS. He was to Nineveh what Romulus was to Rome. The Assyrian Canon has dispelled most of the legend which Herodotus, Ctesias, and Diodorus recited as early Assyrian history; and what remains is to the effect that the god NIN, or NINIP, the Assyrian Mars, first of the second group of the deities of Asshur, is he after whom the mighty city was named. As such he was esteemed and worshiped by the great kings of the early line.

Tiglath-Pileser I. designates this god Nin as his guardian; Asshur-Izir-Pal builds him a splendid temple; Sargon dedicates to him a city. The winged bulls—which so abound in Assyrian architecture as the guardians of gateways, porches, and courts—are emblems of the

mighty Nin, who was the sharpener of the weapons of war, and the protector of mankind in peace. Sennacherib and the great monarchs of the later line, chief builders and promoters of Assyrian glory, made the name of Nin a constant repetition, while doorway and palace-hall witnessed how the best of Assyrian art was consecrated to his honor. Three of the kings bore the name of Nin[1] as a part of their royal appellations, and the principal temple of Calah—long time the capital of the Empire—was dedicated to his worship.

In the later periods of Assyrian history the Chaldæan or Babylonian MERODACH was given a place among the principal deities of the nation. The campaigns of Vul-Lush III. appear to have been the origin of this modification in the previous theology. The introduction of the Southern god into the Pantheon of the North was regarded with much favor by subsequent monarchs, but continuous war, with approaching decline, and perhaps some national antipathy to innovation, prevented the erection of temples to Merodach, and his worship was consequently limited to associated ceremonies at the shrines and altars of other gods. His name, which was much used by the Babylonian kings as an element of the royal title, does not appear as an appellative of any Assyrian monarch, though it seems that Merodach was a common name among the nobility.

According to the tradition of the great kings of the Later Empire, their family was descended through three hundred and fifty generations from the god NERGAL, the Hercules of Assyrian theology. His symbol was the winged lion, and the multitude of sculptures in which this figure is dominant gives abundant proof of the high esteem in which this deity was held by the dignitaries of the royal household. The winged lion and the winged bull, emblems of Nergal and Nin, were the principal figures in most of the palace sculpture, and the two gods thus symbolized, being the tutelary deities of hunting and war, were evidently worshiped with great enthusiasm by the kings who found in those pursuits their chief avenues to amusement and glory. It thus happened that Nin and Nergal, though nominally inferior to the high gods Anu and Bel, had really a stronger hold on the royal favor than did those deities who presided over less fascinating pursuits.

The god NEBO was, like Merodach, a Chaldæan importation. The wars of Vul-Lush III. against Babylonia brought back to Nineveh, as a part of their results, the theological notions of the priests of Babylon. The Assyrian kings, after plundering with sacrilegious hands the temples of the South, still had a lingering fear of the deities whose images they had pulled down and carried away. And so, with the usual philosophy of robbers, they undertook to worship the gods and keep the goods. It thus happened that some of the later despoilers of the Babylonian temples became the most assiduous propagandists of the Babylonian faith. To this trait of human weakness is traceable the introduction of the worship of the Chaldæan Nebo at Calah and other great cities of the Empire.

Such were the gods of the Assyrian race. With these certain goddesses were paired, in a manner analogous to the mysticism of Egypt. The male deity was rarely if ever worshiped alone. As the female principle stands in nature universally correlated with the male, as the mother of life, so in the Assyrian Pantheon the goddess was always set over against her lord. Thus, with Asshur, the tutelary deity of the race, was joined SHERUHA, his queen, the Mistress of the Skies.[1] In like manner, ANUTA was the female Anu, and BELTIS the female Bel. The queen of Hea was called DAV-KINA, and the wife of the Moon-god Sin was known simply by her title of "The Great Lady." The name of the Sun-goddess, queen of Shamas, was GULA, and the spouse of the god Vul was called SHULA. Nin's wife was worshiped together with her lord, under the title of "Queen of the Land;" and the consort of the Babylonian

[1] Nin is, as already stated, the same as Adar.

[1] With Asshur and his worship was also associated the famous goddess ISHTAR, the Assyrian Venus. The mythology is here a little obscure, but it appears that in the later times of the Empire it was Ishtar rather than Sheruha who was regarded as the true queen and consort of the great and powerful Asshur.

Merodach was named ZIR-BANIT. Nergal had for his wife the goddess LAZ, and the spouse of Nebo was known by the name of WARMITA.

Of these female divinities some were in great favor; others were less esteemed. Generally, they were adored in the same temples with their lords. Sometimes, however, special shrines were consecrated, and in a few instances temples reared, to the favorite goddesses of Assyria. Such was the magnificent edifice which Asshur-Bani-Pal dedicated to Beltis at Nineveh; and such were the splendid temples of Gula at Asshur and Calah. It was for the worship of Ishtar that Tiglath-Pileser I. repaired and rededicated the great fane at Asshur, the primitive capital; and to her also was reared one of the most splendid temples in Nineveh.

It thus appears that the deities of the Assyrians were divided into four groups, the first embracing only Asshur and his queen; the second constituting the First Triad—Anu, Bel, and Hea; the third group being the Second Triad, the planetary gods, Sin, Shamas, and Vul; and the fourth embracing the four minor divinities—Nin, Merodach, Nergal, and Nebo. The mythological scheme may thus be presented in tabular form:

DEITIES OF THE ASSYRIANS[1]

	GODS.	CORRESPONDING GODDESSES.	CHIEF SEAT OF WORSHIP.
	Asshur	Sheruha and Ishtar	Throughout the Empire.
First Triad.	Anu	Anuta	Asshur.
	Bel	Beltis (Mylitta)	Asshur and Calah.
	Hea	Dav-Kina	Asshur and Calah.
Second Triad.	Sin	"The Great Lady"	Calah and Bit-Sargina.
	Shamas.	Gula	Bit-Sargina.
	Vul	Shala	Asshur and Calah.
	Nin	"The Queen of the Land."	Calah and Nineveh.
	Merodach	Zir-Banit	
	Nergal.	Laz	Tarbisi.
	Nebo	Warmita	Calah.

Besides the deities who held dominion over man and nature, the Assyrians recognized the existence of spirits less exalted and powerful. As some of the powers of nature seemed to be exerted for the benefit of the human race, and some for its destruction, so the spirits were classified into benevolent and malicious. There were good genii and evil. The GOOD GENIUS was generally figured as a winged man with benignant visage. Such a figure is seen in the sculptures accompanying the king as he goes to offer sacrifice at the altar. The winged visitant wears on his head the horned cap, emblem of divinity, and bears in his right hand the pomegranate, or the cone of the pine-tree, symbols of fecundity and abundance. In his left hand the Good Genius carries the sacred basket, in which are stored the benefits and blessings which the immortals bestow on men—a divine cornucopia filled with the benevolence of the gods. Sometimes the Good Genius has the head and visage of a falcon, after the manner of the hawk-headed Horus or Thoth of the Egyptians.

The EVIL GENIUS is sometimes savage, sometimes grotesque. Anon he is sculptured as a man with the head of a lion and the ears of an ass. Sometimes he is a monster, half lion and half eagle. In this form he is assailed by Vul, who smites him with the thunderbolt. Again he is a dragon of parts prodigious, as he might have been seen by Milton or drawn by Doré. Sometimes he wields daggers and clubs, standing in ferocious aspect against another figure like himself, or hovering in vengeful attitude over the winged lion of Nergal, whom he seeks to dismay or destroy.

The Assyrians may be properly defined as idolaters. The images of the gods were to the popular apprehension the gods themselves; nor does it appear that even the kings and priests had other than the coarsest and most material conception of the gods whom they worshiped. The idols were evidently regarded in the light of deities, rather than imperfect and rude attempts to represent the immortal powers. The language of the inscriptions indicates that according to the belief of the Assyrian monarchs a people were helpless when their gods were captured, and the gods were taken when the idols were removed from their shrines. No doubt this coarse materialism was in some degree the result of theological degeneration; for it is evident from the high and solemn language of the

[1] Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. II., p. 27.

Assyrian ritual that the original concepts on which the system was based, were neither gross nor debasing. Still it must be confessed that among the later Assyrians the idol had in a great measure become the god and the god the idol.

The images which were used to represent the deities of Asshur were of clay, or stone, or metal. The clay idols were the idols of the common people. In the temples and palaces the effigies of the gods were of stone or metal. Some were of colossal proportions and were executed with an approach to artistic skill. There was, however, a certain conventional and inexpressive type after which the images were carved, far inferior to what the artist was able to produce when freed from traditional restraints. The images are generally rude and heavy, and have little claim to be described as beautiful or artistic. The stone idols are, of course, greatly superior in design and workmanship to the coarse statuettes which represented to the masses the powers which govern the world; while the still more costly and carefully executed idols of silver and gold which ostentatious monarchs set up in their palaces and temples, were of even greater merit.

The religious beliefs of the Assyrians had but little practical effect upon the conduct and discipline of their lives. A certain coarse sort of honor regulated in some measure the intercourse of the people, but it was perhaps as much the outgrowth of natural conditions as of any sentiment of religious obligation. To the Assyrian king the deity whom he worshiped was a being more powerful than himself, but of like passions and prejudices, quick to be offended, ready to aid in battle, capable of hatred and revenge. The religious imagination of the race flew on heavy wing and hovered low about material forms and forces, and the inner life of the people was characterized by neither the subtile mysticism of the Egyptians nor the fiery zeal of Israel.

The two principal features of the Assyrian ceremonial were the sacrifice and the invocation. The sacrificial part of their religion was attended to by the kings and priests with considerable pomp and formality. The bas-reliefs of Nineveh give a tolerably succinct representation of the ceremony by which the favor of the gods was sought by the shedding of the blood of beasts. The bull was the favorite sacrificial animal. He is led by the king and a retinue of priests to the porch of the temple, where sits the effigy of the deity on a throne, wearing the horned cap, and stretching out his hand towards the procession. The king carries a cup, from which he pours a libation; so also one of the priests, while the rest attend the animal. A fire burns on an altar near at hand, and here a part—perhaps some sacred organ — is consumed as a savor to the deity. The rest of the sacrifice goes to the priests and the people.

The Assyrian prayers were highly conventional and bombastic. The chief fragments of religious literature exist in the form of prayers and supplications. All the titles and attributes of the god are recited by the worshiper, who categorically enumerates what things he and his ancestors to remote generations have done to merit the divine approval and patronage. All the appellatives of the deity are repeated as carefully as the titles of a modern nobleman in diplomatic correspondence. The inscriptions containing these supplications are a kind of state papers negotiated between the Assyrian priests and their gods.

The people had no great part in the higher ceremonies of religion. The king was not only the embodiment of the state, but also the head of the sacerdotal order. Through him and the priesthood the common throng were permitted to approach the deities and share their beneficence.

The favor of the Assyrian gods was also sought by offerings and gifts. Things taken in war were frequently consecrated in the temples. Young kids and antelopes were brought and given to the priests. Precious stones and gems, and rare metals from foreign lands, were placed before the statuettes of favorite gods until their shrines were resplendent with glittering treasures. The walls and portals of the temples were frequently blazoned with silver and gold, contributed by rich nobles and conquerors returning from successful wars.

Likewise, at intervals the Assyrians feasted in honor of their gods, and rarely, in times of public calamity, endured the rigors and pangs of fasting in order to recover the forfeited favor of the powers on high. In such instances the humiliation was conducted with all the robust vigor of the race. There was neither eating nor drinking until the fast was ended. Ashes were sprinkled on the head, and sackcloth was put on both man and beast. The domestic animals were forced into the same abstinence and discipline as man. All business was suspended, all enterprise hushed, until Asshur had respect to his people.

Though there is no doubt of the occasional sincerity of the religious sentiment among the Assyrians, yet the theological system adopted by the race was less potent in shaping the destiny of the nation than in most of the ancient monarchies. In Egypt and Greece it is proper to say that the worship of the gods occupied a first place in the social and moral philosophy of the people. In Assyria the same could not be truthfully averred. The Assyrian temples were always inferior to the palaces in beauty and magnificence. The courts and halls in which the royal monarch displayed his splendid robes[1] far outshone the sacred places in which the effigies of the immortals were set up in silence. The glories of the imperial *régime* quite surpassed all efforts of the priestly order to dazzle the senses and lead the imagination captive. The religious system of the Assyrians was a matter of convenience and use rather than a sentiment of fervid zeal and enthusiasm, such as inspired most of the ancient peoples.

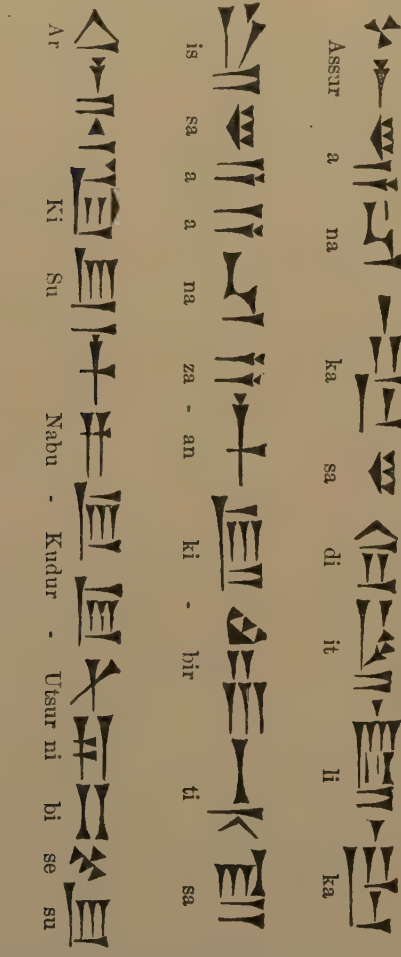
Passing from the system of faith held by the Ninevites to the merely intellectual achievements—the arts, the science, the literature—of the people of Asshur, we find again that the physical and material vigor of the race outran its progress and development in mind. The elements of Assyrian learning came originally from Chaldæa, and it does not appear that the stream ran higher than its source. As in the case of Rome borrowing from Greece the fundamentals of her art and learning, so was it with Nineveh attempting to transplant the genius of Babylon to the banks of the Upper Tigris. Not only were the rudiments of science which were possessed by the Assyrians brought from the older civilization of Lower Mesopotamia, but the language, also, in which these rudiments were imbedded was the old Hamitic dialect of the South—a tongue unknown except to priests and scholars. In this dead language were composed the dry, flat annals of the Early Kingdom and of the beginnings—even the larger part—of the Empire. Not until the times of Asshur-Bani-Pal were translations made out of the Chaldee classic, and works composed in the vernacular. It is rather to art and manufactures than to literature and science that we must look for the civil greatness of Assyria.

In the matter of writing the Assyrians achieved considerable success. The letters employed were nearly the same which have been already described as the written characters of Chaldee. The rectilineal symbols, however, such as 𒌋, are no longer employed by the Assyrians, only the wedge-shaped letters being used. Of these there are several styles, such as the elongated 𒁹, the contracted 𒌑, the broad form 𒌋, and the arrow-head 𒁲. These are combined and modified in various ways to the number of about three hundred, and these three hundred cuneiform signs are the primary elements of Assyrian writing. The alphabet, however, has, besides diphthongs and consonantal combinations, but nineteen simple letters, from which it is seen at once that the written symbols employed represented not elementary sounds but syllables; as *pa*, *pi*, *pu*, *ap*, *ip*, *up*. Besides the letters proper, certain other characters were employed as determinatives to indicate the classification of the thing expressed by the following word. Thus the wedge sign placed vertically before a word indicated that that word was the name of a man, while the sign 𒀭 indicated that the following word was the name of a god.

The material on which Assyrian writing

[1] The royal and sacerdotal garments worn by Assyrian princes and priests were of the most costly and elaborate patterns: embroidered to the last degree of art; covered with figures and emblems—suns and circles and pine-cones, eagles and lions and sacred trees, pomegranates and dragons and winged bulls.

was executed was either the clay tablet or the slab of stone. The former was most used for the common purposes of life; the latter, for formal and important inscriptions. The royal writings and historical records are, however, frequently found on clay tablets, and the fact that many of these exist unto the present day



Arkisu Nabu-Kudur-Utsur ni bi se su is sa a a na za-an ki-bir ti sa Assur a na ka sa di it li ka.

ASSYRIAN WRITING.

and furnish our chief source of Assyrian history shows their excellence and durability.

The tablet was generally in the form of an octagonal cylinder, or more properly prism, of fine and thin terra-cotta, on the exterior faces of which the inscriptions were impressed in columns, each side constituting a column, reading from above down. This writing is exceedingly fine, sometimes requiring a magnifying glass for its decipherment. The lines are five or six to the inch, being as close as *the type in this column.* The prisms, many of which are in excellent preservation, are from eighteen inches to three feet in height; and each contains, when perfect, about as much matter as *twelve pages* of the present volume!

These octagonal tablets were disposed about the courts and halls of palaces in such situations as to be easily read. The rooms and niches in which they were set up constituted the Assyrian library; and here the prince of the house, the occasional scholar, the sage of Asshur, stood or sat, reading the annals of the Empire, the edicts of his sovereign, or the recitative of some priest invoking the gods in prayer.

The writing on the stone slabs was of the same character with that of the tablets. The slabs, however, were frequently of great size. They were dressed and cut to proper dimensions and built into the doorways and walls of palaces and temples. A single slab was sometimes of such proportions as to hold the contents of a small volume. Wherever there was a dressed surface of stone, unoccupied with such ornamentation as prohibited the addition of inscriptions, the Assyrians, like the Egyptians, were fond of covering it with the writing of the country. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of important and striking bas-reliefs were thus covered in their whole extent with these inscriptions sculptured across their surfaces.[1] It thus came to pass that the entablatures and halls and courts of the Assyrian palaces and temples were made to repeat in imperishable records the story of Assyrian greatness.

In all the arts of Assyria there was manifested a striking preference for the practical over the theoretical, for the real over the ideal. Only in rare instances—as when the artist carves fighting dragons or grotesque monsters with drawn knives—did the Assyrian sculp-

[1] A very important and interesting example of this kind of art is set up at the entrance to the Mercantile Library of St. Louis. The slab is perhaps twelve feet high and eight or ten feet wide. It contains a colossal bas-relief of one of the Ninevite kings—a majestic figure—and is literally covered with a cuneiform inscription.

tors attempt to portray the forms of things unreal. In architecture this tendency was constantly exhibited, and the pictorial representations, whether in stone or in color, showed a realism indicative of little imagination in either artist or people. There is little disposition on the part of Assyrian sculptors to idealize the subjects which they treat, or to rise above the actualities of nature. In general conception, in grace of outline and freedom of execution, the works of Nineveh and Asshur fall far short of the products of Greek art; but in boldness and a certain truthfulness to life they are hardly surpassed by any of the classic sculptures of the ancient world.

ARROW-HEAD TABLETS AND INSCRIPTIONS.

In manufactures and the arts of trade the Assyrians were preëminent above all peoples of their time. The native genius of the race had an aptitude for the practical activities of the shop and mart; and besides what the natural skill of Assyria was able to produce for the necessities and comfort of the people, foreign training and skill contributed to encourage and multiply the manufactures of the kingdom. Into Nineveh were swept by every war, in accordance with the policy of the kings, multitudes of mechanics and artisans, who brought thither and planted on the Tigris the best genius of the surrounding nations. The factories of Assyria teemed with a multifarious industry deftly conducted by the varying skill of foreign workmen, just as the immigrant Dutch weavers made prosperous the times of Elizabeth.

Vases, jars, dishes, and bottles of glass; bronzes; ornaments of ivory and pearl; engraved gems and brooches; rings and bells; musical instruments—cornets, flutes, harps; and implements of the house and field,—such were the products of the shops of Nineveh. What arms soever the ancient soldier bore in beating down the enemy, in besieging his town, in leading him captive from the battle, or in warding off his thrusts and blows, were produced in inexhaustible stores. The armories of that ever warlike people rang with incessant clangor in the fabrication of the weaponry and harness of the stalwart soldiery of Asshur. The mechanical powers were well understood and readily applied, in their simpler forms, to the production of implements and fabrics. Huge aqueducts and tunnels were constructed. The arch was employed in

ASSYRIAN CARICATURE. DRAGONS FIGHTING.

building. Glass was blown and spread into transparent sheets. Gems were engraved with a skill unsurpassed in Paris. Woodwork was inlaid with pearl, and garments and robes were woven and ornamented with an exquisite richness and beauty that might well excite the covetous pride of the most voluptuous Shah or Czarina of modern times.

ASSYRIAN SOLDIERS FIGHTING.

The glory of Assyria was the glory of arms and of material grandeur. The sheen of her greatness was a barbaric splendor—the product of the genius of a primitive and powerful race expanding under the fiery impulses of war, enriched by the luxuries of conquest, made haughty by domination.

The Tigris still washes these ancient ruins. The setting sun still falls with his long train of splendid twilight across the Mesopotamian hills, sinking to rest as gloriously as when Asshur-Bani-Pal beheld him for the last time from the western windows of his palace; but the great people who for seven hundred years pressed beneath the conqueror's foot the neck of a hundred enemies, has passed forever into oblivion. Where Sennacherib and Sargon drove their triumphant chariots through the roar of tumultuous thoroughfares, amidst the shouts of a victorious soldiery, some half-savage Kurds, sitting on the broken stones of Khorsabad or Nimrud, watch a distant flock, and at the fall of night the jackal sets up a howl as he issues from his den in the basement of a ruined palace.

SUING FOR PEACE.

Book Fourth.

MEDIA.

CHAPTER XV.—COUNTRY AND PRODUCTS.

THE country of MEDIA, now included in the northern portion of the Persian Empire, was the scene of the first upland kingdom of Western Asia. Here it was demonstrated that civilization can flourish beyond the alluvium of the river bottoms. The country consists of a plateau on the thither side of the Zagros mountains, sloping to the south and east. On the north, from Ararat almost to the Caspian, the river Aras[1] is the boundary; and on the north-east the Elburz chain, rising, not like the Zagros, in parallel ridges with intervening valleys, but in a single lofty range around the Lower Caspian, with spurs breaking off at right-angles, constitutes the natural limit. Eastward lies the land of the Afghans, between which and Media there is no natural demarkation, and on the south the country descends to the arid plains peculiar to the desert parts of Persia. The general elevation of this important district is more than three thousand feet above the level of the sea.

In shape Media is a parallelogram, lying with its greater axis from north-west to south-east. The length of this greater dimension is six hundred miles, and the average breadth about two hundred and fifty miles. This gives the not inconsiderable area of one hundred and fifty thousand square miles—a country considerably larger than Chaldæa and Assyria together. The whole peninsula of Italy is only two-thirds, and the British Islands no more than four-fifths, as large as Media Proper with the limits here defined.

The political boundaries of ancient Media are difficult to determine. The authorities disagree; nor can it be doubted that at some periods the limits of the kingdom were much greater than at others. The historian can look only to those physical barriers to which political power would naturally extend and beyond which it could not pass. These barriers on at least three sides of Media may be determined with approximate accuracy.

On the west the center of the Zagros may be accepted as the Median boundary in that direction. On the north the boundary would be the mountain chain which shuts in Lake Urumiyeh, and further east the river Aras. On the east the natural limit was that branch

[1] The classical *Araxes*.

of the Elburz in which lies the pass called the Caspian Gates, and further south the great salt deserts of Khorasan. On the south there is no natural demarkation, but from many considerations a line nearly coincident with the thirty-second parallel of latitude may be regarded as a fair approximation to the old boundary between Media and Persia.

The upper part of Media is specially mountainous. The ancient district of Atropatêné, the modern Azerbijan, in the north-western portion of the country, is almost Alpine in its elevations. The Elburz, also, though narrow at the base, is by no means an unaspiring range. Out of this arises at a distance of forty miles from Teheran the snow-capped Demavend, the most sightly mountain peak in all Asia west of the Himalayas. The Zagros, already many times mentioned in the history of Assyria, consists of six or seven parallel elevations with depressions between, the whole running in a broad mountainous belt between the valley of the Tigris and the Median plain.

As the traveler traverses Media from the north-west angle to the south, he beholds a gradual descent of the mountains into hills, these in turn sinking into rocky plains, and finally vanishing in the desert. Except on the south, the boundaries of Media are rocky elevations, highest on the north and north-east, while the central portion of the country thus inclosed is a rough and arid plain. The mountainous skirts of the land are full of ravines and gorges, from the sides of which in many places summits shoot up with precipitous sides of gray rock. The general aspect falls coldly on the vision, and the natural inaccessibility of the region suggests a predatory people, fond of hunting and war.

The rivers of Media are of minor importance. The streams which take their rise from the Elburz are short and narrow. Those of the eastern slope hurry down the hill-sides and plunge into the Caspian; while those on the western declivity are feeble in their waters and are soon lost in the desert plains of the south. Those rivers rising from the Zagros on the west and entering the Tigris have already been described. Some of those whose fountains are on the eastern slopes of the same mountains have a considerable volume, and flowing in an easterly direction gather into rivers of importance. The KIZIL-UZEN makes its way, in a course of four hundred and ninety miles, to the Caspian. The ZENDERUND waters a considerable district in the north-central portion of Media, and the BENDAMIR, flowing by Persepolis, falls into Lake Bakhtigan.[1] These three rivers are the dominant physical facts in the best portion of the country; and this district, neither unproductive in fruits nor cheerless in aspect, was the heart of the land in the times of Median supremacy.

In some limited parts the land was beautiful. In the north-west angle, on the skirts of Lake Urumiyeh, some verdant and picturesque scenery greets the eye of the traveler. Many of the valleys of the Zagros are rich in both beauty and fertility. The banks of the Zenderund, especially in the upper part of its course, are bordered with green pastures and occasional evidences of luxuriance. For the rest, the general aspect of Media is that of an arid and sterile upland—rocky, alkaline, poor in trees and rain and running streams, tending to a desert. The color of the landscape, except for two months in spring, is brown. The herbage is dry and juiceless, having its roots in a soil of clay and gravel. The grass is coarse and the bushes stunted in growth. The eye turns wearily around the horizon, and is not satisfied. Even in Atropatêné, one of the best districts of Northern Media, large sterile tracts are found at intervals, and gray downs spread out, treeless and desolate, on either hand.

From time immemorial Media has suffered not only from her scant supply of water, but from the sunken position of the little which nature has bestowed. The river beds are so low and the valleys through which they course so greatly depressed below the level that the artificial distribution of moisture is impracticable. The vast systems of irrigation which were so easy and natural in the low countries,

[1] It is a noteworthy fact that of all the greater rivers of Media not a single one reaches the ocean. The Aras and the Kizil-Uzen make their way to the Caspian. All the rest waste their waters on the arid south.

with their lazy rivers coursing along beds but little lower than the general level, were not to be thought of in the Median gorges and hills. Civilization was proportionally retarded, and the pursuits of the nomad and warrior were favored at the expense of husbandry. Of all the Median rivers only the Zenderund was of a character to have its waters artificially distributed. All of the other streams lay in the bottom of sunken channels, and plunged along with a turbulence terrifying to the peasant and fatal to bridges.

Of other bodies of waters the most important is LAKE URUMIYEH. It lies four thousand two hundred feet above the level of the sea, and is a shallow sheet spread out under a blue sky. The length from north-west to south-east is eighty miles, and the average breadth is about twenty-five miles. It is a brackish, fishless body of water, a sort of Dead Sea of the mountains, nearly divided by a peninsula projecting from the eastern shore and dotted with a few inconsiderable islands. The waters, though incapable of supporting life, are azure in their hue, not unlike the lake tints of Northern Italy, and the natives call the cerulean sheet the Blue Sea—in their language, the *Kapotan Zow*.

For purposes of civil administration ancient Media was divided into eleven districts. These subdivisions were, however, embraced in two larger parts known as GREAT MEDIA and ATROPATÊNÉ. The principal minor provinces were Rhagiana, Ardelan, and Nisæa — the latter being the district famous from times immemorial for its fine breed of horses. The other provinces mentioned by Ptolemy were Margiana, Choromithrêné, Elymaïs, Sigriana, Daritis, and Syro-Media. These districts seem not to have been divided from each other by natural barriers, and it is possible—even probable—that in the times of the Empire only the two great divisions of Atropatêné and Media the Great were recognized, the former being the old home of the Medes, and the latter a country added by conquest and colonization.

The capital city of Great Media was ECBATANA,[1] situated somewhat to the east of the Zagros range, at the foot of Mount Orontes, now known as Mount Erwend. The city was doubtless on the site of the modern Susa—a beautiful situation, verdant in spring and summer, well watered with mountain streams, and sloping gently to the west. According to Diodorus Siculus, the ancient city had a circumference of fifty stadia, which would give an area *of fifty square miles*. No doubt, however, the historian in giving these extravagant dimensions recited what he had heard from the story-tellers of his times, rather than what he himself had seen and measured. Three or four square miles would perhaps be a nearer approximation to the real extent of Ecbatana, nor is this an inconsiderable area for an ancient city.

In the case of the Median capital it is to be regretted that antiquarian research has as yet supplied but little information concerning the size and character of the city. The site is covered by the modern Susa, and no doubt from age to age the ancient remains have been rebuilt and built upon until, as in Venice and Rome, the old outline is destroyed and the old plan effaced. No expedition of a scientific character has ever been sent to exhume and explore the ancient city, nor is it certain that any account capable of verification can ever be produced of the old capital of the fiery Medes.

The authority of Polybius may, however, be cited respecting some of the principal features of Ecbatana. By him the dimensions of the ground-plan of the palace of Cyaxares are given in definite measurements. The circumference of the building is said to have been one thousand four hundred and twenty yards in extent. Albeit, this is the measurement of the mound or raised platform on which the palace was reared, rather than the dimensions of the actual foundation of the building. The palace itself seems to have been something in the same style as the later royal buildings in Susa and Persepolis, and not wholly unlike the temples of Greece. There were without two rows of columns, the first supporting the main structure, and the second constituting the principal feature of the peristyle or external colonnade. The col-

[1] In Greek, *Agbatana;* in Persian, *Hagmatan.*

umns were of cypress or cedar, and were adorned with precious metals. Supported by the capitals, and crossing each other at right angles overhead, were beams of the same rich woods similarly garnished. The roof was composed of silver tiles, which lay flashing in the sunlight. All the conspicuous parts of the palace without and within were made to glitter with sheets of silver and gold laid upon the surface. In later times stone pillars and columns took the place of the colonnade of wood, and the somewhat oriental style of ornamentation gave place to the severer tastes of the West.

Near to the palace stood the *arx* or citadel. It was the treasury of the city and state—a place of great natural strength and well defended by the skill of man. The public archives of the kingdom were here deposited for safe keeping, and as the tides of war swept by, the Medes looked to this stronghold as the Greeks to the Acropolis, and the Romans to the Capitoline hill. What manner of buildings and fortifications constituted the defenses of the place only conjecture can testify. Some ruins of later date are all that mark the site once covered with the bulwarks of the capital city of the Medes.

Besides the citadel it does not appear that Ecbatana had any considerable defenses. To the city tradition assigns no walls. Those races which are able to protect themselves *with* walls, are better able to do so *without* them. When London must be defended with a rampart the Fijis will indeed be ready to take possession of St. Paul's. Among the ancient nations the Medes and Persians, as a general rule, trusted not to walled towns, but rather to the valor and prowess of their soldiery.

Until recently much confusion has existed in respect to the size and character of Ecbatana. Most of this has arisen from the fact that the capital town of Northern Media was also called by the same name. The latter was situated in the province of Azerbijan, and was built on the summit of a hill, rising like a sugar-loaf above the surrounding country. This conical elevation sloped down to the plain on all sides, and was encircled with a seven-fold rampart. On the center of the summit was placed the citadel, with the treasure-house and palace of the king. The concentric walls were painted of different colors, the outer one being white, the next black, the third scarlet, the fourth blue, the fifth orange, the sixth silver, and the seventh golden—so that viewed from the surrounding plain the concentric battlements of different hues, rising one above the other and the whole crowned in the center with the imposing citadel, presented a scene at once picturesque and grand.

The Northern Ecbatana was situated in the valley of the Saruk, a tributary of the Jaghetu. The conical hill seems to have been formed, as are some of those in the Yellowstone National Park, by the overflow of a mineral lake, the deposit of whose waters, rising in incrustations, accumulated from year to year, lifting the small lake to the summit. A mountain of this sort, covered with ruins and surrounded on the sloping sides, is found in the locality described, and seems to answer well the position assigned to the old capital of Northern Media.

The third city of the Median Empire was Rhaga, situated near the Caspian Gates. It was one of the oldest settlements of the Aryan race, and is mentioned in the Zend-Avesta. It is also referred to in the apocryphal books of Tobit and Judith as the capital of Media where Arphaxad reigned. It was the chief town of the province of Rhigiana, on the eastern border of the Median territory, but the exact location of the city has not been definitely ascertained. Some ruins at the modern village of Rhey are thought to mark the site of Rhaga, and the names are sufficiently similar to strengthen that supposition. At any rate the city was only a day's march from those wonderful passes[1] where the Elburz chain is cleft in twain for the exit of man from the Median uplands to the sea.

Fourth among the cities of Media was Charax, the site of which is now marked by

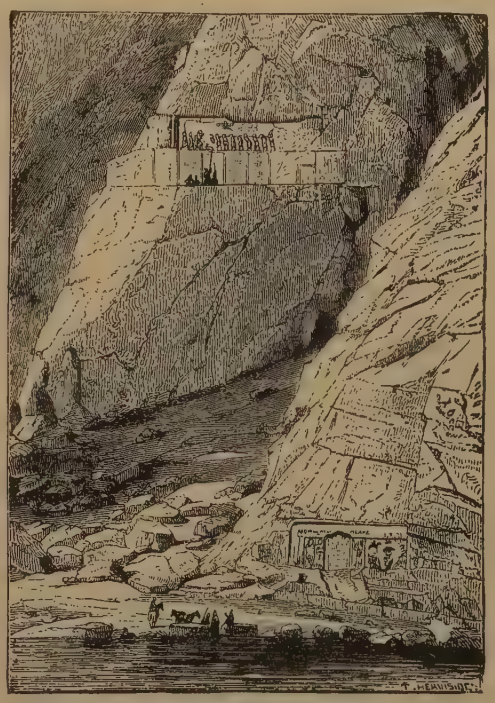
[1] The so-called "Caspian Gates" are one of the wonders of geography. One of the passes is of tremendous proportions. The mountain range is cleft at right angles to the bottom. The walls of rock stand up on either hand a thousand feet in height. The gateway is about five miles long and no more than from ten to forty feet in width.

the ruins of Uewanukif, near Rhaga just described. Not much is known of the character and importance of this town, and the same may be said, with but slight qualifications, of all the ancient cities of the Medes. The work of scientific discovery, which has been directed with so great profit to the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, has been turned but little to the Median ruins; and the task of the antiquary, as it relates to this important district, is yet to be performed.

Besides the four cities above referred to, four others of considerable note, belonging to Western Media, may be mentioned. They were all situated on the slopes of the Zagros and were therefore better known to the Assyrians and the nations of the West than were the remote cities of the Median plains. The first in rank and importance of the western towns was BAGISTAN. It is situated on the direct route from Babylon to Ecbatana, and has been easily identified with the modern Behistun. The description given by the ancients of the scenery and surroundings of Bagistan might almost be repeated to-day of what the traveler sees about the Persian town which marks the site of the buried city. Here is the famous Rock of Behistun, where Semiramis is said to have carved her own effigy and a commemorative inscription. Here, also, according to the tradition, she established a great park or paradise, which was refreshed with a marvelous fountain of water. Here, too, upon the face of the living rock, are the world-famous inscriptions of Darius the Great. Upon the scarped surface of these precipices nation after nation — Mede, Persian, Parthian—has left the trace of its power and fame.

Further on towards Ecbatana, at the foot of the southern slope of the Elwend, was the ancient Median town of ARDAPAN. The site has been identified with that of the Persian village of Arteman. Our only knowledge of the old city is derived from the historian Isidore, who declares that the sunny climate and cheery rills of the place attracted thither the sovereigns of Media, anxious to escape the boreal rigors of a more northern residence. The royal palace of Ardapan was a favorite resort of fatigued and disgusted kings until the splendid structure was sacked and destroyed by Tigranes, the Armenian.

The third town of this second group was CONCOBAR. The massive ruins which overlook the modern Kungawar make it comparatively certain that the two sites are identical. Here, as well as at Bagistan, the mythical Semiramis had her paradise and temple. That tradition, however, which ascribes the temple to Artemis may contain a larger fraction of truth. The



SCULPTURED ROCK OF BEHISTUN.

uncertain certainty of the mortal queen gives place to the certain uncertainty of the immortal divinity. In either case, it is but the finger of conjecture which points out the foundation of the ancient edifice.

The last of the Median towns here calling for mention was ASPADAN, in the extreme southern limit of the country, close to the confines of Persia. The modern Persian capital, Isfahan, occupies the site, and the recent name is nearly the same as the old.

Owing to the perishable character of Median buildings—as compared with the everlasting structures of the Euphrates and Tigris valley—not much can now be known of the relative

importance of the towns of Media. Wood, even the beam of cedar, perishes. The architecture of the Medes is eaten up of time, and the little that Time has spared War has devoured. Not a single edifice of the times of the Empire has remained in any thing more than shadowy outline within the whole country of ancient Media. As a consequence, the opportunities for reconstructing the architecture and the social life of which it was the outer garb are either meager or altogether wanting.

The climate of Media could be inferred from the situation of the country. The zone, the elevation, the trend of the region, the proximity of great waters and high mountains—these are the elements out of which climate is compounded. As Media was greatly elevated, the country was dry, arid. The mountain walls and southern trend gave a higher temperature than would have otherwise prevailed. The not inconsiderable extent of the country from north to south, the variations in elevation, and especially the proximity of the desert on one side, furnished the conditions of variability.

In general, the climatic division of the region here considered was into two parts—Atropatêné, or Northern Media, and the Southern Plateau, the latter being subdivided into a western and an eastern district, differing greatly from each other in natural characteristics.

The climate of Atropatêné is one of extremes. In summer the temperature rises almost to 100 degrees of Fahrenheit, and in winter the cold is excessive. Perhaps no other region of the globe, lying in the same latitude, is subject to such extreme rigors. By the close of November the ground is frozen. Then comes the snow, may be to the depth of several feet. Then in midwinter clear weather prevails, the sun blazing around his shortened circuit by day, and the chaste moon smiling coldly, almost disdainfully, on the snow glare by night. All the while a bitter high wind, keen and merciless as the sword of an Afghan, whirls across the icy hills, and he who faces it long may fall down frozen to death. This terrible winter is largely attributable to the great elevation of the district, the very valleys being as much as four thousand or five thousand feet about the level of the sea.

During the winter months out-of-door activity is mostly suspended. The incontinent caravan, sometimes tempted to set forth, finds a probable grave in the drift. By the middle of March the ice-manacles are generally broken, and nature begins to revive. On the hill-tops the snow fights with the sun until May-day. About this time there is an epoch of rainy weather. The sunshine rouses a sudden heat in the valleys. There is a quick outburst of luxuriance. The slopes flush green. Ominous clouds pass over. Now and then one of them bursts with a clap of thunder. One shower chases another across the fields. Hard after the dash of rain comes perhaps a blast of hail-stones. Calves in the pastures are sometimes killed; likewise men. The houses are hammered; the fruit-trees knocked to pieces. Sometimes in the morning Nature is robed in an infinite fog. Then bright, warm days follow fast, and in June it is hot, sultry. Altogether, the autumn is the most pleasant season. The weather is settled, and life has something of equanimity.

Passing out of Atropatêné and journeying to the south-east a modification is soon noticed in the climate. The winters are shorter. The snow, even in December and January, is scant and soon melts away. Ten or fifteen degrees below the freezing point is about the minimum temperature. This is the eastern part of the great plateau. Here are the important cities of Teheran and Isfahan. In spring-time all nature bursts out a-blooming. The gardens are full of roses. The air breathes balm. For a season every sense is in paradise. Song-birds, the very *prime donne* of the thicket and croft, make vocal the perfumed breezes. While the scant showers of spring continue there is nothing wanting to soothe or intoxicate. At a later date the sultry air of summer begins to scorch and blast the beauty of the earlier months. The mercury rises on some hot midday to 100° F. Vegetation withers. At intervals a gust of hot air blows up from the southern desert, and life flies before it.

Fortunately, however, the mountains with their snows are not far away, and when the breeze turns and falls from these incorruptible heights there is a most grateful vicissitude from the otherwise intolerable breath of the desert. In all ages the better class of people in these districts of Media have been in the habit of seeking refuge during the heats of July and August in the shadow of the adjacent mountains, from whose cool white brow the refreshing air has dropped upon the feverish faces of the suppliant population. Indeed, the city of Hamadan seems to have been founded by those who were escaping from the sultry plains. Here, by the nearness of the mountain and the plentiful supply of spring water, the natural conditions of a summer resort were discovered long before the dubious luxuries of civilization had made *ennui* one of the afflictions of society. The same—or nearly the same—praise may be bestowed upon the situation of Ecbatana, which was chosen as the summer residence of the Persian kings.

If it were not for the scantiness of the rainfall the Median plateau might be justly described as a delightful climate. In respect of moisture much is wanting to the comfort and luxuriance of the regions. The soil is rarely drenched with the dead drunkenness of rain, and the thirsty plains swallow with a feverish gulp the occasional libations of the clouds. As a consequence of this atmospheric drought the dews of night are correlatively scanty, and each morning sees quickly enacted the cruel tragedy of Apollo and Daphne. Albeit the dryness of the air is favorable to health, and the dark vapors of the poisonous marsh and sunless jungle are unknown in the Median uplands, where the fields glisten and the hair of Nature is as crisp as flax.

One of the most striking atmospheric phenomena of this part of Media is the whirlwind. Ever and anon, in the hot season, a sudden gust from the heated sands of the south strikes a counter current of colder air dropping from the mountain slopes, and a focus is produced, around which a great cloud of leaves, stubble, and sand is twisted into an inverted cone, with its base against the sky. The monstrous apparition goes whirling across the plains, flinging all lighter substances to the capricious demons of the air; but the violence of such storms is by no means so great as that of the tornadoes and cyclones of the tropics. In this region of Media also appears the famous mirage, the wonder of travelers and puzzle of philosophy. The strange phenomenon is supposed to be the result of unequally rarefied strata of air thrown into undulations by the heated surface of the earth and viewed horizontally. Spectral images are thus produced of things which lie in the distance, perhaps below the horizon. Mountains appear where there are none; villages rise in the waste, and springs in the desert. The scene is a phantasmagoria. Giants are transformed into columns, and a clump of bushes into the domes and minarets of a city. Lakes of bright water bordered with the palm hang motionless not far away, then vanish. It is the whimsical specter of the desert.

In the western portion of the Median plateau the climate is greatly modified by the proximity of the Zagros. In the more mountainous part of this region the severe cold of the protracted winter is like that of Atropatêné. Adown the slopes the rigors are less relentless, and in the valleys there is warmth and verdure. Here, too, water and running streams are more abundant than in any other portion of Media. In summer the valley air is humid, and in some parts malaria prevails, and the people suffer from chills and fever. In this country of hills and glens it is possible, as in California, to pass in a few hours' journey from the bleak frosts and snows of the mountains to the luxuriance, warmth, and sunshine of the vales.

The plateau of Media is in great measure devoid of timber. It were hard to say whether the generally arid condition of the region is attributable to the absence of forests or whether the failure of the latter has been caused by the persistent atmospheric drought.[1] On the

[1] The correlation of vegetation and rain is a question for which civilization must furnish a practical solution. The tree and the water-brook are inseparable phenomena, but which is the cause of the other? It is evident that vegetation depends upon humidity, but does not the rain-cloud follow the forest and shun the waste? Is it

mountains the case is different. Here the forest growth is abundant and stalwart. The high ridges of Atropatêné are not so heavily wooded as the Zagros ranges on the west. The latter are covered with heavy timber. The Elburz chain is clad with forests of pine, wild almond, and oak. Here, too, the poplar and walnut abound. Ash and terebinth groves are common, as well as those in which the oriental plane-tree and the willow are the prevalent growth. The oak, besides its use as a timber-tree, yields abundantly the nutgalls of commerce. The hill-slopes are covered with the plant which yields gum tragacanth, and many districts abound in nuts and berries.

In the valleys of the Zagros and the more sheltered parts of Northern Media the orchards are as fine as in any part of the world. In these almost every kind of fruit grows to perfection. These regions seem to be the native land of apples, pears, and peaches. Here, also, the vine flourishes. The olive, the almond, and the apricot grow wild. Quinces of richest flavor, plums, cherries, mulberries, and nectarines complete the list of principal fruits belonging to the vales of Zagros and the more favored parts of Atropatêné.

On the great plateau, as already said, forest trees are scattered but sparsely. The prevailing types are the plane, the poplar, and the willow. More rarely the cedar, the elm, and the cypress are found, chiefly along the banks of the infrequent rivers. Back a short distance from the streams the forest growth dwindles to bushes and shrubs—only a clump of thorn here and there or some half-grown tamarisk breaks the monotony of the gray and cheerless plain. Of all Media by far the most exuberant district is that which lies along the Lower Aras. Here there is a native luxuriance equal to that of any region in the world. The very delta of the Nile has scarcely a greater fecundity. Flowers and fruits grow wild, and the grass is so high in summer that a man on horseback is hidden as he passes.

As to those products which flourish only by culture, Media resembles other lands of the same latitude and elevation. The physical conformation of the country is not unfavorable to agriculture. In Atropatêné and on the slopes of the Zagros the soil is easily upturned with the plow, and the various crops spring up and ripen without much attention or labor. The leading cereals are wheat, barley, millet, sesame, corn, and rice. The tobacco plant flourishes, as does also the castor bean, and the fields whiten with cotton as in the Southern States of the Union. In the gardens are cucumbers, melons, and pumpkins. Nor is the estate of man, as determined by the means of subsistence, in any respect equivocal or menaced with peculiar hardships.

In all parts of the Median plateau to which nature has not denied a sufficiency of water, the same—though less flattering—agricultural conditions exist. As we proceed to the south and east, however, and the streams dwindle and die, and the springs become few and poor in water, cultivation becomes more difficult and less fruitful of results. In modern times a system of canals and tunnels has in some degree triumphed over the natural tendency to barrenness; but in the days of the Median Empire no such artificial compensation of nature's poverty was known. The plateau of Iran, which, in our day produces moderately good crops of wheat, corn, barley, rice, and millet, was perhaps incapable of such production at the time when Media was in her power. Still, at the present time, the yield of fruits and vegetables is in many parts fairly, and in a few especially, good. In a few districts the melons and grapes are proverbially fine in flavor. Besides these exceptional products, a large part of the Median plain is peculiarly adapted to the production of sundry drugs well known among the nations. The principal of these are rhubarb, senna, opium, asafœtida, madder, saffron, and tobacco.

In the decoration of the earth few countries can equal Media. The flowers are luxuriant and abundant. In the brief spring, and again for a season in the autumn, the blossoms are everywhere. In the summer, as in many parts of the United States, the sun devours every thing. For a while, however,

not probable that all the deserts of the world can be reclaimed by the simple expedient of planting trees?

there is beauty. The magnificent rose-tree, sometimes fourteen or fifteen feet in height, covers herself with a queenly festoon, painted with every hue and fragrant with the richest odors. The gardens are adorned with flowering shrubs, chief of which are the lilac and the jasmine. In some districts hollyhocks grow wild, as do also tulips, crocuses, and lilies. Primroses, heliotropes, and pinks are seen, and water-lilies rarely by the margin of the streams. In like situations many fragrant mints are found, and sages in the gardens. The chief feature of all this region is the rapid metamorphosis from the desolation of winter to the verdure and flowers of spring, and a similarly sudden blight of all this beauty with the apparition of the withering heats of summer.

In the matter of mineral wealth Media is by no means to be contemned. Her quarries of stone are equal in quality to those of Assyria and much more widely distributed. In the hills near Lake Urumiyeh is found the famous yellow Tabriz marble, which is so transparent as to be cut thin and used instead of window glass. Other varieties have different hues, according to the nature of the carbonates deposited from the springs of the neighborhood. Good grades of building stone are found in nearly every part of the country, and the quarries show that considerable attention has been given, both in ancient and modern times, to getting out and preparing the enduring materials furnished by nature. It appears, however, that the uses to which stone was put by the Medes were rather such as setting curbs and laying pavements in baths and palaces than in architecture proper.

Of the wealth of Media in the precious metals not much is known. It is thought that some parts of the Zagros contain mines of gold and silver. There are traditions of gold mines in other mountainous districts, but modern exploration has not demonstrated the truth of the stories. The same uncertainty prevails in respect to the mines of lead and antimony which are said to exist in Atropatêné. It is certain that quartz rock abounds, and this would lead to the expectation of the precious metals. In the way of gems the most important were emeralds and *lapis lazuli*. As to salt there is an endless—not to say infinite—supply. Vast plains are covered with it. Salt springs are found in many places, and the whole desert country towards the south-east is more or less glazed with saline incrustations. Rock salt, too, is abundant, and is quarried out for native and foreign consumption. Niter and sulphur are found in the Elburz mountains and fine beds of alum along the Aji Su.

The wild animals of Media are of the same general types with those of Assyria. Among the ferocious beasts the principal are the lion, the tiger, the leopard, and the bear. In some parts the wild boar is a terror. Jackals, wolves, and beavers are common, as are also foxes, rabbits, and porcupines. Another group embraces the wild ass, the goat, the sheep, the ibex, the stag, and the antelope. The aurochs or mountain ox inhabits the Zagros. Among the smaller tribes may be named the marmot, the rat, the ferret, and the mole. Of all the districts of Media, Atropatêné has the greatest number of animals, and several of the species above enumerated—such as the tiger and the lion—are limited to this part of the country. The Median wild ass differs from that of Mesopotamia, as well as from that of Tartary, in having no dark lines across the shoulders. His ears are large and heavy, like those of a donkey, and his mane is short and black.

Among the domestic animals of Media the most important was the camel. He was the chief reliance of whoever had burdens to transport from place to place. There were three breeds: the Bactrian, with the double hump in his back; the Arabian, with his longer and fleeter limbs; and a cross-breed possessing the better points of the other two. After the camel the mule was next in usefulness, and was preferred in the mountainous districts for his smaller size and surer footing.

Most celebrated of all the Median domestic animals were the Nisæan horses, whose praises were recited by nearly all the historians from Herodotus to Livy. These steeds were noted for their great size and peculiar shape, and were prized by all the kings and princes of the East. The breed is thought to have been

of Parthian extraction, and to be represented in Media at the present day by a stock of horses called Turkoman. Another breed is now found in the country, which is evidently of Arabian descent and more recent development.

The kine of Media differed not much from those found in most countries belonging to the north temperate zone. The sheep and the goat were of the common varieties, and were deduced from the wild breeds of the hills. As to dogs, the finest was that Macedonian greyhound which, if tradition is to be accepted, was introduced in Assyria and beyond by the armies of Alexander. The animal is strong and swift, being used in pursuit of the antelope and other fleet-footed and long-winded game. His scent is fine and his instinct unerring, though in fleetness he is reckoned inferior to the greyhound of England.

The great bird of the Median upper air is the eagle. After him the genus *Falco* is represented by the falcon proper and several species of hawk. Of land birds the most noted are the stork, the pelican, and the bustard. Of the edible birds the chief are the quail, the partridge, the dove, the pigeon, and the snipe. On the great Plateau water-fowl are rarely seen, but in Atropatêné wild ducks are frequently noticed by the traveler. The principal song birds are thrushes, linnets, larks, goldfinches, and nightingales, while the chattering race is represented by the crow, the magpie, and the blackbird. In the neighborhood of Isfahan pigeons are reared for profit, and the round towers which are the homes of innumerable flocks are seen here and there in the landscape.

As already said, the lakes of Media are fishless, being salt. Not so the rivers, though in these the finny tribes do not abound. The colder streams of the Zagros yield some fine trout. As for the rest, the rivers of the Plateau have several varieties of carp, barbel, and gudgeon, but the waters are generally too brackish to be a favorite home of fishes. In many Median streams the unpoetic craw-fish, with his reversed locomotion, is as much the object of the fisherman's craft as the more graceful denizens of the open river.

Portions of Media are as much plagued with poisonous reptiles as any part of the globe. In the grassy flat-lands along the lower Araxes, snakes of vicious and deadly species so abound that travel in summer time is hardly practicable. Other districts are likewise infested with both serpents and scorpions, but the sting of the latter is rather troublesome than dangerous. Lizards are very abundant and of every hue. They are sometimes more than two feet in length, and are a terror to Europeans, though perfectly harmless. Of the plague-pests of the air the most formidable are the locusts. When they come it is in a cloud that darkens the air. A single day of their devouring reign is sufficient to sweep from a whole district the last vestige of verdure. The very twigs and branches of plants and trees are destroyed, and nothing but a mockery of vegetation left in the land. The only compensation for the scourge is found in the fact that the poorer people avenge themselves by eating the eaters of their orchards.

Besides the ravenous breed of locusts, there are one or two other varieties of destroying insects, notably a kind of ferocious grasshopper, described as being four inches in length and armed behind with a sword. The creature is not, however, so formidable as indicated by his appearance, being a kind of diminished Falstaff of the meadows, with more noise than danger in him.

CHAPTER XVI.—THE PEOPLE.

WHEN the hosts of Xerxes moved down the defile of Thermopylæ, the men selected to clear the pass of the Spartans were a body of MEDES. It was the first introduction of that fierce soldiery to the people of the West. They were at that time in close alliance with their kinsmen, the Persians; and indeed the two races have ever been intimately associated on the page of history. "Medo-Persian" is the name by which the great dominion established by the Achæmenian kings has been immemorially designated. "Thy kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians," was the interpretation of the ominous inscription on the wall of Belshazzar, the Babylonian viceroy, and in a thousand paragraphs of Greek and Roman literature the two peoples are in like manner mentioned together.

Those readers who have given some attention to the study of the races of mankind will understand the ethnic place of the Medes from the statement that they were an offshoot from the Iranic branch of Asiatic Aryans. This classification throws them first of all into relationship with the Persians, more remotely with the races of the Indus, and still more remotely with the Greeks, the Romans, and the Kelts. For the unscholarly reader the Medes may be classified as belonging to the Japhetic family of Adamites.

Nearly all that is known concerning the physical characteristics of the people of ancient Media has been gathered from the sculptures of Persepolis. These carvings represent not only the Persians, by whose artists the sculptures were executed, but also the kindred Medes, who, as the older people, were in good fame at the Persian capital. Besides, the Greek historians—Herodotus and notably Xenophon in the *Cyropædia* and the *Anabasis*—have given personal and character sketches of the Medes, so full and explicit that their appearance is almost as well known as that of the Romans or Assyrians. From these sources it is known that the typical Mede was tall and graceful and of great physical nobility. The physiognomy was almost equal in beauty to the Greek, while in strength of body the Mede was hardly inferior to the warrior of Assyria. The Median forehead was high and straight, and the nose was of that Macedonian type which continues in the same line with the forehead, long and well formed, and sometimes hawk-like and imperious. The upper lip was short and moustached; the chin round and strong and heavily bearded. The hair was abundant to superfluity, and was drawn back from the forehead and twisted into curls around the ears and neck. From the care shown in its arrangement, the Medes were evidently proud of the plentiful locks which clustered around their heads. The Median women are described by the Greeks as of great personal charms. Their beauty was of that queenly style peculiar to semi-heroic ages.

The manner of life among the early Aryans, whether Persian, Hindu, or Greek, was such as to encourage and develop physical perfection, and to make the bodies of men and women glow with those native charms which generally wither under the heats of civilization. For this reason the ancient Mede was, as compared with the modern Persian, a person of beauty and dignity. From the Roman to the Italian marks the distance from freedom to servitude, from open nature to subtle craft, from courage to cunning, from the glory and audacity of paganism to the treachery and servility of religious thralldom. So has it been in Greece, in Media, in Persia, in the valley of the Indus. So will it ever be so long as Nature shall continue to be regarded as the foe instead of the friend of man. The greatness of the intellectual achievement of modern times is tarnished not a little by the eclipse of the physical grandeur and beauty of the early races.

In the qualities of heroic manhood the ancient Medes were rivals of the Greeks. The men of the Median hills had the courage of Athenian soldiers, if not the stoicism of Spartans. Of their warlike daring there can be no doubt. The poems of Horace attest the reputation of the Medes even in the Eternal City, and the prophet Ezekiel describes the kingdom of Cyaxares as the terror of nations.

It was no doubt owing to this warlike constitution that the Medes at the first gained the ascendency over the surrounding tribes of the great plateau, and laid the foundations of their historic renown. They had the bravery and audacity, if not the artistic possibilities and intellectual force, of the Hellenes. To the present day these same qualities are in some measure preserved in the wild Kurds of the hills, whose face and figure have the freedom and symmetry of Sulliotes.

Of all the ancient peoples the Medes were perhaps the most remarkable for their management of the horse. They were disciplined from childhood to ride at will, and were trained to perform feats on horseback. This tended to make them sinewy about the chest and erect in figure. Their dress also was of a kind to favor development; so that the hereditary beauty of the old Aryan stock found no difficult expression in the person of the Mede.

Owing to the meager architectural remains left by the people of Media, and the want of a national literature, there is some difficulty in determining from original sources the personal appearance and demeanor of the race, but the Persian decorations and monuments supply the deficiency. It appears that the chief intellectual qualities of the people were a certain barbaric energy and a love of display. Their pride was personal rather than national, and hence it found expression in ostentatious dress more than in architecture. Perhaps no ancient people took more pleasure in personal display than did the Medes. A magnificent dress and stately semi-barbaric bearing characterized them, though their splendor was rather of richness than of artistic effect. In intellect the Medes were not a superior people, and as a consequence their civilization, though not wanting in force, was unsupported by the principles of perpetuity.

A leading trait of the Median character was cruelty. The reputation of the race was that of unparalleled atrocity in war. The conquests of the Medes were marked by the worst abuses of half-savage warfare. Women, maidens, old men, babes, were all alike the objects of the undiscriminating vengeance of the Median soldiery. The object in battle was rather to insult and wreak vengeance on the foe than to spoil and ravage. The old annals of the East abound in references to the outrages and bloodthirsty spirit of the Medes.

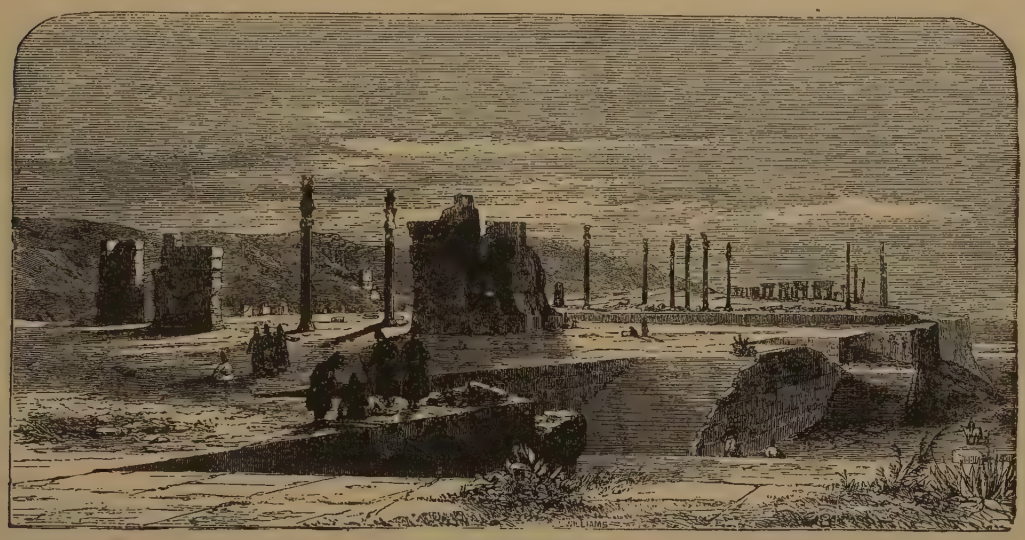
After victory and conquest had brought renown and riches to the race the people gradually imbibed the vices of luxury. Having gained the supremacy over Assyria, the soldiers and courtiers of the Median monarchs soon became enamored of the more expensive and elaborate life of the people whom they had conquered, and began to adopt those methods and gratifications which first intoxicate and then kill. There is little doubt that before the time of Cyrus the Great the native vigor of the Median stock had been sapped to such a degree that the Persians found little difficulty in reversing the political relations between their own and the kingdom of Astyages. It is thus that civilization by relaxing the severity of the habits of her foemen avenges herself and her wrongs upon the spoilers of her vineyards. The luxurious capital of Assyria, with her palaces and banqueting-halls, was thus able to do what the armies of Saracus were impotent to accomplish—break the power of the Medes.

Being peculiarly a warlike race, the first aspect of Median life is that which presents the army going to battle. The soldiers wore broad-sleeved tunics and trousers. They covered their heads with felt caps and bore their quivers on their backs. The tunic was sometimes converted into a coat of mail by an arrangement of small metallic plates, overlapping like the scales of a fish. The most peculiar piece of the armor was the shield, which was a structure of wickerwork, oblong in form, and equaling or exceeding the height of the

warrior. It was set on the ground before him, and was broad enough to protect two or three soldiers, one of whom discharged arrows from the covert, while the other, armed with a spear, sustained the shield in its place and acted on the defensive.[1] Such was the infantry.

But the more important branch of the service was the horse. The cavalrymen were archers. Skilled in the management of steeds and the use of the bow, they adopted the tactics of whirling in circles round about the foe, discharging from every advantageous position showers of arrows, and then dashing out of reach. It was the tactics of Arabs or Scythians reduced to method and made terrible by discipline. The other weapons of offense, besides the bow, were the spear, the sword, and the dagger. The bow was of a very peculiar pattern—short and greatly curved. It was borne in a case, which was slung either at the side or over the shoulders of the soldier. The Median arrow was short, not exceeding three feet in length. The spear was six or seven feet long, and had the head inserted in a ring or socket at the upper end of the shaft. The lower end terminated in an ornamental knob or ball, made in the likeness of an apple or pomegranate. At the soldier's right side hung the Median short sword, fastened by a belt around the waist and also secured by a strap to the thigh.

Of the Median dress something has already been said. The principal article of apparel was a long flowing robe, which seems to have been a pattern original with the Medes. This garment was of so great beauty as to strike the fancy of the Greeks, and their historians have immortalized it in the classics. This famous robe was so made as to fit closely about the shoulders and chest and then spread into two capacious sleeves. At the waist it was bound with a girdle, and fell loosely about the lower person to the ankles. It was a garment greatly superior in gracefulness and elegance to the toga of the Romans, to which it bore some general likeness. The color was generally purple, crimson, or scarlet. Sometimes the robe was striped longitudinally with bands of purple and white. The material mostly employed was silk, but among the poorer classes less costly fibers were used—wool, no doubt, for winter garments. It is in this imposing robe that the Medes and Persians are always figured in the sculptures of Persepolis.



RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS

[1] Besides the large wicker shield here described, the Medes also employed a small circular disk, made of metal or wood, and ornamented with knobs and circles. It resembled the bosses or small shields carried by the Bœotians, and depended for its efficiency upon the agility and skill of the wearer in intercepting with it the flying arrows of the foe.

The Median foot-dress was a sort of flat-bottomed moccasin, laced or buttoned in front. The head was covered in war with a felt hat, but in peace a kind of light tiara, made of stiff cloth and of a strangely original design, was worn both indoors and out. The general presence of a Mede in full dress was at once stately and picturesque. The people appear to have been inordinately fond of personal display, and to have resorted to many artifices to eradicate the defects of nature and heighten their personal beauty. Nor does it appear that the Median women, more than the men, were addicted to those tricks by which age and ugliness are hidden from attention. The eyes were penciled to magnify their size and luster. The skin was rubbed with cosmetics *à la mode*, and false hair was in demand to supply the occasional deficiency of nature. In short, the shops of Ecbatana in the days of Astyages would have shown to the cynical observer the same elaborate satire upon human nature which in every age of the world Fashion has written on the bodies and lives of her subjects.

The principal ornaments worn by the Medes were of gold. The backward condition of the arts, and the slender commercial connection with other nations rich in precious stones, will account for the general absence of gems among the personal decorations of this people. Necklaces and collars of gold were much worn by the nobility, and plain earrings were generally a part of the adornment of persons of rank. Gold bracelets were common among all classes—nobles, warriors, and even peasants; and the bridle-bits and harness of the horses of the wealthy were decorated with the same precious metal.

The chief feature of the social system of the Medes was polygamy. The king maintained a seraglio of wives and concubines, and the nobles, according to their ability, imitated his example. There were five legitimate wives, who held the same relation in the household, and after these the rest of the retinue. The women were secluded, but not with the same rigor as in modern Mohammedan countries, and the usual abuses peculiar to such a system were prevalent.

The ceremonial of the Median court was characterized by a pompous formality. The monarch himself was rarely seen, and the approach to him was guarded by imposing forms, which must be scrupulously observed. Proper officers stood sentry by the entrance way to the kingly presence. He who would have audience must prostrate himself as if doing homage to a god, and even then he must stand at a distance, between files of eunuchs and courtiers. In affairs of state, and indeed in all important communications, the things said and done had to be presented in writing, and all decisions and decrees were issued in like manner. From time to time the officers of the court submitted reports of such branches of business as were intrusted to them and of the general condition of the Empire. By these means the necessity of going forth from his palace was taken away, and the king for the most part passed his days in seclusion.

As in Assyria, so in Media, hunting was the national sport. In this way the monarch and his nobles amused themselves when the cares of state were less severe. But in the royal chase, as practiced in Assyria and Media, there was this marked difference that, in the latter country, the king himself seldom or never engaged personally in the pursuit of wild beasts. In Assyria, on the other hand, the monarch in person leads the chase, attacks the lion, slays the wild boar. The Median sovereign witnesses and enjoys the sport of his nobles, but as a rule does not engage in the contest. He stands apart, and approves or condemns as his courtiers are skillful or clumsy in the contest.[1]

The principal beasts thus hunted by the Median nobles were the lion, the bear, the leopard, and the wild boar. The pursuit of these was regarded as perilous, and the victorious hunter returned with the honors of war.

[1] It is possible that the Assyrian sculptors represent their emperors as doing what they did only by proxy; but considering the aggressive and warlike spirit of the race of Nimrod, it is not improbable that pictorial representations of the battles of the kings with lions, bears, and boars are true to the facts, and that the royal custom of the Medes was different.

The less dangerous beasts of the chase were stags, gazelles, wild asses, and wild sheep. The method of hunting was to pursue on horseback the prey roused from the covert, and when sufficiently near to strike it down with well-directed arrows or javelins. Sometimes herds of deer were driven into inclosures and shot down at the pleasure of the sportsmen; and troops of wild boars were in like manner, but with more danger, driven into marsh grounds, where they were worried with dogs and bands of "beaters" until they fell an easy prey to the hunter's shaft.

The Medes were great eaters and drinkers. Their banquets were characterized by profusion and luxury. Their tables were laden with rich viands—meat, game, wine, bread, sauces, and indeed every article with which a semi-barbaric appetite could be excited or appeased. The guests ate with the hand, after the oriental fashion, using no knives or forks. The point of distinction at the feast was to multiply the number of dishes with which each guest was surrounded. The meals of nobles and royal personages were always after the manner of banquets. Wine was used freely, and the close of the feast was frequently a rout, of which Bacchus was general-in-chief.

Great care was taken to guard the life of the king. The measures adopted generally indicated social depravity and political treachery. That shocking absence of the sense of honor, for which all Eastern courts are proverbial, was constantly apparent in the relations between the king and his subjects. They would follow him to battle and obey his commands, but could not be trusted. So the food and wine with which the monarch was daily served must always be tasted by the obsequious bearer, lest some faithless courtier should have contrived to destroy the royal life by poison; and ever in his dreams the king beheld behind the purple curtain of his couch the assassin's hand clutching a dagger.

Doubtless this deplorable social condition belonged rather to the later than to the earlier days of Median greatness. It was after conquest and lust and satiety had destroyed the fierce native nobility of the Medes that they exhibited the degrading vices peculiar to effeminate despotisms. When the rich capitals of Assyria opened their gates the hardy soldiers of the trans-Zagros fell quickly into gluttony and riotous excesses. And so, as has happened so many times in the history of mankind, the very victory of the Medes over their enemy furnished the insidious conditions of their overthrow. It only remained for Persia, grown great by the practice of the stalwart virtues, to turn the tables upon the Medes, softened by luxury, and do unto them as they had done to the enervated population of Nineveh and Asshur.

The Medes had little genius. In literary culture they achieved no distinction. No poem or historical fragment has been traced to a strictly Median source. Of their art but little is known. At Hamadan, the site of the ancient capital, has been found a single specimen of sculpture, the broken fragment of a colossal lion, which is believed to have been the product of a Median chisel. As far as may be judged from the appearance of this weather-eaten and mutilated torso, it is of the same style as that of Assyria. The body is about twelve feet in length, and the creature seems to have had something of the majesty of a sphinx.

No doubt the art of the Medes can best be judged by that of Persia. It is thought by critics that the great sculptures which adorned the capital of the Persian kings were imitated from those of Assyria; and if this be true, then it is evident that the artistic styles displayed in the ruins of Persepolis were brought thither by way of Media, and not directly from the West. The point in which originality may with most plausibility be claimed for the Medes is in their architecture, which, though suggestive of that of Assyria, is still sufficiently differentiated to be regarded as a distinct form. It is to be greatly regretted that some ruin of Azerbijan or the Median plateau has not furnished the antiquary and the historian with more tangible and authentic evidences of the condition of art and science among our oldest kinsmen of Western Asia.

CHAPTER XVII.—LANGUAGE AND RELIGION.

THE language of the Medes was Aryan. It was a branch of that great speech which has filled the world with its dialects, of which among the tongues of antiquity the Greek, and among those of modern times the English, are the most illustrious representatives. The Median language was closely allied to the Persian, being either the parent or the elder sister of that tongue; from which it happens that a fair notion of the speech employed by the subjects of Cyaxares may be obtained from an examination of the inscriptions of Persepolis. It is as though one should study Latin from Italian manuscripts.

It has been thought by some scholars that the famous Zendavesta, or bible of the Zoroastrians, is written in the language of the ancient Medes; but more careful investigation has shown that the language of the Zoroastrian scripture is older than that of Media, and that it is to be traced geographically to Bactria and Sogdiana. So, though it is probable that learned Medes could have read the books of Zoroaster, still it would have been brokenly and imperfectly, as an English student would read Anglo-Saxon, or an Italian, Latin.

It would be impossible at the present day and in the present state of knowledge to determine with precision the differences existing between the languages of Media and Persia. The fragments of the former speech which have descended to modern times are very meager, and consist mainly of isolated words from which the Median grammar can be but imperfectly reconstructed. The words which have been thus preserved are for the most part nouns, principally proper names, and these furnish but an indifferent clue to the real structure of the language.

Median names are almost identical with the Persian equivalents. In some instances the spelling is precisely the same. Thus Arbaces, Artabazus, Harpagus, Ariobarzanes, Tiridates, and many other analogous names are without distinction in the two languages. In other cases the variation is so slight as to be of little importance, as Artynes for Artanes, Parmises for Parmys, Intaphernes for Intaphres, etc. In still another class the Median words, though not similar to any known Persian names, are clearly made up of Persian roots and combinations. To those who are acquainted with the physiognomy of languages this kind of evidence is conclusive proof of affinity between the tongues in which it exists. Such names as Ophernes, Sitraphernes, Mazares, Spitaces, Megabernes, and the like, are so clearly Persian in their typical structure as to be unmistakable by scholars, and yet these words are not known as the names of Persians. A fourth class, though having the Persic type, have no root-identity with any known words in that tongue, but are easily made out by comparisons with Zend and Sanskrit. It is as though Norman names, the equivalents of which could not be found in French, should be discovered in Italian or Spanish—a fact not at all inconsistent with the laws of linguistic growth and decay. Thus it happens that the names of the principal personages of Median history—Deïoces, Phraortes, Astyages, and Cyaxares—are made up of parts not found in Persian, but are easily explained by Zend and Sanskrit roots. In like manner the meaning of many Median names of places may be traced in corresponding forms found in the older branches of the Aryan speech. Of this kind are the names of the principal cities—Ecbatana, Bagistan, Aspadan, etc.

Besides the names of persons and places only a few Median words have survived. The word for day was *spaka*. The heralds who carried messages to and from the king were called *angari*. One of the measures employed by the Medes was known as the *artabê*, and the Median robe was called *candys*. Two other words—*artades*, meaning "the just," and

devas, meaning "the evil"—are of record as belonging to the Median dictionary; and here, so far as present scholarship can determine, our knowledge of the vocabulary of this ancient people is bounded. Only one other fact concerning the speech of the Medes is known, and that is the prevalence of the terminational particle *ak* in nouns. This ending seems to have been a kind of guttural suffix, which was gradually softened down and finally dropped altogether from the later development of the language in Persia.

That the Medes possessed the art of writing their language can not be doubted. In the First Book of Herodotus the story is told how Harpagus the Mede sent to Cyrus a letter concealed in the body of a hare. Several other references of like sort indicate the belief of the ancients that the art preservative of arts was known and practiced by the people of Media. Several passages in the Book of Daniel state specifically that King Darius *wrote* and *signed* the decrees which from time to time he issued "unto all peoples, nations, and languages;" and in the tenth chapter of Esther it is stated that there was kept at the Persian court a book containing the annals of the Median monarchs. But it is doubtless true that the native writings of this people were limited to political papers and royal messages, and that no national literature of any importance was ever produced. The people were a matter-of-fact and comparatively idealess race, and outside of the sacred lore in which their religious system was expressed, the world of letters was uncultivated—the world of thought unexplored.

In one respect, however, the Medes made a decided advance. The cumbrous and elaborate system of writing employed by the people beyond the Zagros mountains was greatly simplified by both the Medes and Persians. Instead of employing three or four hundred characters (some of them composed of as many as fifteen elementary strokes or wedges), the ancient Aryan scribes reduced their system to a manageable compass, based on an alphabetic analysis of sounds. In this effort at scientific writing they were comparatively successful.

The system which they thus produced embraced a list of twenty-three distinct sounds, expressed by thirty-seven characters, which was a nearer approximation to accuracy than has been attained by several modern nations. The characters, moreover, which were used in the Medo-Persic alphabet were much simpler in form than those employed by the peoples of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys. The elementary stroke in writing was the wedge, 𐎡. This character, except in the arrow-head variation (𐎢), was always written either perpendicularly (𐎡), horizontally (𐎣), or inclined to the right (𐎤); and indeed the latter position was only employed as a mark of separation between words. Each letter was made up of a combination of simple strokes, the minimum in any one letter being two wedges, and the maximum five.

The Median writing was executed from left to right. The characters were produced between two parallel lines drawn horizontally across the stone tablet or parchment. Frequently, at the right-hand edge, the words were divided, and a part carried back to the beginning of the next line, after the manner of modern times. As in many other languages, there was great danger of mistaking one character for another. Several of the letters so nearly resembled others as to be indistinguishable in careless writing. A slight error in the use of the stylus or graving tool was sufficient to alter or confound the sense of a paragraph.

Whether the Medes employed a cursive or round hand is not known. If writing was a common art, much used by the people, it would appear probable that a continuous or running combination of the characters would have naturally taken the place of the slow and tedious elaboration of wedges. If, however, writing was limited in its practice to the king's counselors and scribes, then it is likely that no departure was made from the typical forms of the graven alphabet.

The materials used in writing were stone and parchment. The latter substance was employed in disseminating the edicts of the kings and for other similar purposes. For the more important statutes and records of

the Empire the face of the imperishable rock was used, and the scribe's chisel was the pen. The method of writing on clay tablets and cylinders seems not to have been known among the early Aryans of the Median plateau. Whatever writing they did was limited to the practical and necessary affairs of life; the voice of imagination found no utterance, the tongue of poetry no language.

Such was the speech of the Medes. As in the case of nearly all the other ancient peoples, the oldest records of this language are embalmed in the religious system which was formulated on the emergence of the race from barbarism. This system is presented in the ZENDAVESTA, though, as already said, the language of that great work is much more antique than that development of speech which prevailed in the days of Astyages.

The Zendavesta is in eight Books, covering the same general topics which are presented in the Old Testament—Laws, Covenants, Prayers, Songs, etc. In these we can see reflected with considerable clearness the hopes and aspirations of our ancestral race in its earliest communings with the gods. It was the blind effort of an unscientific age to interpret the phenomena of the world and to discover the Cause or causes of Nature. Perhaps the oldest part of this quaint Bactrian bible is the Gâthâs, or "Songs," many of which are no doubt more primitive than the separate existence of the Medo-Persian race. They contain the unpremeditated and often fervid utterances of awe-struck worshipers, pouring out their praises and petitions to the invisible powers of the earth and air and sky. These powers were many rather than one, and possessed few—perhaps none—of the attributes of personality. There was at the first only one class of divine beings—the *Ahuras*, or gods. These were good, and were worshiped as beneficent and life-giving influences. It is believed that that system of dualism in which the bad powers of the universe are set over against the good was unknown to the earliest religion of the Aryan race.

The Powers, then, or Beings most worshiped by the ancient Bactrians were Indra, the Storm; Mithra, the Sunlight; Armati, the Earth; Vayu, the Wind; Agni, the Fire; and Soma, Intoxication. These principles or forces of nature were the common objects of adoration before the earliest tribal separations of the Aryans—the deities alike of Hindus and Iranians. It was nature-worship, pure and simple, in the garb of polytheism. It was not long, however, before the perceptions grew by evolution, and it was seen that the powers of the physical world are harmful as well as helpful—bad as well as good. Upon the good principles of nature, therefore, the affections of the worshiper were turned and centered, while from the bad his gaze was averted, and by them his fears alarmed. Thus arose the good spirits and the evil—the *Ahuras* and *Devas*, the beneficent gods and the demons. Their worship was conducted by three classes of priests: the *Kavi*, or Prophets; the *karopani*, or Sacrificers; and the *ricikhs*, or Sages. The ceremonies consisted of hymns chanted in praise of the gods, in sacrifices of animals and fruits, and in libations and intoxication. Of the sacrifice a part was burnt upon an altar, the rest remaining to the priest; and in the ceremony of intoxication a portion of the liquor was poured out on the earth and the residue drank by the *karopani*, who, when drunken, were thought to be in communion with the deity.

With the progress of religious ideas in Media, and the acceptance of the dualistic system of good and evil, there came also the concept of one god above the rest—a supreme and all-wise Intelligence by whom the other deities were held in subordination. This great God of the Medes was called AHURA-MAZDÂO, or AHURAMAZDA—the living Creator of all. His attributes were holiness, purity, goodness, truth, fatherhood, and happiness. He was the possessor and giver of all blessings, both temporal and everlasting. Earthly honor and preferment and spiritual elevation and wisdom alike flowed from this immortal Source of light and beneficence. Health, as well as virtue; wealth, as well as wisdom, came to the good from the bounteous hand of Ahura-Mazdâo, and by withholding he punished the evil for their sin. He was a mighty and spiritual God, of whom no image or likeness

could be made, and before whose sight all vile and gross practices were an abomination. He had, in general, the same high godhood and attributes of personality which are ascribed to the Jehovah Elohim of the Pentateuch, and for this reason a strong national and religious sympathy existed between the Medo-Persic races and the Hebrews. Notwithstanding the intolerance of both peoples in matters of religion, the Jews under Persian rule never revolted, nor did the Persians at any time persecute their Jewish subjects. Both nations declared openly and with almost equal emphasis against the practices of idolatry, and both agreed upon the indivisible unity and almightiness of the Supreme Being.

Associated with Ahura-Mazdâo were the angels. One was the great messenger and bearer of good news to men. His name was SRAOSHA. All the beneficence contrived above for the human family was revealed to man by this angel of light and blessing. He also kept the true faith from corruption, and after death brought home to celestial abodes the souls of the just. Besides this sublime personage, several of the divine attributes were represented as angels. Such were VOHU-MANO, "the Good Mind," and MAZDA, "the Wise," and ASHA, "the True," who are sometimes represented as personal, but generally as simple characteristics or qualities of the godhead.

Next after Sraosha among the angelic hierarchies was ARMATI, the goddess of the Earth. She was the Median Ceres, and like the Roman divinity, she kept alive the sentiment of piety. When the half-wild Mede contended with the thicket for the mastery of the soil, Armati encouraged him in his battle with perverse Nature, and when at last the harvest came she was the giver. The swelling seed, the growing stalk, the fragrant blossom, the ripening fruit—were not all these the blessings showered upon men by the angel of the fecund Earth? Wherever germination and birth revived the hope of the world, there Armati, the good genius sent by Ahura-Mazdâo, was present to give and to inspire the delights which come of increase.

Thus by degrees from the older nature-worship of the primitive Aryans, the mind of the Iranic peoples was called to the contemplation of Spirit and Duty. It was an advance from the form to the essence. The form was Wind, and Thunder, and Sunlight, and Fire; the essence was Truth, and Purity, and Wisdom, and Life. Even in those parts of the Median religious system in which the old symbolism was preserved there was a constant refinement, tending to the substitution of spirit for mere form. Thus the Earth was represented under the metaphor of the *cow*, and presently it was the *geûs urva* or *soul* of the cow that was addressed in worship. The earth was thus conceived of as pervaded by a directing principle of life—a soul—the "anima mundi" of the Greek philosophers.

The myth goes on to recite how when man, under the inspiration and direction of Ahuro-Mazdâo, first cut the breast of the Earth with a plowshare, the *geûs urva* cried out in anguish, and besought the high angels to save Armati from the pain and shame of desecration. But the high angels, knowing the will of Ahura-Mazdâo, refused to interfere. Earth was left to suffer her pangs without alleviation, but was given in recompense of her sorrow the flowers and fruits and harvests.

For some reason the worship of MITHRA, the Sunlight, was not included in the oldest songs of the Zendavesta. In this the system of the Medes was discriminated from that of the Aryans of the Indus valley. With the latter the worship of the Sun-god was of the highest importance and popularity. With the Iranians, however, the introduction of Mithra into the pantheon belongs to a later date and a lower plane of religious thought. But not so of VAYU, the Wind. In the oldest hymns of the Zendavesta his praises are chanted and his godhead appeased with sacrifices.

The SOMA plant of the East is a species of *Asclepias*. The power of the expressed and fermented juice to produce intoxication was known from the earliest times. The pleasing thrill of delight which the drinker experienced, and the sudden exaltation of his faculties under the influence of the inebriating cup—were not these the gift of a god? What other power in all the earth could so bring

man into communion with the joyous divinities? Thus did Soma become the plant and drink of the deities. The gods in their revels and excesses grew drunken. So said the coarser theology of the people. But the Zoroastrian reformers were scandalized at the thought, and declared that the gods were sober, and that men were made into beasts by the power of Soma. Thus was a schism begun between the Aryans of the Median plateau, and their older kinsmen, the Brahmins, of India. For a while, after the Zoroastrian reform, the line was sharply drawn between the temperate theology of the Bactrian prophet and the license and abandonment of the older system of faith.

As already said, the Zoroastrian system of divinity recognized the existence of *devas*, or "fiends," as the antagonists of the gods. The latter were known by the general name of *ahuras*, or "deities." It was the system of dualism in its infancy. Good and evil were opposed. Out of the conflicting forces of nature the intellect of man worked its way backwards to antagonistic principles. It is interesting to note, moreover, how in the theology of the Bactrians and Medes a spirit of optimism prevailed over the pessimistic tendency of thought. The gods and the angels and good spirits were differentiated into individual character. They were arranged in orders and hierarchies, the one above the other, and were given names. Ahura-Mazdâo was at the head. But not so of the devas. These were all grouped together. They had no individual names or characters. They were simply unclassified devils. There was no fiend-in-chief standing over against Mazdâo, like Lucifer in the Miltonic theology. A deva was simply a deva—a malicious sprite disturbing the world and working mischief to the affairs of men.

Traces of the counter system of good and evil appear in the oldest hymns of the Zendavesta. The primitive Zoroastrians recognized the unceasing conflict between the powers of light and darkness. Truth and falsehood, purity and depravity, are set against each other. There were spirits of light and spirits of darkness. Nature had her storms and her sunshine. Man vibrated between smiles and tears. But the bards and sages dwelt upon the joyful rather than the gloomy aspect of life. The good gods were adored more than the devas were feared.

At the outset much of the Medo-Bactrian system of dualism was traceable to the poetic language of the Zoroastrian sages. Abstract conceptions were personified. What was purely natural in the beginning became ideal in the imagination of the poets, and was then rendered concrete by personification. Natural philosophy became religion by ascribing the conflicts of nature to personal causes. Further on in the history of the system the dualistic belief rose higher, and in later times ventured to set up AHRIMAN as the foe and rival of Ahura-Mazdâo. The world became a battle-field between the antagonistic powers of the air. Man was alternately aided and beset. Health and prosperity and happiness—gifts of the bright immortals—were shadowed by sickness, calamity, and sorrow—visitations of the spirits of evil and malevolence.

Then did the priests elaborate their system of dual theology and adorn it with decorations. They made out two great hierarchies, the one heavenly, the other infernal. The six leading attributes of Ahura-Mazdâo were personified into six great deities. One was known as the "Good Mind." Another was the "Highest Truth;" a third was "Wealth." To the fourth was given the name of the "White," or "Holy;" while the fifth and the sixth were called respectively "Health" and "Immortality." Then the demon Ahriman was invented. He was the "Bad Mind." With him were associated as councilors Indra and Shiva—both from the pantheon of the Brahmins. Three other personified principles of evil were set in the Council of the Bad; and thus the armies of the air were marshaled to elevate or debase, to aid or destroy the children of mankind.

The faith of the Medes was by no means exclusively a religion of theoretic beliefs. There was much of practical ethics in the system. Human duty was clearly recognized, and its doctrines inculcated both by precept and law. The great cardinal principles of

right living were as well defined as by any of the pagan nations. Truth in word and purity in life were regarded as the foundations of society. Piety towards the gods and industry in honest endeavor were virtues without which life was worthless. It is in evidence that the Medes were capable of sound thought on moral subjects. Every action was traced to its motives and judged accordingly. Human conduct was weighed according to the thought which produced, the word which expressed, and the deed which embodied it. One of the most beautiful aspects of the system was that which carried morality into the ordinary pursuits of life. Sraosha expected of men that they should till the soil. It was a religious duty to do so. To destroy weeds and brambles was well pleasing in the sight of Ahura-Mazdâo. To cut down thorns and to speak the truth were acts the same in nature and results. All the people were required to devote themselves in whole or in part to the work of tillage. Ahura-Mazdâo expected it. Zoroaster taught it. Piety demanded it—not only this, but a filial obedience to the will of the True God and reverence for his holy angels.

The sacrifices of the Medes generally demanded the shedding of blood, but not the blood of men. The animal most offered was the horse. It was reckoned most pleasing to the deities that this noble creature should bleed before the altar. Oxen, sheep, and goats were also offered up as victims. The sacrifice was made by the priests. The flesh was held on high and waved before the sacred fire, and then the consecrated parts were eaten at a solemn feast.

"How happy art thou who hast come here to us from mortality to immortality!" Such were the words with which the archangel, Vohu-Mano, welcomed the soul of the righteous Mede into the abodes of the blest. For the soul of man was deathless. The spirits of the wicked and the good alike survived the shock of death. When the mortal pang was over the liberated soul—whatever might be its moral status—traveled a long and narrow path towards the unseen world. On the hither side of the gate of paradise was there the "Bridge of the Gatherer." Who could go over it? Only the righteous. Them the angel Sraosha aided with his hand and his counsel. The bad fell off into the abyss. Upward to the throne of Ahura-Mazdâo ascended the souls of the good. Before these were set the delectable joys of paradise. But all the evil spirits went down in outer darkness, to be chilled with bitter winds and to sit at poisonous banquets. Such were heaven and hell.

It does not appear that the earlier Zoroastrians believed in the resurrection of the body. At a later date, however, the doctrine was introduced and taught by the Magi. The later portions of the Zendavesta show conclusively that the belief in the raising up of the dead was a recognized dogma at the date of that part of the Median bible in which the references occur. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was not involved with the notion of the resurrection, but existed as an earlier belief fundamental to the faith of the Medes.

The myths of Media were many and interesting. One of the most important was that relating to the origin and primitive state of man. The early condition of the human race was one of happiness. It was an Age of Gold. The people were ruled by KING YIMA. It was a land of sunshine and peace. Summer reigned; the vine flourished; blossoms filled the air. For a long time a contented and flourishing race honored their good king and lived without sorrow. By and by the aspect of nature changed. Winter came. The beauty of the world was destroyed by bitter frosts. Then King Yima and his people removed to another country more delightful than the first. In this land, according to the Vendidad, there was "neither overbearing nor mean-spiritedness, neither stupidity nor violence, neither poverty nor deceit, neither puniness nor deformity, neither *huge teeth* nor bodies beyond the usual measure." Whether of the flowers of the gardens, the fruits of the fields, or the cattle upon the hills, no other land was so beautiful and good as this second home of the primitive Aryans. It was the golden epoch, which the patriotic imagination of the poets has ever depicted as the first and most glorious state of the human race.

The second great mythical hero of the Medes was THRÆTONA. He was the Bactrian Beowulf—the slayer of dragons and exterminator of monsters. By him was slain the great devil ZOHAK, a mighty dragon, having "three mouths, three tails, six eyes, and a thousand scaly rings," and who had his lair in the frozen peaks of the Elburz. A second myth gave an account of another dragon more ambitious and terrible than Zohak. The name of this second monster was CNAVIDHAKA. He boasted that he would convert the whole sky into a chariot, and that he would harness together Ahura-Mazdâo and Ahriman and drive them as his horses through the heavens. Such a disgrace to the hierarchies, good and bad, was not to be tolerated or thought of. A third hero appeared on the scene, the inheritor of the renown of Yima, called KERESASHA. He slew the boastful dragon and gave peace to earth and sky.

These traditions of the ancient Medes give a tolerably adequate notion of the current and sweep of their myth-making powers and creative imagination. It is especially interesting to note that their legends are of the same general character as those presented in the poems of the Greeks and Romans—that is, heroic. Carrying the analogy further, it is easily discoverable that the traditions of the Teutonic nations of Northern Europe belong to the same epic catalogue of stories with those of the Persian plain and Indus Valley. Keresaspa, Achilles, Æneas, Beowulf, Cœur de Lion—they are all one in nature—all men rising by heroic exploits to the rank and fame of demigods. And this is another proof and illustration of the common origin and race affinities of all the Aryan families and tribes.

Thus it may be seen that the religion of the Medes, beginning with a tolerably distinct expression of monotheism and with peculiarly spiritual forms of worship, degenerated to a certain extent into that dualistic folly which makes the world to be warred for by conflicting principles of good and evil. The latter system embraced hierarchies of angels, and finally personified the adverse forces of nature into demons of high and low estate.

It yet remains to mention a third form of religious faith adopted by the Iranic nations, and afterwards made famous in the literature of the West. This is the celebrated system of MAGISM. As the Medes in their epoch of power pressed their way to the west and north they came into contact with the Scythian tribes of Armenia and Kurdistan. In these mountainous regions was the seat of the Magian system. Here the fire-temples were built, of which not a few still stand as mute witnesses of one of the strangest aspects of the religious beliefs of mankind. The faith of the Magi can hardly be classified with any other ever accepted and taught by men. It made the elements of nature the direct objects of worship. It was not that some power presided over those elements that might be reverenced and adored, but the physical fact was itself the thing worshiped as divine. The elements of nature were four: fire, water, earth, and air. Of these the first was the most energetic and sublime. The consuming flame was the highest manifestation of the divine presence. Before this beautiful phenomenon in whose rapturous embrace the materials of the world melted into ashes, the awed worshiper stood in silent adoration. So the priest built an altar, and the sacred fire caught from heaven, was kindled and kept burning always. The priest was the HOLY MAGUS. No other might attend the altars or conduct the mystic rites. Through him only might the common worshiper approach the divine presence and be reconciled by prayer and sacrifice. The sacred emblem, flaming on the altar, inspired the profoundest awe and reverence. No breath of any mortal might be blown upon it without pollution. The burning of dead bodies was a horrid profanation. Of the sacrificial offerings only a fragment of fat was given to the flame.

The WATER was also sacred. The swift-flowing river or placid lake was defiled with any unclean touch of man. No drop of blood might mingle with the wave, and the laving of human hands left behind the stains of sin. In like manner the bosom of EARTH was holy. To profane the sacred soil was solemnly interdicted. No corpse might repose therein, nor any draff be thrown upon the divine ground.

Likewise was the AIR adored and propitiated with offerings.

All the ceremonial of the Magian faith was conducted by the priests. The sons of Levi had not more exclusive jurisdiction over the altars of Israel than did the Magi over those on which were kindled the sacred fires of the East. Nor was the Magus himself unlike the Levitical priest. In person and apparel the two impressed the beholder as belonging to the same class of hierarchs. Both were members of a caste. Both inherited the priestly office from their fathers. Both exhibited a lofty manner and solemn air caught from the severe and lofty conceptions of their respective systems. The Magus wore a white robe and a stately miter, from which, on either side, depended a lappet, whereby the sides of the face were concealed. He bore in his hand a bundle of tamarisk twigs—the sacred emblem of his sacerdotal and prophetical office. By him thus clad and exalted in the eyes of the multitude the sacrifices were prepared and offered, and the libations of milk and honey poured forth before the fires of the altar. For hours together he chanted hymns and uttered mystical incantations. Before him even the king and the noble stood with humble tokens of reverence, while the common worshiper looked up awe-struck and trembling.

A strange practical question in the Median system of belief was the *post-mortem* disposition of human bodies. The dead might not be burned, for by that method the sacred fire would be defiled. Nor might a corpse be buried in the ground or consigned to the river, for in that case the one or the other of the elements would be polluted. Likewise to leave the body to be gradually resolved by the slow action of the atmosphere was a profanation of the fourth great object of worship. The last, however, seemed to be the least appalling profanation of the sacred elements, and was accordingly sometimes adopted. But a more general way was to expose the dead to be devoured by beasts and birds of prey; and this method is still followed by the GUEBRES of Persia and India. Round towers, called the Towers of Silence, and built according to a pattern prescribed in the Zendavesta, are erected at various points, and on the tops of these circular towers, doorless and windowless, are set a kind of hoppers constructed of iron grates. Into these the bodies of the dead are thrown, and when the vultures and crows have stripped the skeleton bare and torn away the tendons, the bones drop through the grating into the inclosed space of the tower. The revolting features of this method, however, prevented its universal adoption at any period of Median history. As a kind of compromise between the humanity of the people and the rigor of the priests another plan was substituted, which consisted in covering the bodies of the dead with a layer of wax, so as to prevent contact with, and consequent defilement of, the earth.

The Magi claimed to have the gift of divination and prophecy. The bundle of tamarisk rods which they bore about with them was the symbol and means of their prophetic powers. The superstition of a divining agency in the rods seems to have been imbibed from the Scythians, whose priests used bunches of willow wands in ascertaining the things of the future.[1] The soothsayer was a popular character and was much sought after, as he ever has been and ever will be, until, in the slow evolution of civilization, the ignorant multitudes shall come to understand that the universe is governed by law.

Practically considered, the most valuable part of the Magian profession was that in which the priests were engaged in insecticide. The bad animals, the bad reptiles, the bad bugs,—were not all these the work of Ahriman? So the Magus carried with him an instrument for the extermination of all the dragon's brood of small pests in the earth. It was made a religious duty resting upon the priests to impale and destroy what creeping thing soever caught his eye. Albeit, by the

[1] There is little doubt that the absurd water witchery of modern times is traceable to this far-off origin. The water witch of to-day is a lineal descendant of the Scythian Magus. The forked switch of witch-hazel has taken the place of the rod of tamarisk, and the frontier conjurer traverses the ground with the same serious face of perfect self-deception which the priest of Media wore a thousand years before the birth of Cæsar.

roadside, the river bank, the mouldering wall of palace or town, the Magi sat all day long in a ceaseless warfare with snakes and mice and lizards. Nor frog, nor worm, nor fly escaped the vigilant cruelty and inspired hatred of the zealous hierarch of the fire-altars.

Such were the principles and practices of Magism—the fire-worship of the Medo-Bactrian nations. It was a picturesque rather than a powerful type of religion. To see the white-robed and mitered priests on the mountain-top, passing to and fro in solemn service before the altars on which were kindled the ever-burning fires, to hear them chanting weird hymns and uttering vague and awful prophecies, might well incite in an unscientific and half-barbarous age emotions of sublimity and fear—sentiments of awe and devotion. But the old spiritual power of the Zoroastrian faith could hardly be compared in its influence over life and conduct with the more showy formality of the Magian ceremonial.

CHAPTER XVIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY ANNALS.

WHETHER the MADAI, mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis as constituting a branch of the Japhetic family, meant the race of the Medes, is a question not easily resolved. The supposition, if allowed, would indicate for that race an antiquity much greater than can be deduced from the Assyrian records. In favor of this hypothesis of great antiquity may be mentioned the fact that elsewhere in the Old Testament the word *Madai* always signifies the Medes, and also the additional fact that Berosus succinctly declares that one of the earliest Chaldæan dynasties, long before the rise of the Assyrian Empire, was *Median*. The narrative states that this Median line of monarchs in Lower Mesopotamia resulted from a conquest made by the warlike race dwelling beyond the Zagros.

This statement, made by the native historian of Chaldæa, carries double weight, in that it involves a humiliating subjugation of his own people by foreign armies—a statement which, unless it were true, would be forbidden by patriotism. The references by Berosus and the author of Genesis seem to point to the Medes as one of the primitive races of mankind, appearing on the horizon at a date as remote as two thousand years before the common era.

From these faint gleams of historic light no more can be said than that the Medes were a very ancient people. Of their career in peace and war at that remote epoch nothing whatever is known. Veiled they are in the same impenetrable obscurity which darkens the beginnings of all human history. Negatively, the Zendavesta shows that at the date of the composition of that Iranic bible (about B. C. 1000) the Median race had not yet begun to be felt in the affairs of nations. Not until a century and a half after this date do the Medes actually emerge into the clear day of national life and activity. Before this time it can be said only with approximate certainty that this people had made a conquest in Chaldæa and established over that country a line of kings.

The actual annals of Media, then, begin with the latter half of the ninth century before the Christian era. At this time Shalmaneser II. was king of Assyria. This monarch, according to the records of his reign, made war into the country beyond the Zagros mountains, and while on one of his campaigns came in contact with the Medes. A portion of the territory of this people was devastated; but the Assyrian records do not indicate such resistance on the part of the Medes as would be expected from a great or vigorous nation. The war, on the contrary, seems to have been such as a powerful monarch would wage with scattered and badly organized tribes.

After the death of Shalmaneser and the

accession of his son, Shamas-Vul, a second Assyrian invasion of Media occurred. The offense of the Medes seems to have been merely the manifestation of a belligerent spirit. For this potentiality of war their country was again ravaged until Shamas-Vul and his army were satisfied, and returned through the mountain passes to Nineveh. It was in this hard school of destructive incursions that the Medes were taught their first lessons in resistance and revenge.

Assyria was now in the heyday of her power. To save themselves and their country from further depredation the Medes adopted the expedient of tribute. As the price of peace they agreed to pay an annual stipend. This policy was adopted in the reign of Vul-Lush III., about the close of the ninth century B. C. During the following one hundred years the Medes became more compact and populous. They lay like a cloud along the eastern horizon of Assyria. Doubtless the tribute had been paid only by those western tribes who had felt more than once the vengeance of the Ninevite kings. The tribes to the east had remained comparatively free from foreign domination.

In the meantime a growth of nationality had fired the spirit of the Medes, and the presence of that spirit gave the Assyrians warning that actual subjugation was necessary to the maintenance of their authority beyond the mountains. So Sargon the Great, in the year B. C. 710, determined to subdue the country and annex it to his dominions. Armies were marched through the mountain passes. Military posts were established and filled with soldiers. Whole colonies of Medes were deported into Assyria, and their places were supplied either with Assyrians or with captive bands of Samaritans, whom the monarch had recently brought home from his Western campaigns. Media was reörganized as a province of the Empire, and the tribute was systematically enforced, a part of the annual tax being a levy of horses for the stables of the king and for the captains of his armies.

The date of this subjugation of Media by Sargon corresponds almost exactly with the reign of the half-fabulous king DEÏOCES, who, according to Herodotus, became monarch of the Medes in B. C. 708. The account long received as true from the old Greek historian is now known to have no foundation in fact. On the contrary, at the very time assigned by Herodotus for the successful revolt of Media, under the leadership of Deïoces, Sargon's armies were wasting the country and destroying its independence; and for sixty years after this event no serious insurrection occurred on the part of the subject people.

During this period the domination of Assyria was extended eastward to the Elburz and to the north-west into Azerbijan. Wanton expeditions were made through the country both by Sennacherib and his son, Esarhaddon, and towns and cities on the remotest confines of Media were either destroyed or made tributary. Occasionally some nomadic chief, hovering with his lawless bands on the outskirts of the Empire, was seized and carried away as a curious spectacle for the gaze of the Ninevites. Such examples acted *in terrorem*, and the peace of the borders ceased to be disturbed.

About the middle of the seventh century B. C., we reach the solid ground in Median history. From the year 875 to 660 B. C., is the epoch of myth and fable. Soon after the latter date the great CYAXARES appeared on the scene, and his coming heralded a complete change in the condition of the countries beyond the Zagros. The beginning of this change was precipitated by the incursion of new Aryan tribes from the direction of Bactria. The incursionists were welcomed by their kinsmen, the Medes, who at heart detested the Assyrian power, and were but too glad to find in an augmented and fresh population both the occasion and the material of revolt.

Cyaxares placed himself, as by natural selection, at the head of this malcontent host of his countrymen, and the power of Assyria was soon overthrown as far west as the mountains. The Scythian tribes still infesting this border country were reduced to submission, and the able and fearless Cyaxares set about the organization of an independent kingdom. Making his head-quarters and capital close to

the Zagros chain, he not only proved himself equal to the task of keeping the Assyrians at bay, but soon began to cast longing eyes through the mountain passes at the luxurious plains about Nineveh.

The political condition of Assyria was at this time of such sort as to invite invasion. Asshur-Bani-Pal, now in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, was, if not already in his dotage, less vigilant than in his youth. Perhaps there was mixed with the general lethargy a certain contempt of danger; for when had the big-muscled soldiers of Assyria had cause to fear an enemy? Nevertheless, an enemy was at the gate. Cyaxares, at the head of a large, courageous, but poorly disciplined army, poured through the mountains, and the Assyrian king was suddenly confronted with a host that could no longer be despised. But the aged monarch proved equal to the emergency. At the head of his army he met the Medes in the province of Adiabêné. A severe battle was fought, in which the old-time prowess of Assyria triumphed over the naked courage of the mountain soldiery of Media. The army of Cyaxares was terribly routed, and fell back pell-mell through the passes of the Zagros. The king's father, PHRAORTES, who, before his son's accession, had been in some sort king of the Medes, was slain in the battle.

The disaster was to have been expected. The Median army was a *mêlange* of half-barbarians. What could they do against the war chariots of Nineveh? Nothing but be mowed down like a harvest. Cyaxares was quick to take in the situation. He saw that his defeat was directly chargeable to the constitution of his forces. Every chief had come at the head of his own clan, armed according to the rude resources of his province. Horse and foot were mingled. Bows and arrows, and spears, and slings, and darts made a medley of impotent weaponry. The king would remedy this condition of affairs, and by breaking up and reforming these heterogeneous bands of warriors, would marshal forth an army. It was not long till the vigorous spirit of the monarch had pervaded and fired both soldiers and people. Discipline flashed along the ranks, and the sting of recent defeat kindled the anger of revenge. As soon as his mixed host of Medes and Scythians was brought into proper subordination, the king again set his face towards Assyria.

There was now an orderly invasion. Asshur-Bani-Pal took the field as before. The two armies met a short distance from Nineveh. The Assyrians were borne down before the new foe from the mountains, and were driven, after a decisive battle, behind the ramparts of the capital. Hard after them came the avenging Medes. A siege was begun, but before it had progressed to the extent of endangering the city, the attention of Cyaxares was suddenly recalled by a crisis in the affairs of his own country.

It was the SCYTHIANS. As already said the southernmost tribes of this barbaric race had been easily subdued by the Medes. The two peoples south of the Caucasus had to some extent mingled together. A part of the army of Cyaxares was Scythic. But the great body of trans-Caucasian Scyths had felt only so much of this Median ascendency as to excite resentment. The hostile feelings of the north gathered head. While Cyaxares was still engaged with the Assyrians beyond the Zagros the Scythic host poured down into Azerbijan and headed for Ecbatana. But Cyaxares hastily returning from Nineveh confronted them and prepared for battle. A savage conflict ensued, in which the reckless audacity of the Scythians proved more than a match for the disciplined forces of the Medes. Cyaxares was defeated, and he and his subjects were compelled to seek refuge in the walled towns and to sue for peace. MADYS, the Scythic leader, dictated terms, which were less severe than might have been expected from a barbaric chieftain victorious in battle. An annual stipend was imposed after the manner of civilized states, and Cyaxares was allowed to retain his crown, tributary to his conqueror. Doubtless the easy terms imposed by the triumphant barbarians was due to the fact that their incursion arose rather from the inspiration of the plunder than the lust of conquest. Albeit, the character of Media as a cold and upland region, with little accumulated wealth, was not such as to entice or long

retain a horde of the hungry and omnivorous beasts from beyond the Caucasus. The low-lying plains of the south-west, rich in fields of pulse and vineyards, were better calculated to appease the unappeasable maws of such savages.

The condition was now that of foreign domination and terrorism. The Scythians after their manner pitched their tents here and there over the country. Their flocks and herds were pastured on the lands of the subject Medes, who with mixed feelings of hatred and fear found themselves unable to thwart or stay the fierce wills of the barbaric leeches that had fastened on the veins of their country. In such a situation energy and industry were at a discount. The more a district was cultivated the more it was ravaged. The less cultivated parts fared better. The roving habits of the oppressors carried them from one region to another. The walled town was about the only refuge for the galled and desperate Medes, who were afraid to offer resistance either by stratagem or open revolt.

For some years the reign of terror continued until the Scyths by dispersion into various provinces became less of a scourge—less imminently dangerous to the subject people. By and by the invaders filed off in large numbers into Assyria, Babylonia, and Palestine, renewing their ravages everywhere to the very gates of Egypt. Many bands remained under their chiefs in Media, but the native subjects of Cyaxares began to breathe more easily, and their long smothered wrath rose in proportion as the danger disappeared. In this juncture of affairs the king himself determined to set the example of revenge and destruction.

Cyaxares made a feast. Treachery was mixed in the cups. The appetite of the Scythians became the means of their ruin and overthrow. The invited chiefs were plied with drink until they lay stupid, whereupon the hidden bands of armed Medes broke into the banquet hall, and slew them all without mercy. The sound of the murderous work was heard beyond the palace, and a popular fury broke out against the savage oppressors of the land. The incensed people took up what weapons soever they could, and hewed right and left in a war of extermination. No records have been preserved of the struggle. It is known only that the Scythians were completely overwhelmed. Those who escaped the avenger's hand were driven through the passes of the Caucasus into their native haunts. So complete was the overthrow that scarcely a trace of the foreign domination remained in the country which the barbarians had held and ravaged for a period of years.

As soon as the Scythians had ceased to be a terror, the Medes renewed their project of invading Assyria. That great Empire had fallen into decrepitude. Saracus, the reigning monarch, was an unworthy successor of those mighty kings who for centuries had dominated the better parts of Western Asia. The outskirts of the kingdom lay open and invited attack. The resources at the command of Saracus were as little adequate to supply the means of resistance as was the king capable of hurling back an invader. As soon as Cyaxares could muster and discipline his forces, he entered with renewed energy upon the cherished plan of Assyrian subjugation.

At this time the viceroyalty of Chaldæa, which had been a dependency of Assyria for more than a half century, had recovered in some measure the influence and renown of her pristine era. The Assyrian yoke, though not especially galling, was nevertheless a—yoke. No insurrections had occurred; but with the decadence of Assyria the elements centering at Babylon were rife for mischief. In this condition of affairs the Median invasion, led by Cyaxares in person, was precipitated. Before beginning his campaign, however, the king of the Medes took the precaution to test the loyalty of the Babylonian viceroy. That notable was in no mood to be virtuous, and readily yielded to the overtures of the Median king. It was arranged that an army of revolting Babylonians should march up the Tigris simultaneously with the approach of Cyaxares from the east. The Assyrians would thus be struck in flank and front, and the capital would stagger under the blow.

Meanwhile Saracus was informed of the

conspiracy. His weakness was spurred by alarm into such activity as his effete administration was capable of exhibiting. As the best expedient he divided his forces, sending one army down the river to resist the approaching Babylonians, while the main division under his own command was directed eastward to confront Cyaxares. Nabopolassar, the Babylonian governor, had in the mean time fallen without reserve into the arms of the Medes. He had been astute enough to discover at once the waning star of Assyria and the coming Median ascendency. He also saw the advantages of his position, and especially his opportunity to set a high price upon his defection from Assyria. He accordingly proposed to Cyaxares, in answer to the overtures of the latter, that the conditions of his betrayal of his sovereign should be an alliance of fortunes between Media and Babylonia; that he himself should continue ruler of the latter country; and that Cyaxares, as an earnest of good faith, should give his daughter Amyitis to be the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, and heir of the Babylonian viceroyalty. To these conditions Cyaxares at once assented, and the double march on Nineveh began.

The campaign that followed was one of battles and vicissitudes. The combined army of Medes and Babylonians was met on the advance, and twice defeated by the aroused hosts of Assyria. Cyaxares fell back into the mountains, only to come again, and again suffer defeat. He and his ally then retreated into Babylonia, and were reïnforced by fresh contingents from Media. A third advance was made. The Assyrian camp was surprised by night and ruinously routed. The broken fragments rolled back into Nineveh, and the victorious invaders advanced to the siege.

Once within the walls, the Assyrians felt secure, for, in expectancy of such a disaster, the city had been garrisoned and supplied with provisions and stores. For more than two years the awkward but dauntless besiegers beat around the invested capital. It was naked ferocity attacking a rock. But by and by Nature joined the conspiracy. With the rainy season of the third year the Tigris rose bank full, and threatened to do what the clumsy enginery of Media seemed impotent to accomplish. The turbid tide rolled higher, beat the city bastions, and finally swept away the walls and let in the wolves of conquest. Saracus—such is the tradition of the event—shrank into his palace, heaped up the antique splendors of his ancestors, mounted the pile with his wives and concubines, and perished in the flames.

Such was the fall of Nineveh and of the great Assyrian Empire. The collapse was complete. It only remained for Cyaxares and Nabopolassar to make such use of their victory as should secure the vast harvest of conquest. It seems that both the Median monarch and his ally were in a faith-keeping mood in the presence of their success. Instead of quarreling about the spoils of war they agreed to remain on terms of amity and divide the world between them. A division was accordingly made. Nabopolassar received Babylonia, Susiana, Chaldæa, and the whole valley of the Lower Euphrates spreading out towards Arabia and Egypt on the south-west. This the quondam viceroy and now king at once proceeded to organize into the kingdom of Babylonia—a power which will furnish the subject-matter of the following Book.

Cyaxares himself took what had constituted the Assyrian Empire proper, embracing all the northern portion of Mesopotamia and the provinces thereunto adjacent. This vast and important region, added to his own kingdom of Media, gave, not only territorially, but also as it respects population and resources, sufficient scope for the exercise of all the energies and ambitions of the victorious monarch. Thus out of the wreck of Assyria arose two separate and independent empires, Media on the east, and Babylonia on the south and west. And contrary to the natural expectancy excited by such a beginning, the two powers, instead of broils and war, continued to cultivate the friendliest relations.

Cyaxares had conquered Nineveh, but had not conquered a peace. The elements of hostility were active in his dominions. The Scythians who had been thrown off from his own kingdom of Media were aggregated in bands

in various parts, and were led to depredations by chiefs of greater or less ability and ambition. Besides, the northern provinces of Assyria, long time restless under the oppressions of the Ninevite kings, sought eagerly in the downfall of Saracus an occasion and opportunity of revolt. Doubtless Cyaxares himself had grown warlike, and was not displeased at the hostile turbulence which promised further gratification to his ambition. He accordingly entered upon a career of conquest which extended, through many vicissitudes of victory and defeat, over a period of more than ten years.

The general excuse for the wars which followed was that common foe of the times—the Scyths. To pursue these barbarians into what territories soever they might have invaded was claimed as a just measure of revenge on the part of Cyaxares. Albeit, in many instances the Median king was hailed, even at the head of a consuming army, as a deliverer from the scourge of Asia. But in those provinces and countries in which the inhabitants were of Turanian origin, and therefore of nomadic habits, the people frequently made common cause with the Scyths in the attempt to beat back the more civilized advance of Cyaxares and the Medes.

The two countries against which the arms of the Median king were first directed were Armenia and Cappadocia. These vast districts, half-organized out of barbarism, were still inhabited by native tribes, together with large numbers of invaders precipitated from various regions. Some of these belonged to the Turanian race; others were Aryans; many were Scyths—a wavering mass of savages and robbers.

The first of these two countries had been a nominal dependency of Assyria. The Armenians had borne the yoke and waited their opportunity. The high mountains and impenetrable fastnesses of the region gave a natural barrier to invasion, but the will of Cyaxares surmounted the ramparts of nature and the Armenians were subdued in a vigorous campaign. Cappadocia lay still more remote, but the Mede paused not until not only this country but also the far-off tribes of Colchians, Iberians, and Moschi were brought into subjection. By these conquests the borders of the Median Empire were extended on the north to the Caucasus, and on the west to the river Halys. It does not appear that the campaigns were bitterly waged or long continued. The races with whom Cyaxares contended were accustomed to mastery by some military power, and that of the king of the Medes was not more odious than had been the domination of the Assyrians.

More important by far was the next campaign of Cyaxares, directed against the kingdom of Lydia. To enter this country he must cross the Halys—the Rubicon of Asia Minor. The pretext for doing so was the pursuit of the Scythians; but the Lydians readily divined the real motive and made preparations for resistance. A league was formed among the princes of Asia Minor to oppose the further progress of the Medes to the west.

These formidable preparations rather incited than cooled the purpose of Cyaxares. He summoned the Babylonians to his aid, and gathered from various provinces contingents of troops and provisions. With a great army he marched westward, and began the invasion of Lydia. He found in Alyattes, king of that country, a foeman worthy of his steel. It was no longer a campaign against semi-savages, but a regular military combat between opposing armies. Success varied from side to side. Several hard battles were fought, and in more than half of the conflicts the Lydians were victorious. In one instance a general and hotly contested engagement took place *in the night*. For six years the war continued, until at last superstition ended what the lust of conquest had begun. In the midst of a hard fought battle, while the heated combatants were absorbed in the work of death, a mysterious shadow crept over the face of Nature. The sunlight grew dim and cold in the dust of battle. A solar eclipse (B. C. 610) was hanging an ominous curtain over the heavens. A sudden awe fell on the armies; then silence; and then, as the darkness deepened, horror and quaking. An unscientific age fears not man but the gods.

The battle was at an end. Nabopolassar

of Babylon, on the part of the Median monarch, and Syennesis, king of Cilicia, on the part of the Lydian allies, came forward on the field and made mutual proposals of peace. The threatening heavens made the negotiations easy. It was agreed to end the war on the spot. The Scythians were forgotten. The dominions of Alyattes were to be left intact by his friend, the king of the Medes. All things were to be as they were before, and some things better. For the two amiable sovereigns ratified the compact by marrying Aryenis, the daughter of the Lydian king, to the young Astyages, son and heir of Cyaxares. And to make all things sure, each of the kings punctured his arm and gave the bleeding wound to the lips of the other. Each of the friends drew the life of the other from the wound. Alas, for the deeds of the past.

It is proper in this connection to give some account of the previous history of the country with which the Medes were thus brought into contact. The kingdom of LYDIA was one of the most ancient of all Asia Minor. Tradition pointed to an origin at least seven hundred years before the time of Cyaxares. Three dynasties of kings had ruled the nation, the Atyadæ, the Heraclidæ, and the Mermnadæ. Of the first house there had been four kings; of the second, twenty-two; of the third, four—thirty recorded reigns, besides several conjectural. The most ancient name of the country was Mæonia, and the people were called Mæonians; but under LYDUS, the second of the Atyad kings, the name was changed in his own honor to Lydia.

The Lydian legends were full of great pretensions. One tradition recited that both Belus and Ninus—the mythical founders of Babylon and Nineveh—were Lydian princes sent forth to establish kingdoms in Mesopotamia. Colonies had been planted—so said the myths—in the remotest parts of the world. Such an origin was claimed for the Etruscans of Italy, and for other primitive states of the west of Europe. A Lydian general, named Ascalus, had led an army to the extreme south-west, and built the city of Ascalon in Syria.

The more authentic annals of Lydia go back to about the beginning of the ninth century B. C. It is probable that the two dynasties, the Heraclidæ and the Mermnadæ, were different branches of the same house. So much is indicated by the feuds between them and by the common names occurring in both lists of kings. The later Heraclide monarchs had treated the princes of the Mermnadæ with injustice, born of distrust and jealousy; and this wrong grew to such proportions that the Mermnads were obliged to seek safety in exile.

Their partisans, however, maintained their cause, and anon the banished leaders returned, put the Heraclide king to death, and established their own chief, named Gyges, on the throne of Lydia. This revolution, occurring in the beginning of the eighth century, marked the commencement of a new era of vigor and prosperity of the kingdom. It was from this time that the wealth of Lydia became proverbial throughout the known world. Gyges himself was one of the richest rulers of his epoch. Magnificent gifts were sent by him to the oracle of Delphi, in Greece. Sardis, his capital, was a rich and luxurious city, and in both art and commerce his kingdom had great fame. Nor was his reputation less warlike than that of his predecessors. He advanced his arms to the Ægean, thus coming into conflict with the Greek colonists of Asia Minor, most of whom he subdued and made tributary to his kingdom. All the western coasts looking out towards the Mediterranean felt his power and acknowledged his greatness.

The kingdom of Lydia was not free from the common calamity of the times. The trans-Caucasian barbarians were not likely to overlook a field so promising in plunder. From this direction came the fierce Cimmerians, spreading terror and ruin through the country. Gyges, having first sought and obtained the help of the Assyrians, gave battle to the invaders, and inflicted a decisive blow. Of the routed Cimmerians many were killed and many taken prisoners, of whom not a few were sent as a present to Asshur-Bani-Pal at Nineveh. In a second war with the same rude and turbulent race fortune completely forsook the banners of the king. He himself was slain in a great battle, and the people and soldiery

were obliged to seek refuge in the walled towns. Fascinated by the fabulous wealth of Sardis, the barbarians besieged the city, and after a long investment, succeeded in breaking in and reducing every thing to ruin. Only the citadel held out against the vengeance of the furious men of the North.

A period of prostration followed this overthrow. The Asiatic Greeks dependent on Lydia recovered their freedom. The emancipation of the coast cities, however, was but of brief duration, for in the next reign after that of Gyges the Lydians had already sufficiently recovered from the Cimmerian ravages to continue and maintain their conquests in the extreme west of Asia Minor. The cities of Smyrna and Miletus were taken, and the territory of Clazomenæ devastated in a successful campaign conducted by the Lydian king.

After Gyges the most distinguished ruler of Lydia was his great-grandson, ALYATTES. This monarch undertook the work of expelling the Cimmerians and their descendants from the kingdom. Large districts were almost exclusively inhabited by this people. Contact with civilization had somewhat modified their warlike habits, but they were still sufficiently vengeful to be an object of terror as well as of aversion. To expel these intruders at once and forever was not an easy task, but was less so than when in the time of active invasion they were fresh in their native ferocity. Alyattes succeeded in clearing not only his own kingdom, but all Asia Minor of the scourge that had so long threatened and lashed the nations of Western Asia. Lydia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Phrygia, and Cilicia were all freed from the terror which had oppressed them.

A great cause of the prosperity and wealth of the Lydian kingdom was the natural fertility of the country. No other of all Asia Minor had so rich a soil. Not only was this true of the field and glebe and orchard, but the sands also yielded their treasure. The bed of the Pactolus, flowing through the capital, glittered with gold. In this fact is founded the well authenticated claim of the Lydians to be regarded as the inventors of coined money. They were a frank and merry people, having great sociability and not a little artistic taste. The game of ball, which for more than two thousand years has been the *dernier ressort* of the boys of the world, is said by Herodotus to have been invented by the sport-loving Lydians. So also of dice and several other popular games which still survive. They were musicians, having many peculiar instruments on which they produced sweet and plaintive melodies. In the active sports and in the discipline of war they were second only to the Assyrians and Medes. In the management of the horse they greatly excelled. The cavalry wing was an important branch of the Lydian army, and long before the time of Alyattes the cavalrymen of the service numbered thirty thousand.

After the Battle of the Eclipse, Western Asia presented three great kingdoms: Media, Babylonia, Lydia—all at peace. The princes and princesses of the three powers were intermarried, and the affinities thus established, strengthened by treaty stipulations, furnished strong bonds of amity. Aryenis, the daughter of Alyattes and sister of Crœsus, was married to Astyages, the crown prince of Media; and Amyitis, the sister of Astyages, was wedded to Nebuchadnezzar, the heir apparent to the throne of Babylonia. Nor were the royal brothers-in-law in such proximity of territory as to be much vexed with each other's minor movements and ambitions. Ecbatana, Babylon, and Sardis stood well apart, and opportunity was thus given to the members of the three royal houses to love and admire each other—at a distance.

Thus, after the crisis of B. C. 610, a half century of peace elapsed. The previous times had been filled with turbulence and bloodshed. For more than five hundred years there had not been such an epoch of quiet as that which followed the treaty between Cyaxares and Alyattes. All three of the monarchies grew strong, prospered, flourished. Even the dependent provinces, not greatly distressed with tributes, felt the glow of peace. In the whole of Western Asia there was a marked advance in the elements of civilization. The only disturbance of these

peaceful tendencies was from the direction of Syria and Egypt. In this quarter there were several hostile movements which broke the quiet of Babylonia.

With the revival of Egyptian affairs under Psametik I., the old ambition of the Pharaohs to dominate the East returned. Actuated by this motive, the king just mentioned, extending his power in the direction of Palestine, besieged and captured the city of Ashdod, and thus established himself in a strong fortress beyond the limits of Africa. Following up this advantage, Pharaoh Necho, son and successor of Psametik, overthrew Josiah, king of Judah, in the battle of Megiddo, and afterwards, making head towards the Euphrates, took Carchemish, and compelled the submission of nearly the whole of Syria. The provinces thus overrun, however, had fallen to Nabopolassar at the division of the Assyrian Empire, and thus the Babylonians were aroused to the defense of their rights.

Nebuchadnezzar made haste to punish the intrusion into his kingdom. At the head of his army he advanced against Necho at Carchemish, overthrew him in battle, and drove him precipitately out of the country. Egypt in turn was made to feel the heel of invasion, and the Babylonian borders were established to the very gates of Pelusium. In all these Syrian wars of Nebuchadnezzar he was backed and assisted by his brother-in-law, Astyages, king of the Medes.

Meanwhile the aged Cyaxares, the virtual founder of Median greatness, died. He was one of the great men of his times. Statesmanship can hardly be ascribed to a ruler of that era; but Cyaxares had ambition, and was able to govern men. He could foresee an end from the beginning, and could adapt thereto the means most likely to secure the desired object. King of a warlike people, he showed himself fit to lead. First in a warlike age, he maintained his ascendency to the end of life. By his conquests and abilities he brought to his people the materials of a great kingdom; but to organize those materials into institutions befitting a commonwealth was a work of which neither he was capable nor his times desirous. His success, therefore, as a conqueror and a king lacked the element of stability. The greatness of his reign was the greatness of inorganic power supported by personal will rather than by administrative forms or political wisdom. After a reign of forty years he passed from the scene of his activities, and was succeeded by ASTYAGES.

The accession of this prince was in the year 593 B. C. Though not wanting in abilities, he was less ambitious than his father. It is more easy to inherit an empire than to win one; but inheritance is not a fact well calculated to develop the highest powers of manhood or kingship. Nor was the court of an oriental monarch a place to inspire those generous activities, without which great character is impossible.

The long reign of Astyages was comparatively uneventful. The most important occurrence of his whole career—if we except the disaster of its close—was an addition of territory, which he had the good fortune to secure rather by diplomacy than by war. On the north-eastern borders of Media lay the country of the Cadusians. They possessed not a little power and influence. More than once Cyaxares had thought to make war and subdue them; but his Western campaigns had drawn him away to larger enterprises. If the Cadusians were a temptation to the Medes, the Medes were a menace to the Cadusians. At the time of the accession of Astyages they were ruled by a king named ONAPHERNES, who, believing his country to be in danger, took wisdom into his counsel, and opened negotiations with the Median monarch relative to annexation. This odd piece of statecraft was successful; for Astyages was an easy-going king, who preferred peace to war, and was very willing to make terms with the Cadusian ruler. So without bloodshed the dominions of that barbaric but politic prince were transferred to Media, himself remaining as viceroy.

This stroke of good policy was perhaps the greatest achievement of Astyages. His social life was clouded, for he was sonless. His Lydian wife, Amyitis, had brought him no heir. Other wives were sought; but no son came to the palace of Ecbatana. At last Tigrania, a beautiful princess from Armenia,

sister of Tigranes, king of that country, was given to the Median king; but no son came with the gift. So as the monarch grew old, it seemed not improbable that the throne would be left without an occupant—a calamity to be greatly dreaded in those times and countries, where the king is the state. Nor is it unlikely that in the present instance the childlessness of Astyages was a circumstance of his final overthrow.

In civil affairs the method of government adopted by the Median kings differed not greatly from that of Assyria. The general character of the royal court was the same as that of Nineveh. The monarch, except when called forth to war, was not seen in public. His seclusion was guarded by an elaborate retinue of court officers—mostly eunuchs. In dress the luxurious style of the Ninevite kings was adopted. Long robes of costly texture adorned the bodies of the courtiers, and the sovereign himself was magnificent. The halls of the palace flashed with many-colored garments, red and purple, adorned with gold and gems. The wrists of the officers were clasped with thick bracelets, and their necks with heavy chains.

An audience with the king of Media could only be obtained through an elaborate ceremony. The monarch had one officer called his "Eye." Another high worthy had the duty of conducting strangers into the majestic presence. A third bore his cups; a fourth was his herald. After these were the guards of the palace, the torchbearers, and the ushers according to their several ranks.

As in Assyria, the chief sport of the monarchs of Media was hunting; and to this end public parks were established near the capital, into which were brought multitudes of wild animals, such as the kingly fancy delighted to pursue. At intervals the somewhat restricted excitements of the parks were exchanged for the freedom of the open country, when the king and his court went forth to hunt at will.

One of the principal events of the reign of Cyaxares had been the establishment of Magism as the court religion. The priests of this faith were held in the highest honor, and they made themselves constantly necessary to the superstition of the royal household. The king's dreams must be interpreted. Omens and portents must be explained. Matters of state policy must be laid before the supernal powers. Who but the Magi should attend to these mysterious offices? Astyages, like his father, encouraged this priestly caste; gave them honors; made them influential in his government. Thus was developed in the state another antecedent of its destruction. For, as will be presently seen, religious zeal against the prevailing customs of the court fired the enemies of Astyages in the day of his overthrow.

As the unwarlike king of the Medes grew old, destiny prepared for him and his kingdom a common catastrophe. Up to this time the kingdom of Persia, lying to the south and east of Media, had attracted but little attention from any of the surrounding nations. What the relations of that country were to the Median monarchy under Cyaxares is not very clear. Perhaps the Persians, governed by native rulers, had held a sort of natural dependence on the court of Ecbatana. Being of the same race with the Medes they enjoyed some immunity from invasion. Indeed, there was less in the highlands of Persia to tempt the cupidity of a conqueror than in almost any other of the regions bordering on the Median Empire. The habits and manners of the two peoples were alike, and the general motives of war were for the most part wanting between them. No doubt there was a certain dependency—political, and perhaps tributary—of the Persian upon the Median kings, but the former as well as the latter were hereditary monarchs, and *claimed* distinguished relationships with the most honored royal families of Western Asia.

Such was the condition of affairs when, during the reign of Astyages, the young Persian prince CYRUS was a resident at the court of the Mede. He was here to observe, to be educated, to learn refinement of manners, and especially to be indoctrinated with the great lesson of subordination to the powerful monarch to whom he himself, on his accession to the throne of Persia, was expected to be a loyal subject.

It sometimes happens, however, that a young man of genius learns more than is intended by his masters. He may come to apprehend that they are living upon the renown of the past, that their wisdom is dust, and their lessons slavery. So thought Cyrus at the court of the king of the Medes. A reign of vice had succeeded a reign of vigor. The luxury of Assyria had effeminated both the king and his subjects.

The young prince of barbaric Persia was himself fresh from the hills. He despised the kind of life which he beheld around him. He saw the great king of the Medes immersed in banquets, attended by a retinue of despicable eunuchs, caressed by concubines, and amused by dancing-girls. Ecbatana was a revel, and the king's palace a debauch. Moreover the simple religious faith of Cyrus, schooled as he had been in the doctrines of Zoroaster, was shocked with what appeared to him the hollow mockeries of Magism. His father's house, the Achæmenian princes of Persia, taught not, tolerated not, the gross and unspiritual practices of the Priests of the Fire. Doubtless Ahura-Mazdâo was angry at the Median idolatries, and was only waiting to destroy.

In these circumstances Cyrus, pent up at the court of Astyages, found abundant food for rebellious thoughts. He longed to escape from his surroundings, and to lead an insurrection in honor of his country and his religion. His position, however, was virtually that of a hostage, and he was jealously watched and guarded. In his anxiety he applied to Astyages for leave to return to Persia. He alleged that his father, the Persian king, was old and feeble, and required to be cared for by his son and heir. Astyages refused the plea. He so greatly admired and loved the youth that he could not endure his absence from the palace! Cyrus thereupon sought an intercessor. A favorite attendant of the king pleaded with him that the young man might be allowed to depart. Permission was at length obtained, and with a few attendants the prince set out from the Median capital.

The mind of the fearful is always haunted with dread and superstition. After the departure of Cyrus, Astyages sat at a banquet. The wine flowed, and the dancing-girls were merry. The king demanded a song. One of the girls—or as some say, a minstrel—took up a lyre and chanted this ominous prophecy:

The lion once had the wild boar in his hall,
But he let him depart to his own;
He has broken the meshes that held him thrall,
And, behold, how the boar has grown!

He will wax, and grow great, and return at length,
And the lion has need to defend,
For the boar will o'ermatch him in courage and strength,
And tear him in pieces and rend!

The king of the Medes was not so drunken as to hear this prophecy with equanimity. He was thrown into alarm, and instantly ordered a company of his guards to follow Cyrus and bring him back to the palace. The prince was overtaken and captured. The king's orders were made known, and Cyrus consented to return. That night, however, he made his captors a feast, and while they were in the stupor of drink he mounted his horse and escaped to the outposts of Persia. There he took command of a body of soldiers, and when the guards of Astyages, awaking to find their prisoner fled, pursued and again overtook the fugitive, it was only to find him at the head of a force equal to their own, to be routed by him and driven back into Media. Cyrus then made good his escape to his father's court and found protection in the Persian army.

Astyages was terrified and enraged at the result. He beat his body and very properly declared himself a fool for having yielded to the solicitations of his courtier and permitted the escape of Cyrus from his clutches. He resolved, however, to recover by force the advantage which he had lost by carelessness. He summoned his generals and immediately gave orders for a great invasion of Persia. The largest Median army ever mustered was at once collected. Tradition numbers three thousand war-chariots, two hundred thousand horse, and a million of infantry as the terrible array which Astyages deemed necessary to recover a young man whom he could recently have destroyed by a nod. The Mede put himself at the head of his host, and the invasion of Persia began.

Cyrus and Cambyses, his father—king of the Persians—prepared resistance. They had a hundred chariots of war, fifty thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand infantry. Willing with this comparatively small force to anticipate the movement of his enemy, Cambyses marched boldly to a frontier town of his dominions and awaited the onset. The Medes joined battle, and for a whole day the conflict raged without decisive results; but on the second day superior numbers gave the advantage to Astyages. Detaching a hundred thousand men he sent them to the rear of the town, and while the Persians were absorbed in the main contest the stronghold in their rear was assaulted and taken. In defending the fortifications Cambyses himself received a mortal wound. The Persians were attacked in front and rear and only succeeded in saving themselves by flight. The army retreated in broken fragments and fell back on Pasargadæ, the capital. After burying his dead rival the king of the Medes pressed on to make an end by destroying at one blow the metropolis and the kingdom.

CYRUS THE GREAT.
Drawn by W. Camphausen.

The stress of their affairs brought out the best qualities of the Persians. Cyrus, who on his father's death was recognized as king, displayed remarkable heroism. Before Astyages could reach the capital, the Persian had reorganized his army, and advanced to meet him. The country between the field of the first battle and Pasargadæ was rough and hilly, and the Median advance was conse-

quently retarded. The circumstance gave to Cyrus an opportunity to select his own ground of defense. A most advantageous situation was accordingly chosen. A narrow defile, with lofty hills rising precipitously on either side, was found in the Median line of march, and seized by the Persians. Ten thousand picked troops were placed in the pass, and against these the Medes flung themselves in vain. Astyages, however, adopting his former tactics, detached a division of his army, and succeeded in gaining the heights above the defile, and the Persians were thus forced to a hasty retreat. But in another range of hills nearer to the capital they secured a similar, though less defensible, position, and again awaited the onset.

With the coming of Astyages another two days' conflict ensued, more terrific and more decisive than the first. The hills which the Medes must ascend, driving the Persians, were steep, and the slopes were covered with thickets of wild olive. For a whole day the host of Astyages beat in vain against the obstacles. The Persians held their position undaunted, discharging showers of missiles and hurling down great masses of stone upon the ranks of their assailants.

On the second day the overpowering numbers of the Medes began to tell in their favor. Astyages placed one division of his army behind those files which were ordered to the charge, and commanded those in the reserve lines to urge forward those in advance, and to kill all who gave way before the Persians. In this way it was contrived that the terror behind was as great as the danger before. To fall back was certain death; to advance was possible victory. Before their assailants, maddened by this merciless alternative, the Persians lost ground for a while, and were driven to the very summit of the hills. Here their wives and children, who were more secure with the army than in the capital, began to fling up their arms and cry out with mingled tears and reproaches against that weakness which seemed ready to expose them to capture. Stung by these outcries, and roused to the desperation of valor, the Persians made a sudden rally, and flung themselves with the recklessness of death upon the advancing foe. Sixty thousand of the Medes were borne down by this extraordinary onset. The voice of woman had risen above the roar of battle, and the arm of Persia had thrust back the foe.

The victory thus gained was indecisive. The Persians were relatively too weak to make the overthrow complete. Astyages succeeded after some maneuvers in gaining a position in the immediate vicinity of the capital. He was preparing to strike a final blow at his antagonist, when the latter, anticipating the movements of his enemy, fell suddenly on the Median camp. It was the fifth pitched battle which had been fought between the opposing armies. Gaining something by the surprise and much more by the impetuosity of his attack, Cyrus cut right and left into the heart of the Median bivouac. Panic and rout ensued, and the fugitive remnants of the army of Astyages were pursued in all directions. The victory was complete and overwhelming. The chiefs and generals of Cyrus gathered around him on the battle-field, and proclaimed him KING OF MEDIA AND PERSIA.

Astyages made good his escape and fled towards Ecbatana. He was accompanied by a small body of friends who still adhered to his fortunes; but the company was overtaken by the eager and vigilant Cyrus, who routed the band and captured the king. It was Astyages who had added cruelty to folly and wickedness to disaster by punishing and putting to death several of his generals, upon whom he laid the blame of his overthrow. This despicable conduct, added to much previous imbecility, created a wide-spread disaffection, and large numbers of the leading Medes were ready to hail Cyrus as a deliverer. The fact that there was no legitimate heir to the Median throne tended to reconcile the people to their recent disaster, and to incline them to accept a Persian prince as their ruler.

Thus, in the year 558 B. C., was the great monarchy established by Cyaxares brought to a sudden end. The king was the state, and the king was a prisoner. Ecbatana surrendered without a defense. The dependent provinces sent in embassies and tendered their submission. In a short time the authority of

Cyrus was as completely established in the north as in the south. That large proportion of the Medes who favored the Zoroastrian reform were satisfied; for Magism was overthrown. The ambitious, who had fretted under the effeminate government of Astyages, were secretly pleased at the prospect of manly vigor in affairs of state. The philosophic were content; for they saw in the revolution only the transfer of authority from one royal house to another. The patriotic were not offended, for they remembered that the princes of Persia and Media were kinsmen—nobles of the same blood and the same family. Perhaps no conquest of history has brought less disturbance to the vanquished state than did the overthrow of Media by the arms of Cyrus.

The inquiry naturally arises why the allied kingdoms of Babylonia and Lydia were not involved in the stirring and critical movements just described. Perhaps the first answer is to be found in the suddenness of the circumstances which precipitated the Medo-Persian war. Scarcely could the news of the passion of Astyages against Cyrus and the rapid invasion of the dominions of Cambyses have been borne to Babylon and Sardis, until other intelligence would have followed of the annihilation of the Median army and the overthrow of the monarchy. Sovereigns were more ready to send succor to a king at the head of his army than to a captive in the hands of his enemy. Especially would this be true of the king of Lydia, whose remote capital could hardly be expected to send a contingent to so great a distance. As to Babylonia, Nebuchadnezzar, king of that country and brother-in-law of Astyages, was already dead, and could no longer recognize old obligations. Neriglissar, who at the time occupied the palace of Babylon, was himself a product of revolution, and an enemy of that house which had maintained the alliance with Media. So Astyages was left to his fate, and his fate was—Cyrus.

We thus have the spectacle of a vast empire which arose suddenly, and was more suddenly extinguished. In territorial extent this great power surpassed the combined areas of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal. In richness of soil and fertility of resources Media fully equaled Assyria, with her seven hundred years of history. The mettle of the people was by nature equal to the demands of great nationality, and no incentive to the highest ambition seems to have been wanting in the character and surroundings of the race.

The causes of the sudden eclipse of Median promise must be sought on the side of political weakness and social barbarism. The inherent vice of personal, and therefore irresponsible, government, identifying the nation with the king, and wrapping up the destiny of the former in the personal and capricious destiny of the latter, rendered every thing precarious. After this the greatest element of weakness was the want of political unification among the various kingdoms and provinces which were successively absorbed into the Empire. The administration of the Median kings seems never to have embraced any rational measures for the reduction of their various peoples into a homogeneous nation. The organization of the government was so crude and imperfect as to furnish no guaranty of security; and the king in his methods of exercising and dispensing authority was a mixture of the oriental despot and the barbaric chieftain. Successful war is a necessary condition of the perpetuity of such a government. When that fails, or when the monarchy falls into the hands of an imbecile, the state goes headlong.

To these causes must be added the general decline of the warlike spirit of the Medes and their degeneration into vice. The court set the example. Astyages was by constitution averse to that kind of severe and adventurous enterprises upon which the martial spirit is fed and nurtured. Nor did he, like Cæsar, possess the sublime abilities of peace. He gave himself up instead to the careless and reckless indulgence of appetite and passion. It was Charles Stuart succeeding Cromwell—an age of lasciviousness following hard after an age of austerity and the rough, but solid, virtues of war.

The vicious tendencies of the Median court were caught up and diffused by the nobles. To outdrink and outcarouse the king was the

highest flattery which the courtier could pay to his master. And so, percolating through the higher ranks of society, the insidious streams of vice and immorality descended to the common people and poisoned the national life.

Finally, the personal character of Cyrus had much to do with the revolution which subverted Media and gave to his own country the leadership of Western Asia. Fresh from his native hills, he saw in the court of the great king every thing to be detested, nothing to be admired. There national immorality and national impiety flourished. There discipline was relaxed. There effeminacy was enthroned. There, for thirty-five years, the heroic virtues of war had given place to indolence, to indulgence, to inglorious riotings with piping eunuchs and unchaste dancing-girls. In all this there was the incentive to ambition and genius to strike a blow against one who was too great not to be envied and too mean not to be despised. The blow was struck with a manly arm, and the fabric of Median renown reared by the valor of Cyaxares passed away like a vision.

THE YOUNG CYRUS ENTERING ECBATANA.

Book Fifth.

BABYLONIA.

CHAPTER XIX.—THE COUNTRY.

OF the general character of the low-lying plain at the head of the Persian Gulf much has already been said in the history of Chaldæa. It is only necessary to recapitulate the leading features of that peculiar district. It consisted of two parts: that between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and the long and irregular strip of country bordering the latter river on the right bank, and bounded westward by the Arabian desert.

The area of the first division, or LOWER MESOPOTAMIA, was nearly eighteen thousand square miles, and of the western tract about nine thousand square miles—making the entire area of what may be called Babylonia Proper not far from twenty-seven thousand square miles. The whole region was an alluvial deposit, the product of the two great rivers of Western Asia. The boundary on the east was the Tigris; on the south, the Gulf of Persia; on the west, the desert; and on the north, a line drawn from Samarah on the Tigris to Hit on the Euphrates. Comparatively, the district thus defined was less than the kingdom of Portugal.

BABYLONIA PROPER, however, was only the nucleus of the vast Babylonian Empire, whose greatness is now to be considered. It will be remembered that Nabopolassar, on his defection from Saracus, the last king of Assyria, received from his ally, Cyaxares, the viceroyalty of Babylon. This he organized into an independent kingdom—the first step in a career of conquest which laid the larger part of Western Asia tributary at the feet of his successors. It is with the extensive countries thus brought under the sway of Babylon that we have now to deal.

At the downfall of Nineveh, and in the division of spoils between Cyaxares and Nabopolassar, it is not easy to determine precisely what countries fell to the share of the latter. A few historical references and the nature of the countries subdued by the combined arms of Media and Babylonia are the only indications of the limits of the parts claimed by the respective conquerors. In a general way it may be said that the western and south-western parts of the Assyrian Empire fell to Nabopolassar, and the residue to Cyaxares. Besides

this natural division, the Babylonian prince claimed and obtained the important country of Susiana, beyond the Tigris. This province constituted, then, the eastermost part of the kingdom of Babylon, and is first to be considered in describing the character of the countries dominated by Nabopolassar and his successors.

Susiana, corresponding with the modern provinces of Khuzistan and Luristan, lay between the river Tigris and the Bakhtiyari Mountains. The breadth of the country is one hundred and twenty miles. The surface is, for the most part, an alluvium, rising on the east into a hill country abutting against the mountains. The upland part is a beautiful region, covered with fine woods and full of springs. Across the country from the mountain spurs and running to the westward are many rivers of excellent character, clear and rapid. The country in the western part and in the valleys of Luristan is fertile in an eminent degree; but as the hills rise higher and higher on the east the land becomes bare and rocky, comparatively unfit for the abode of either man or beast. This mountainous barrier, however, constituted an excellent eastern boundary for the Empire—easily defensible against the encroachments of enemies. Looking down from this rocky rampart a country lay spread to the westward whose sloping hills and narrow valleys and swift streams of shining water framed a landscape similar to those presented on the Median slopes of the Zagros. Taken all in all, the province of Susiana was one of the most attractive and valuable districts which Nabopolassar inherited from Assyria.

Next in importance among the Babylonian provinces may be mentioned the Valley of the Euphrates, above the city of Hit. This was a long, serpentine piece of territory conforming to the course of the river. On the west it was bounded by the Arabian Desert, and on the east by the highlands of Mesopotamia. Through this tract the Euphrates makes its way, sunk in many parts in a deep bed and pressed between banks of limestone and gypsum. At intervals on either hand the hills rise to a moderate height and are covered with shrubs and stunted timber. In other parts the course of the river is marked by a narrow strip of date-palms, willows, and tulips. So deep is the bed of the stream and so impervious the banks that the presence of the fresh-water tide is felt for but a short distance, and by the same circumstances irrigation is rendered difficult or impossible. The chief value of the valley is as a line of communication between Babylonia and the West. By this route Abraham and his household journeyed from Ur to Canaan, and ever afterwards the invasions and counter-invasions between Syria and Egypt, on the one hand, and the Empires founded on the Euphrates and Tigris on the other, were made through this natural gateway.

The chief fertility of this valley is found on the western or Mesopotamian side. Here, at intervals, especially in the upper course of the river, the cultivable land spreads out to a considerable distance, and is sufficiently fruitful to yield fair rewards to husbandry. The forests, too, improve north of the Khabour, and the general features of the country are such as please the eye and suggest civilization. In the times of Assyrian and Babylonian greatness this region along the Euphrates was filled with a large and active population. The river was one of the great lines of commerce, not only between the upper country and Babylon, but also in a larger sense between the East and the West.

The third province of the Empire was Mesopotamia Proper. Something has already been said of this region in the description of Assyria. The name indicates the boundaries. It is likely, however, that that portion of Mesopotamia in which the streams take their course to the Tigris rather than to the Euphrates, was not included in the part allotted to Nabopolassar in the division of Assyria. Doubtless, the valley of the Tigris was taken, along with the trans-Tigrene provinces, by Cyaxares as his portion of the conquest. But all that large region in which the waters of the rivers—notably the Khabour—fall off to the west and join the Euphrates, went naturally and politically to Nabopolassar and his successors.

This Euphratine slope of Mesopotamia is a country of much importance. It extended on the north to the Masian mountains; on the east to the watershed of the Tigris valley; on the west, to the Euphrates. In this district are the great rivers, the Bilik and the Khabour, with their numerous tributaries. The banks of these streams are generally rich in pasturage, and in parts the fertility is exceptionally good. Between the two rivers just mentioned, and in the district where rise the Hills of Abd-el-Aziz, is found a region known as the Land of Fountains, where more than three hundred springs of pure water break out into brooks and running streams, refreshing the land with a natural irrigation.

West of the river Euphrates, and south of the Taurus range, lay the country known as Northern Syria. It was a land of small fertility and but few natural advantages. Like the Euphrates valley, its usefulness consisted largely in the fact of its being a thoroughfare between the East and the West. The surface was hilly and barren. From the north, beginning with the spurs of the Amanus and Taurus, the rocky ranges gradually descended to the desert country about Aleppo. The soil is generally unfruitful and the landscape desolate. The rainfall is insufficient, and the streams few and poor in water. The hillsides and plains are covered in many parts with stones, and but little cultivable land is found. A meager crop of grain may be produced in the better districts, but, for the rest, the country has no agricultural value beyond the production of pistachio-nuts and a few olives and grapes. It was, however, across this somewhat forbidding region that the vast and profitable trade between the countries of the Euphrates and the opulent cities of the distant Mediterranean was carried on. To this source must be attributed the greater part of whatever wealth and importance the region possessed in the times of the Empire.

As compared with the country just described, Syria Proper, lying to the south and west, had many and great advantages. This important province of the Babylonian Empire extended on the west to the Mediterranean, and on the south as far as the latitude of Tyre. Along that distant coast arise the two mountain chains of Libanus and Bargylus, forming the barrier of the desert and furnishing hundreds of streams of water. Upon the slopes grew the finest timber. In the valleys between the spurs bounding rivulets swelled into rivers, and picturesque landscapes were seen. Further inland lies the parallel range of Antilibanus, with Hermon on the southern and Jebel-el-Ala at the northern terminus; but in natural attractiveness these mountain districts fall below the magnificent Libanus, with his cascades and forests and glens.

Between these two mountain ranges, extending north and south for over two hundred miles, is the famous valley known as the Hollow Syria. Few richer districts are found anywhere on the earth's surface. About midway of this valley the two rivers, Orontes and Litany, one flowing northward and the other southward, take their rise. Along their banks is found a soil unsurpassed in fertility and resources. Stretching away to the foothills of the mountains is spread an area of vegetation the most luxuriant to be seen in all Western Asia.

But not only in its natural advantages is this noble valley preëminent. Its historical importance is even greater than the riches which nature has lavished upon it. For Hollow Syria is the gateway between Asia and Africa. Along this lowland, flanked on either hand with mountains, the tides of human ambition have surged to and fro for several thousand years. Along this line the Egyptians carried their solemn banners in the days of Tothmes and Ramses II. By the same route, in an opposite direction, came the conquering armies of Sargon and Sennacherib. By this way marched and countermarched the forces of Necho and Nebuchadnezzar. Alexander, on his way to Amun to be proclaimed the Son of Jupiter, traversed this valley. Here, too, marched the victorious legions of Pompey the Great; and here the Crusaders swept up and down in their struggles to gain the Holy Sepulcher. Almost every foot of this verdant region has been covered with the tents of conquest and ground beneath the heel of war.

The western slope of Libanus, dropping down to the Mediterranean, extending along the coast for about one hundred and eighty miles, constituted PHŒNICIA, one of the smallest, but at the same time most important, countries included in the Babylonian Empire. Next the sea the land had no great fertility, being a mere strip of sand; but here was the possibility of commerce. Here, too, rose the long line of date-palms, which gave the name of *Phœnicia*—land of the purple date.

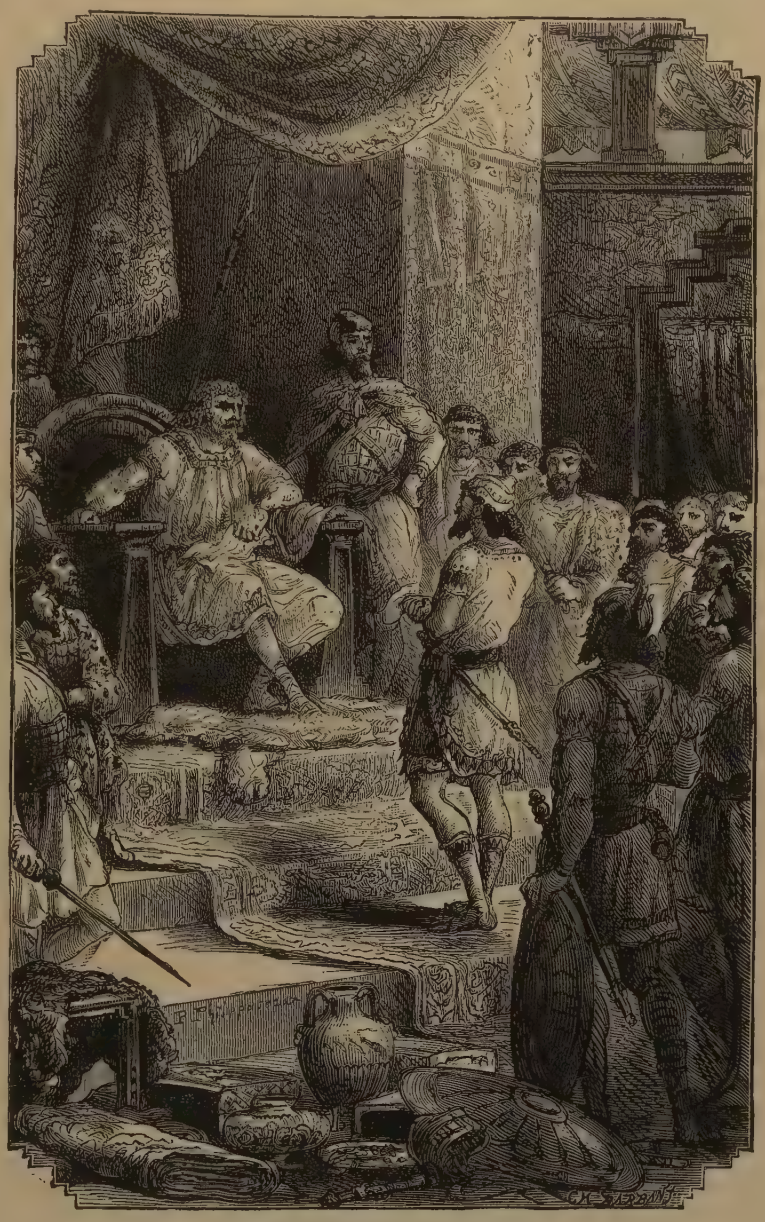
PHŒNICIAN FLEET ON A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY.
Drawn by P. Philippoteaux.

In its widest part the country was scarcely twenty miles in breadth, and anon the mountain spurs came within a mile of the sea. An insignificant belt of sand! But Nature had chosen it as the spot from which should begin the dominion of man over the deeps. Commerce was a necessity of the situation. The forests of Lebanon have been proverbial in all ages. The heavy cedars almost overhung the sea. To cut these giants of the wood and float them down the short swift streams to the coast gave a vent to the energies and profit to the industry of men at a time when Egypt was still fresh in her youth. All this would have passed perhaps but for the safe and frequent harbors which indented the shore, holding at perpetual bay the storms of the boisterous sea. These quiet havens of Phœnicia were the birthplace of the navies of the world. Here man first learned to contend successfully with the perils of the open ocean and to make Neptune, as well as Mars and Jove, his confederate and friend.

The fleets of Phœnicia put boldly to sea. When History was still in the dawn the strange crafts of this hardy maritime people were seen creeping around the shores of the Mediterranean. In the great days of Assyria and Babylon the overland trade from the valley of the Euphrates and still further east was brought to the Phœnician coast to be carried to the distant colonies and growing nations of the West. By and by these same fleets became important in discovery and in war. The cities of Phœnicia grew rich. They

were the arbiters of the deep. Government flourished. The court was one of the most splendid in the East. Tyre and Sidon became first known and then famous as far as the knowledge of man extended by communication in the earth; insomuch that the insignificant strip of territory in which they were situated possessed a greater importance in the destinies of the ancient world than did whole kingdoms which were given up to torpor and inaction.

Next in interest and influence among the outlying provinces of Babylonia was DAMASCUS. This country lay east of the range of Antilibanus, and owed its fertility, and in some sense its existence, to the two rivers Awaaj and Barada, by which it was chiefly watered. The moisture thus diffused in an otherwise arid region produces exuberant vegetation and a stalwart forest growth of poplar, cypress, and walnut. Wheat and barley grow in the fields; apricots, oranges, pomegranates, and olives, in the orchards. In this fruitful circle of more than thirty miles in extent lies the city of Damascus, which for beauty of situation and construction has been for centuries the most attractive of oriental cities.



PHŒNICIAN SCENE AT COURT.
Drawn by P. Philippoteaux.

In its full extent PALESTINE, the Holy Land of the Hebrews, embraced an area of about eleven thousand square miles. This limit included the subordinate divisions of Galilee, Samaria, Bashan, and Gilead. The full length of the country was one hundred and forty miles, the breadth varying from seventy to one hundred miles. The fundamental fact of Palestine was the Jordan, which traverses a rocky valley from the slopes of Mount Hermon, in latitude 33° 25′ to latitude 31° 47′ N., where it loses its existence in the brackish waters of the Dead Sea.

The region is peculiar. The valley is clearly

the result of some cataclysm or volcanic eruption, by which the surface of the earth has been rent, producing a wide gorge or fissure, the lower or southern portion of which is greatly depressed below the surface. The Jordan begins his course at a considerable elevation above the sea, and pursues a somewhat precipitous course to the latitude of Merom, where the sea-level is attained. From this point onwards the Jordan is lower than the Mediterranean, and as the descent is rapid, the level of the river at the salt lake which engulfs it is one thousand three hundred and twenty feet below that of the sea.

THE DEAD SEA, LOOKING SOUTH.

On the two sides of the Jordan the land rises in rocky ridges. The country is thus divided into two slopes set over the one against the other. In width the fertile part of the valley is from one to ten miles, and this narrow tract embraces about all the fertile land which Palestine possesses. A few vales here and there, generally running at right-angles to the course of the river, have a deposit of rich soil, from which spring beauty and fragrance, but the general aspect of the country is forbidding and gloomy.

On the highlands rising from the right or west bank of the Jordan are found the small states of Judæa, Galilee, and Samaria, while on the corresponding slope to the left lie the provinces of Ituræa, Bashan, and Gilead. The whole land is hilly, undulating, rising into a mountainous background. The southern portion is most arid and barren, cheerless and uninviting. The northern part has a larger number of running streams. In some districts of Samaria there are plains and valleys which invite cultivation and yield fair rewards to toil. The most beautiful part is Galilee, in which water-brooks, sloping hills, and green forests send back to the eye a sense of rest and quiet. Of the level portions of Palestine the fairest to view is the plain of Esdraëlon, stretching from the bay of Acre to the valley of the Jordan and presenting many flowery landscapes.

The last of the subordinate divisions of this small but famous country is Philistia—from which by a corruption of the spelling the name of *Palestine* is derived. The district lies to the right towards Egypt, and in its general aspect is like the other provinces, though on a lower level. Towards the sea Philistia sinks into a sandy plain, but the inland parts are more attractive and contain a good deal of cultivable land, yielding wheat and barley in abundance. In this region are the cities of Gaza, Jaffa, and Ashdod, famous alike in myth and history: in myth, for their names are lost in the shadows of remote ages; in history, for it was through Philistia that the banners of conquest were borne back and forth in the great wars between Egypt and the powers of Western Asia.

Next after Palestine, among the countries which Nabopolassar obtained by the conquest

of Nineveh, may be mentioned the large and irregular region called IDUMÆA, lying next to Egypt. It was the land of the Amalekites, the terror of Jewry. On the east lay the great desert; on the south, the mountains of Sinai and the northern arm of the Red Sea; on the west, the borders of Egypt; on the north Palestine. The whole region was—and is—an undulating rocky plain, with a surface of thin soil or gravel, degenerating into a semi-desert. In some parts there are shrubs and pasturage, whereon the nomads of Arabia, beating up from the south, sustain their flocks for a season. An occasional grove of palms relieves the monotony of the landscape, yields its fruit to the hungry desertman, furnishes him a shade for his noonday rest. Next to the seashore the country is as an elevated beach. Further inland, extending from the fissure in which the Dead Sea lies, is the long depression called the Araba Valley, running down towards Egypt, and gradually rising to the level of the plain. Still further there are a few barren ranges of unaspiring hills, from the summit of which the African sunset is seen full and red beyond the sea of Egypt. The area of ancient Idumæa may be stated approximately at one thousand six hundred square miles.

The last of the Babylonian provinces here requiring mention was PALMYRA—the Land and City of Palms. It lay between the valley of the Euphrates and Syria, with the desert of Arabia on the south. The general character of the country was similar to that of Idumæa and the region about Damascus. But here the desert is broken at intervals by an oasis—that happy local paradise of the burning sand. The city of Palmyra itself was built in one of these oases, among nodding palms, amid fountains and brooks of life-giving water.

Such, then, is the general outline of the vast dominions ruled by Nebuchadnezzar. From the extreme east, on the further borders of Luristan, to the western limit, at the gateway of Egypt, the Empire measured well-nigh one thousand four hundred miles in extent. The breadth ranged in different parts from one hundred and sixty to two hundred and eighty miles, giving an aggregate area of nearly two hundred and fifty thousand square miles of territory—an area about equivalent to the empire of Austria. In shape, it will be observed, the Babylonian dominions were greatly elongated from east to west, and this fact became one of the chief obstacles in the administration and maintenance of authority. The difficulty was heightened, moreover, by the displacement of Babylon, the capital, which occupied a position almost at one extremity of the country, being nearly a thousand miles distant from the western frontier. All the advantages which the great city enjoyed, all the ancient fame which gathered about that marvelous capital, could hardly counterbalance the evils arising from its extreme situation.

If beginning on the east, we glance at the rivers by which the Babylonian Empire was watered, we find first of all the OROATIS, the modern Tab, on the borders of Susiana. Its headwaters are gathered within the limits of Persia; but in its principal course it traversed the territory of the great king. The whole length of the stream is over two hundred miles, and for a considerable distance above the mouth it is navigable for boats of respectable size. In its upper course the waters are fresh and pure, but near the sea the influence of the tides and brackish sands convert the current into brine.

A second important river of Susiana is the JERAHI. This stream gathers its waters from many fountains on the western slopes of the Zagros. After accumulating a considerable volume, the river receives the large tributary known as the Abi Zard, or Yellow River, and pursues his southwesterly course towards the Persian Gulf. Near Dorak the Jerahi enters the district where irrigation is necessary, and from this point onward the volume of water in the channel is greatly reduced by canals and reservoirs, into which it was distributed. Though thus diminished, the stream maintains its course to the Gulf, which it enters after a winding route of two hundred miles. This river, after its junction with the Abi Zard, is navigable for boats of considerable burden, its breadth being over a hundred yards.

Much larger than either of the streams just described is the KURAN. Like the preceding, it is made up of two branches, the Kuran proper and the DIZFUL. The former stream takes its rise in the Yellow Mountains, bordering Persia, and after a tortuous course breaks through the Zagros and turns in a south-westerly course to Shuster. Here the stream divides into two channels, to be reunited just above the junction with the Dizful. From its fountains to this junction the Kuran is two hundred and ten miles in length, and the Dizful, before the waters of the two streams are joined, has flowed a distance of two hundred and eighty miles. Below the confluence the Kuran is a majestic river, equaling or surpassing in volume either the Tigris or the Euphrates. The mouth of this great stream is in the Shat-el-Arab, about twenty miles below the city of Busra. The whole length of the Kuran is about four hundred and thirty miles.

A longer but less important river belonging to the same region is the KERKAH—the Cloaspes of the ancients. Its volume is made up from three principal tributaries, all of which flow down from the slopes of the Zagros. After the union of the three branches the river takes a westerly course, passing the city of Behistun and the ruins of Rudbar. At the last-named place the channel finds its way out of the mountainous district, and after its confluence with the Abi-Zal flows into the plain. With its left margin it washes the ruins of Susa, and thence turning to the south-west falls, after a course of more than five hundred miles, into the Shat-el-Arab. Like the preceding streams the Kerkah is navigable for large-sized boats.

Of the two great rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, without which Chaldæa, Assyria, Babylonia had never been, a full description has already been given in Books Second and Third. In like manner the course and character of most of the Mesopotamian streams have been sufficiently delineated. If we pass beyond the Euphrates to the west, however, we shall find a great number of important streams not hitherto described or noticed. Beginning at the north, the first of these is the SAJUR, a tributary of the Euphrates. It is a stream about sixty-five miles in length, navigable in its lower course for boats of the smaller sort. The waters are gathered from the spurs and foot-hills of the Amanus range and are borne along by the ruin-crowned hill, Tel Khalid, to join the parent river in latitude 36° 37′ N.

The second river of this region is the KOWCIK, called by the Greeks the Chalis. Its sources are in the hills of Ain-Tab, and its channel is first directed towards the Euphrates. Nature, however, has put barriers in this direction. In the plain near Aleppo a large tributary from the north deflects the course of the stream to the south, and so, for sixty miles, the river flows on through the sandy plain. At this point in its route it meets the hills and is turned eastward for a short distance, where it enters and is lost in the great brackish marsh called El Melak.

In that remarkable valley between the ranges of Libanus and Antilibanus rises the ORONTES, the finest river of Syria. The waters of this great stream are gathered from the slopes of the Antilibanus. Its upper fountain is seven miles north of the ruins of Baalbek. The course of the river is first in a north-westerly direction, but after a sudden turn to the north-east the stream flows along the foot-hills of the Antilibanus to Lebweh, where it is deflected over to the plains of Lebanon. From this quarter the volume of water is increased by many tributaries, and the river finds its way along the base of the Lebanon range. Further on it flows through the Lake of Hems, and issuing, makes a detour around the extreme of the mountains, turning towards the Mediterranean. In this part it traverses the valley of Antioch, and finally reaches the sea in latitude 36° 5′ N. The whole length of the river is a little over two hundred miles. Its course is rapid and impetuous; its channel deep and capacious.

The river LITANY has already been mentioned as occupying the same valley with the Orontes; but the two streams flow in opposite directions. The Orontes is known as the River of Syria; the Litany, as the River of Tyre. The fountains of the latter are near to those

of the former. A few miles north of Baalbek a slight watershed turns the brooks to the south and the valley gathers them together into the Litany. The course of the stream is at first southerly. The mountain slopes on either hand send down additional rivulets, and the volume is widened and deepened. Near the southern extreme the valley between the Libanus and Antilibanus is contracted in a narrow and forbidding gorge a thousand feet in depth, through which the river rushes headlong. After foaming and plunging through these narrows, the agitated stream issues into the plain, circles around the base of Lebanon, and, after a course of seventy-five miles, finds its way to the sea.

On the opposite side of the Antilibanus range rises the River of Damascus, called the BARADA. It has its principal source in a small lake situated in latitude 33° 41′ N. From this origin the stream flows eastward, first through a glen between high cliffs until the Antilibanus is cleared, and then from the town of Suk in a south-easterly course towards Damascus. In this vicinity the river begins to be divided, both by artificial and natural channels, until its waters are mostly dispersed to convert a desert region into a paradise. What remains of the stream finally disappears, after a course of about forty miles, in some marsh lands a half day's journey from the city.

The river JORDAN is immemorially famous. Its sources are to the north of Lake Merom. Its uppermost fountain is a spring called the Ras-en-Neba, near Hasbeiya. The rivulet, proceeding from this origin, descends the north-western slope of Mount Hermon. Small brooks from several directions join their waters at Merom. This upper part of the Jordan valley is a place of reeds and marshes, and even after issuing from the lake the Jordan is for a considerable distance a sluggish and indifferent stream. Then, as the valley sinks, the current becomes rapid and in some parts headlong. Between Merom and Tiberias the fall is in places as much as fifty feet to the mile, but after passing the latter place the decline is not so rapid, and the stream sometimes flows with a placid current. From Tiberias to the Dead Sea is a distance of seventy miles, and the difference in level is about six hundred feet.

In this part of its course the Jordan receives two tributaries. The first of these is the JARMUK, which drains the district south-east of Lake Tiberias. In the rainy season its banks are full, but in summer the channel is almost dry. It traverses a country of considerable fertility until it approaches the rocky gorge of the Jordan, into which it falls through a chasm with precipitous walls on either hand a hundred feet in height. The other confluent of the parent stream is the brook JABBOK. This classic stream drains the land of Gilead. Like the Jarmuk, the Jabbok swells to a torrent in winter and shrinks into a rocky bed in summer. On the sides of the ravine through which it flows—sunk deep in the earth—are seen overhanging oaks. Here is a thicket of cane and yonder a cluster of oleanders. Like the preceding stream the Jabbok enters the Jordan through a cleft in the rocks, roaring when swollen, and broken into foam. The whole length of the Jordan, from the springs of Ras-en-Neba to the Dead Sea, is, in a direct line, one hundred and thirty miles, or twice that distance if the wanderings of the channel be included in the measurement.

Passing, then, to other bodies of water embraced within the limits of the Babylonian Empire, we find not a few lakes of importance. Especially is this true in the western portions of the dominions of Nebuchadnezzar. The greater number of these sheets of water were of the brine briny, made so by having no outlets and by the saline character of the surrounding districts. Four of the most important, however, were fresh water; namely, the Lake of Antioch—the Bahr-el-Melak—the Bahr-el-Kades, the Lake Merom, and the Sea of Tiberias. All of these bodies were simply expansions in the beds of rivers, by whose volume they were perpetually replenished from the hills, and through whose channels the overflow was carried to the sea.

Beginning in Northern Syria, the first salt lake demanding attention was the SABAKHAH. It was situated on the route from Aleppo to the Euphrates, just below the thirty-sixth

parallel of latitude. It contains about fifty square miles of water, being thirteen miles in length and from three to five miles broad. It is the product of several small streams, which pour their contributions into a basin from which there is no outlet. The waters are so exceedingly salty that the natural incrustations are gathered along the shores and sold—a rudimentary and puny commerce.

The BAHR-EL-MELAK has already been mentioned as the lake into which flows the river of Aleppo. It has the same general character as that last described, but is considerably less in area. Its value, however, is not less considerable, for from the bed of this basin, when the waters under the summer sun have receded to their lowest ebb, the inhabitants take from the bottom a large part of the salt which supplies the markets of Syria. Over the surface of the same sheet of brine, when the winter rains have filled the basin to the brim, large flocks of geese and ducks and solitary flamingoes go sailing.

The three lakes in the immediate vicinity of Damascus have already received some notice. Between the rainy and the dry season they fluctuate greatly in extent. Indeed, when the rains are excessive the edges of the three bodies touch each other, and the lake is continuous. They are all, as has been said, supplied from the streams of the Antilibanus, and being without an outlet, are brackish and heavy.[1]

The DEAD SEA, at the lower extremity of the gorge of the Jordan, is the largest salt lake of Western Asia. Perhaps no other body of water of equal size has attracted so much attention. It is forty-six miles in length and ten and a-half miles in breadth. The area is about two hundred and fifty square miles. The lake is of an oblong form, being quite regular in shape, except on the eastern side near the southern extremity, where a long peninsula projects nearly to the other shore. All that portion of the sea lying south of this peninsula is shallow, having a depth of only a few feet, while the main body lying to the north sinks to the extraordinary depth of one thousand two hundred or one thousand three hundred feet; and since the surface of the lake is above one thousand three hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean, the *bottom* of the chasm is in some places more than two thousand six hundred feet below the sea! No other body of water on the earth's surface is so greatly depressed.

The water of the Dead Sea is impregnated with salt and other minerals to a degree unequaled. Lake Urumiyeh, in Northern Media, most nearly approaches it in saltness and general character. From this unusual impregnation of minerals, and from the great depression of the surface, the Dead Sea waters have a specific gravity and consequent buoyancy greater than any other lake or sea. Chemical analysis shows that one-fourth of the whole weight of this thick brine is composed of solid matter—a quantity twice as great as is found in the waters of the open ocean. Heavy logs of wood thrown into the Dead Sea float out of the surface, buoyed up like cork, and the human body will sink of its own weight only to the shoulders. For the greater part the lake is lifeless. Even the shores are incrusted with the crystalline deposits of ages. Lot's wife is a pillar of salt!

Turning to the fresh-water lakes, the most important is the SEA OF TIBERIAS, or Galilee. In shape it resembles its salt counterpart of the south, being an ellipse, with its greater axis up and down the Jordan valley. Its length is thirteen miles; its width, six miles. The greatest depth is one hundred and sixty-five feet. It is simply an expansion of the Jordan, which comes down from Merom discolored with a muddy sediment. This, however, is left in the bottom of the lake, and the river issues below a clear and beautiful stream.

The region of Tiberias and the sheet of water itself may claim considerable beauty—more than any other region of Palestine. The traveler stands on the beach and sees around a large circumference of the lake a well-defined, pebbly shore; before him a lake of bright,

[1] The marvel of the Dead Sea in regard to the quality of its waters has been greatly exaggerated. The fact is, that dead seas prevail wherever the natural conditions are present. Syria abounds in them, and Utah furnishes a notable example.

pure water; around him a background of hills. Water-fowl on graceful wing alight here and there, and the finny tribes break the surface in their sport.

A few miles north of Tiberias is Lake Merom, now known as the BAHR-EL-HULEH. It is nearly circular in shape, and has an area of about twenty-five square miles. The country round about is a marsh, covered with swamp-grass, reeds, and rushes. Through these the traveler beats a difficult passage down to the lake. Wild fowl take to flight, and the water teems with fishes.

Passing from the country of the Jordan and entering the valley of the Orontes, we find the BAHR-EL-KADES, similar in all respects to the lakes Tiberias and Merom. The first is, like the latter two, an expansion of the river to which it owes its supply. The area of the Kades lake is nearly the same as that of Merom, being about eight miles long by three in width. There is a tradition extant that the lake in question owes its origin to a dam which was built across the Orontes in the times of Alexander the Great, and there are some evidences that the basin has been artificially formed by the deflection of the river. If such is, indeed, the origin of Bahr-el-Kades, the lake had no existence in the times of Nebuchadnezzar—a thing quite possible.

About one hundred and fifteen miles north of the last mentioned body of water lies the Sea of Antioch, the BAHR-EL-MELAK of modern geography. It lies nearly four-square, with the angles, like the corners of an Assyrian palace, facing the points of the compass. It is a shallow lagoon, only a few feet in depth. The surrounding country is a marsh, like the region about Merom. The banks are fringed around the whole circumference with a thick growth of reeds, and the huts of fishermen are seen here and there—as they have been from immemorial times.

Such were the general features of the great Empire of the Babylonians. To the east lay Persia, between which and the Chaldæan plains rose an almost impassable barrier of mountains. After the conquest of Assyria by Media, the latter country bounded Babylonia on the north, nor was there any physical obstacle to invasion from that direction. It will be remembered, however, that from the circumstances attending the overthrow of Nineveh, relations of amity were established between the Medes and the Babylonians, and were long maintained. The danger, therefore, to which the kings of Babylon might have been exposed from possible attack by their ambitious and warlike neighbors on the north was from the first reduced to a minimum.

On the south of Babylonia lay ARABIA—a desert waste. Such was the country that no great population could be maintained upon its treeless, blasted surface. For this reason the Empire had little to fear from the Arabs, who could never muster in sufficient numbers to menace a compact and powerful people like the Babylonians. On the extreme west of the dominions of the great king spread the MEDITERRANEAN, from whose billows no threatening foe was to be expected. On the southwest border, however, lay the land of the Pharaohs, the most ancient and for a long time the most powerful of kingdoms. Egypt was the rival of Babylonia. The monarchs of the two great nations eyed each other askance; and causes of quarrel were found not a few. The remoteness of the two countries was the saving fact which prevented almost continual war. If Egypt had the greater fertility, it was restricted to narrow boundaries. The wider domains and larger and more warlike population gave the advantage to the Babylonians, who waxed great and branched like a cedar, while the declining energies of the Egyptians wasted to feebleness and extinction. It is now proper to consider in brief the peculiarities of the Babylonian climate and products.

CHAPTER XX.—CLIMATE AND PRODUCTS.

TAKEN all in all, the countries included within the Babylonian Empire were dry and hot. On the south the desert was in close proximity. The seas which washed the borders of the dominions of Nebuchadnezzar were small, and their influence was little felt at a distance from the shore. Nor did the mountain ranges included within the Empire reach to such length and rise to such height as to insure large quantities of rain or diffuse everlasting freshness. The country was included between the thirtieth and thirty-seventh parallels of latitude, and was through the larger part of its extent level and sandy.

From all of these circumstances heat predominated. The summers were long and scorching; the winters, brief and mild. Of course, the high temperatures of Chaldæa, of Idumæa and Palmyrene were more excessive in degree than in Mesopotamia and the northern provinces. In all those parts approximate to the Persian Gulf, even in the hilly regions of Susiana, the heat of midsummer is fearful. Frequently the thermometer at midday reaches 107° of Fahrenheit, and even in the underground apartments, which the people construct to protect themselves, the temperature hardly falls below 100°. At night the heat is assuaged, and the people find rest on the roofs of their houses. In all the low countries and southern districts winter brings no snow. In December the rainy season sets in, and continues until March. Sometimes the clouds pour down abundantly, and at intervals there are violent storms of hail. Such is the general character of the eastern parts of what was the Babylonian Empire.

In the western provinces, next to the Mediterranean, there was a moister and cooler climate. In the mountainous districts of Libanus and Antilibanus the winter is sufficiently rigorous. In the valleys, however, the climate is more mild than in the corresponding districts of Europe. In some parts, indeed, as in Palestine and along the Phœnician coast, the winters are scarcely more severe than in Babylonia proper. At the Dead Sea the thermometer never falls to the freezing point of water, and in the summer season the heats are intense and oppressive. In general the temperature of Syria is about as here described, but in the higher regions the air has a freer movement, and the effects of the heat are thereby assuaged.

The one great climatic drawback, however, in the countries once ruled by the kings of Babylon is the fierce *Sirocco*, or hot wind of the desert. This burning blast is always blown from the heated sands of Arabia. It is the terror alike of man and beast. Mixed with a cloud of fine hot sand the blast sweeps up over the Syrian or Babylonian plains and blisters what living thing soever it smites. The sky grows lurid and the air is darkened. The animals and birds fly to their covert, and man seeks a shelter for protection.

It is not likely that any great changes have occurred in the climatic conditions of the Babylonian dominions during the twenty-four hundred years that have elapsed since the days of the great Empire. Perhaps the soil in many parts has suffered some deterioration, but the same products are undoubtedly yielded to-day as when they were gathered by the husbandmen for Nebuchadnezzar's army. In one respect the country has suffered much. Many regions have been stripped of their forests, and by this fatal procedure the natural tendencies to drought have been aggravated. Especially is this true in Syria, the climate of which has certainly undergone some change from the denudation of the woodlands;[1] but

[1] Woe to the country that cuts down its woods. The United States may well be warned by the past. The woodman's axe is indeed the signal of civilization, and it is also the forerunner of the desert! The desert lies just the other side of the cleared fields.

the essential identity of products ancient and modern precludes the conclusion of any great transformation.

In ancient Babylonia wheat grew native, as did also barley. Lentils and sesame came without culture, but more abundantly with it. The edible roots peculiar to most parts of the north temperate zone grew plentifully and yielded large crops to the gardener. The date palm flourished in all the southerly parts of the Empire, and the great apple-belt of the world crossed the Babylonian plain. The fruits of the country were various, and grew a plentiful supply without the perils of winter rigors or the untimely frosts of spring.

The yield of smaller grains was almost like that of Egypt in abundance. The character and amount of some of these crops as given by the ancient historians is well-nigh incredible, and can only be accepted on the supposition that the alluvium of the Euphrates valley was still fresh in its native powers, and that the indigenous wheat-plant and other similar growths felt here the rich impulses of nature.

The products of the Babylonian plain have already been sketched in the History of Chaldæa. Those of Susiana were similar. Wheat and barley yielded a hundred fold. The date-palm flourished. In the native woods grew acacias and poplars. This region, like parts of Media and Persia, is the home of apples and pears. Nearly all the fruits peculiar to the better parts of the north temperate zone grew ripe and abundant in the upland districts and foot-hills of Khuzistan. The mountain slopes of Susiana furnished a fair supply of timber, and this was sometimes cut, as in Phœnicia, and floated down the streams to the populous districts, where the cities were built. For building materials, however, the palm-tree—straight and tall and easily hewn—was generally preferred, and this tree grew best in the low plains next to the Gulf.

In the district hitherto described as the Valley of the Euphrates—meaning that part of the valley above the alluvial plain of Chaldæa—the products are not much varied from those of Susiana and Babylonia proper. As we ascend the river one of the peculiarities is the appearance of the olive instead of the date: the latter prefers the sand. Next come the mulberry and the pistachio-nut, and the walnut is abundant. In this region, as well as in many parts of Mesopotamia, the vine flourishes, though the valleys of the great rivers seem not to have equaled those of Syria as it respects the vintage. The small grains—wheat, millet, and barley—grew well in all the arable districts bordering on the Upper Euphrates; and the orchards, in addition to apples and pears and plums, yielded good crops of pomegranates and oranges.

The northern portion of Syria was better adapted to pastoral pursuits than to agriculture. In general, there was more forest and less productive soil. It was from the dense woods of Northern Syria that the kings of Nineveh, in the days of her glory, brought the treasures of timber with which to adorn the palaces of their capital. In various parts of this region immense forests of walnut, oak, pine, poplar, and ash are found, furnishing an almost limitless amount of lumber. In the open country wild shrubs appear in abundance—the oleander with its splendid flowers, the honeysuckle with its fragrance, the myrtle with its deep green leaves. In the orchards grow the orange and the olive, the pomegranate and the mulberry. The vine also is cultivated, and pistachio-nuts and walnuts flourish as well as in Mesopotamia. The vegetable growths of the garden are similar to those of like latitudes in Europe. Of general products the castor-bean is—and has always been—one of the most important staples of Syria; and in modern, though perhaps not in ancient, times, cotton assumes its place among the products of the country.

Nearly all of the native and transplanted growths of Babylonia are found in Southwestern Syria. In this part of the dominions of the Empire, however, the heat was more intense than in the northern provinces, and the greater moisture from the proximity of the sea tended to create certain modifications in the products of the country. Here, also, are found the highest mountains within the limits of the ancient Empire, and these, also, were the causes of some changes in the things which spring from the soil. Many new products

appear, not found in Northern Syria, such as the fig and the banana. The date still grows as far towards Arabia as Damascus, but its existence is precarious. Some of the products, such as liquorice and the egg-plant, are suggestive of Egypt. Others, like the lemon and the almond, are similar to the same fruits in the southern latitudes of the United States.

The general character of the products of ancient Palestine are of common fame, and need hardly be repeated. The woods of the mountain slopes were of cedar and oak and juniper. The wild olive was a common plant of the valleys. The papyrus of Egypt, the sugar-cane, and the mistletoe either grew wild or were cultivated in the gardens.—Such is a cursory view of the vegetable products, the fruits, and the forests which prevailed in the Empire of the Babylonians.

Of mineral resources the supply was peculiar. In Babylonia Proper one of the most important was bitumen. It was found as far east as Susiana, but the most abundant supply was procured from the springs of Hit, on the Euphrates. In the Dead Sea of Palestine the same substance exists in inexhaustible quantities. The part which this strange substance played in the rockless plain of ancient Chaldæa, and afterwards in the buildings of the Babylonians, has already been referred to in the Second Book. As has already been said, common salt was abundantly procured from the beds of many of the Syrian lakes, and was exported as merchandise. The Dead Sea and the lakes near Palmyra yielded the same mineral, the supply being limited only by the energy of the manufacturers. From the sources just mentioned, sulphur and niter were also procured, and in other parts the same substances were occasionally found. Of all the countries embraced within the Empire, the best for copper and iron was Palestine, but even in this country the yield of these valuable metals was not great. Silver was found in small quantities in the range of Antilibanus. It is not known that any gold mine existed within the countries swayed by the kings of Babylon.

Among the Babylonians gems and precious stones were greatly coveted. But it does not appear that the same were found anywhere in the low plains around the head of the Persian Gulf. Several kinds of gems were taken from the hills of Susiana. In the channel of the river Choaspes, agates were found in abundance. In the vicinity of Damascus there were beds from which alabaster was taken. The Phœnician mines furnished lapis-lazuli, and amethysts were obtained in the neighborhood of Petra. From these various sources the rough gems were brought to Babylon, and engraved in a manner which has excited the envy of modern times. Cornelians, rock-crystals, chalcedony and onyx stones, jasper, and feldspar were sought and sold in the shops of the great city.

Of the supply of building material something has already been said in the history of Chaldæa and Assyria. No stone was found in Babylonia. In the earliest times, the acquaintance of the Chaldæans with the native tribes of Mesopotamia was not such as to encourage the importation of stone from the north. In the valley of the Euphrates, above the city of Hit, building stone is abundant. Quarries exist on both sides of the river, and in the country to the west, that is, in Northern Syria, there is no deficiency.

The hills of Susiana are also piled up with stone, and in Southern Syria ledges of outcropping rock frequently constitute the principal feature of the landscape. The variety most abundant is common limestone, though sandstone as well as silicious rocks and granite are plentifully distributed. In the later and more splendid days of the Babylonian Empire stone was much used for building and ornamentation, and the material so employed was taken from the quarries on the Upper Euphrates, and brought down the river to the capital. Building with bricks, however, was never superseded, even in the palmiest times of the great kings.

Passing, then, to the animal life of Babylonia, and beginning with the savage beasts, we find the lion, then, as always, a monarch. He was to be met in many parts—Chaldæa of old, Mesopotamia, Syria, alike in the desert and the hills. Next and most formidable were the bear, the hyena, the panther, and the

leopard. The herbivora were represented by the wild ox, the wild ass, the stag, the antelope, the goat, and the sheep. Of the lesser creatures may be named the fox, the hare, and the rabbit. A few of these animals are still found, but rarely or in remote districts; others are common, and abound. The ferocious beasts have receded or encroached upon the borders of civilization as those limits have been enlarged or contracted by the fluctuations of political power.

In modern times quite a number of additional animals not mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions have become prevalent in the countries once dominated by the Babylonians. Such are the otter and the beaver, the lynx and the badger, the sable and the squirrel, the jerboa and the porcupine. Some of these are found in some parts, and some in others. Alligators have been occasionally seen in the Euphrates by travelers.

The birds of Babylonia were—and are—nearly identical with those now occupying the same latitudes in Europe and America. The chief birds of prey are the eagle, the vulture, the falcon, the owl, the hawk, and the crow. The smaller race consists of magpies, jackdaws, blackbirds, thrushes, nightingales, larks, *et id omne genus*. Of the edible birds the most prized and most abundant are pheasants, quails, and partridges. Of the river-fowl the principal are geese and ducks. Of the ugly and fantastic species may be mentioned the pelican, the flamingo, the stork, the heron, and the cormorant. Besides these are snipes, woodcocks, sand-grouse, and parrots. In the times of the Empire the ostrich was common in Syria and Babylonia, though that phenomenal creature is not any longer found in those regions. Perhaps the most peculiar bird of these countries is a kind of heron, unknown in Europe. It inhabits Northern Syria and the districts about Aleppo. It is grayish white in color, having tips of scarlet on the wings, and a large beak scarlet and black. The feet are yellow and the eyes red. In shape it resembles the stork, but it is *four feet high*, and the expanded wings measure *as much as nine feet!* This strange creature goes in a flock of his kind. They are semi-aquatic. In the rivers of Northern Syria they may be seen standing in rows across the stream. They select a shallow. Here they squat with their outspread tails up-stream. The current is thus stopped; the water below runs away, leaving bare the bed. When this feat is accomplished the birds all swoop down at a signal and gather up in their big beaks the fish and frogs that have been exposed in the bed of the river!

The fishes belonging to the waters of Assyria and Chaldæa have already been mentioned. Some of the reptiles also have been noticed. Of insects, those most dreaded are scorpions, tarantulas, and locusts. The last-named have been the dread of fifty generations. Coming up from no one knows where, swarming across the sky in clouds that no one can measure, settling like an inexorable plague on every green thing that springs from the goodness of the earth, these devastating creatures are the veritable curse of the countries subject to their ravages. In the locust-bird Nature has kindly provided an antidote with the bane.

The principal domestic animals of Babylonia may be briefly mentioned. The chief of these were the camel, the horse, and the ass. The nature of the country was specially adapted to the service of these creatures. The open plain, tending on the Arabian side to the desert, gave opportunity for the endurance and sagacity of the camel, for the fleetness and spirit of the horse, for the dogged patience and pertinacity of the ass. Next in importance were the mules and the oxen. The former were large and strong, and as in other countries combined in themselves the better qualities of their diverse ancestry. They were much used alike in peace and war. The monuments of Assyria show them under the saddle, harnessed to carts, drawing huge war-chariots on the way to battle. From their attitude in the inscriptions they seem to have been large and full of spirit, plunging and rearing like horses. The asses from which these animals were derived were larger and better in all respects than the breeds known in Europe. The same can not be said for the horses of Babylonia, for these were hardly

equal to those of some other countries. Nevertheless they were produced in great numbers. Herodotus narrates that the stables of one of the Babylonian kings contained no fewer than eight hundred stallions and sixteen thousand mares. The prevalent breeds, if we may judge by the delineations which have been left in Assyria, were large-boned, large-headed, strong, and heavy-muscled rather than elegant or swift—adapted rather for the brick-yards of the plain than for fleetness or beauty.

The sheep and goats of Mesopotamia were like those of other countries. Of the former animal several breeds were reared, of varying grades as it related to flesh or fleece. The latter yielded its flesh to the Babylonian butcher-stalls—its milk and cheese to the peasant. Next in importance of the domestic animals was the dog. The tablets show them of many species and in the performance of various services. The breeds presented ranged from the elegant greyhound to the heavy and impassive mastiff.

It is not known that the camel was native to Babylonia. In several of the neighboring countries, however, the beast was an efficient agent in the affairs of life, and his importation into the Babylonian provinces was easy and natural. The caravan trade then—as ever—depended for its efficiency upon the ship of the desert. The commercial communication between the countries bordering on the valley of the Euphrates and those lying along the Mediterranean was maintained, perhaps originally suggested, by the abilities and temper of the camel. In war likewise and in common travel this same remarkable creature became indispensable to the wants and caprices of men.

On the Babylonian cylinders are found certain representations which seem to indicate the buffalo as an animal native to the country. The creature thus delineated differs from the ox, and corresponds very well with the buffalo of Europe. The animal appears to have been domesticated, and to have been subsisted in the same manner and for the same ends as the ordinary Babylonian cattle. Oxen are represented on the same tablets, and the uses of the two species, whether of labor in the fields, or slaughter for the markets, or of sacrifice to the gods, seem to have been identical.

Such is a brief sketch—as supplemented by what is said in the histories of Chaldæa and Assyria—of the general aspects of Nature as she appeared to the ancient Babylonians, and of the principal gifts which she gave them out of her treasure.

CHAPTER XXI.—PEOPLE AND CITIES.

IT is difficult to define properly the race-character of the Babylonians. From the earliest times the people inhabiting the low plains of Chaldæa were a *mélange* of diverse tribes. Here the old Cushites had had their abode. Here certain of the Semitic family had found a home. Here perhaps some of the primitive Aryans had intruded among their elder brethren. Here the great Arab Dynasty had been established, and had ruled from the middle of the sixteenth century to the year B. C. 1300. At the latter date the Semitic Assyrians of the north swooped down on Babylon, and took the land, bringing in the customs and blood of Upper Mesopotamia. Here the plan of colonizing the conquered but insurrectionary populations of foreign countries was fully and unreservedly adopted; and here the tides of war, sweeping back and forth from the east and the north and the west, drew in with their ebb and flow a vast *débris* of humanity, and left it as a sediment in the countries about Babylon. From all these causes a mixture and agglomeration of races took place within the realms

of Nebuchadnezzar, the like of which could not be found in any other portion of the ancient world. The Babylonian nation was composite.

The three dominant race elements in the people of the Empire were the Semitic, the Cushite, and the Turanian. By the first the Babylonians were allied with the Hebrews and Phœnicians; by the second, with the Arabs and ancient Egyptians; by the third, with the wild races of Northern Asia. With the progress of time, however, and the assumption of a fixed national type, the Semitic element in the Babylonian people became more and more predominant. After the conquest of the country by the Assyrians this tendency was increased. It was like the influence of the Normans among the Celtic inhabitants of Western France. The race-type assumed in Babylonia became assimilated to that of Assyria and the West. In the times of the later Empire the old antecedents had in a great measure been lost in a fixed form, hardly discriminable by a common observer from the well-known type of Assyria. It may, therefore, be assumed that the Babylonians of the time of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors were a race of Semites, varied and modified by many diverse lines of ancient descent.

In the physical appearance of the ancient Babylonians the historian must trust rather to the delineations found on the Assyrian monuments than to representations left us by native artists. Of the latter only a few portraits, drawn on cylinders, have been preserved; and even these seem to present the Babylonian form and features such as they were in the times of ancient Chaldæa, rather than at the high noon of imperial distinction. According to these delineations the people of Old Babylonia were slender and lithe—a rather thin visage and meager person. In later times, however, owing to the race-mixture already described, and especially to the ascendency of the Assyrians, this slight personal aspect of the ancients was greatly modified. The Babylonians, like their northern masters, became strong and massive—a big-muscled, strong-limbed race, whose bone and brawn were the impersonation of strength and endurance.

It can not, of course, be ascertained how faithful are the representations made by the Assyrian artists of the citizens of Babylon, or to what extent those artists merely used the conventional types which they had been accustomed to chisel in the stones of Nineveh. At any rate, the later Babylonians as depicted by their northern conquerors have the same form and features as did the men who carved their portraits. A full account of the personal appearance of the Ninevites has already been given in a chapter of the Third Book.

In so far, then, as the physiognomy of the Babylonians differed from the well-known Assyrian type, the difference seems to be this: The eyes of the former people were larger and not so almond-shaped as those of the latter. The Babylonian nose was shorter and more depressed than the Assyrian, and the general expression was less determined and spirited. No doubt these slight departures from the type prevalent in its best development at Nineveh were the result of climate, and perhaps of some old inherited characteristics from the ancient Chaldæans.[1]

In the country of Susiana there seems not to have been any such amalgamation of races as existed in Babylonia proper. In the former province the old Cushite race remained comparatively pure down to the times of the Empire. In this case, also, our knowledge of the person and features of the people is due rather to Assyrian sculpture than to the native art of Susiana. The delineations found amid the ruins of the Ninevite palaces prove that there were two Susianian types, quite distinct and striking: the one, the ancient Cushite just referred to, and the other, a heavy southern face, having the leading peculiarities of the Negro. The two types are found side by side in the sculptures, the one face being high and Caucasian in its general contour, the other

[1] As a general rule a northern climate raises the features into greater prominence; a southern, depresses them. But in extreme latitudes the rule seems to be reversed, and in the high north the features fall.

marked with thick, protuberant lips, a receding forehead, a broad, thick nose, and having the head covered with the short crisp hair of Africa. Perhaps the people thus represented were the primitive people of Susiana, originally derived from the south, and yielding at a later date to a northern race represented in the other delineation.

Like most of the ancient peoples, the Babylonians wore their hair long. It does not appear, however, that to the matter of head adornment they gave so much attention as did the Egyptians and Assyrians. The sculptures show that the hair of the Babylonian was generally arranged in a single heavy curl, which hung stiffly over the shoulders. Sometimes the natural locks were left loose and allowed to fall about the neck. In some figures the hair descends to the waist, and is braided or bound in a sheath. In other cases the Assyrian fashion of a cluster of curls about the neck and shoulders, or a close mass on the back of the head, is followed. Perhaps the time was when the dandies and belles of Babylon looked to Nineveh for their styles as the world of absurdity now turns to Paris in the matter of personal adornment.

After the manner of Arabia most of the Babylonians wore long, flowing beards. A patriarchal appearance was thus given to many of the portraits. Sometimes the beard, when not curling, fell nearly to the waist, and sometimes when crisp clung closely to the face. The practice of shaving was common, and many of the delineations show the face smooth from the razor. As compared with the Assyrians the prevalent complexion of the Babylonians was dark and swarthy. Here again their old descent from the south had coöperated with the current effects of climate to give to the features that bronzed and tropical aspect which until to-day prevails in the country about the head of the Persian Gulf. Babylon lies four degrees nearer the equator than Nineveh, and the prevalence of the intense summer heats of the low plains of that region gives to the face a strong suggestion of Ethiopia.

Turning then from the personal habits and appearance of the people to their intellectual and moral traits we find much to admire and not a little to contemn. In mental abilities they surpassed most of the ancient races. They had inherited from their ancestors, the old Chaldæans, a large store of primitive learning. The attainments of the Chaldæans in astronomical and mathematical knowledge have been proverbial in all ages, and this scientific lore was transmitted to the Babylonians. The latter people not only maintained but promoted the knowledge thus received from their predecessors. Their fame for learning resounded through all Western Asia, and echoes of it were heard in the eastern parts of Europe. The Greek historians and philosophers acknowledged their indebtedness to Babylonia for many valuable inventions and much abstract learning. The scholars of the Empire were in good repute, and their attainments appear to have been fully up to the measure of their times and opportunities. The age was unscientific and unscholarly, and the maintenance by any people of a respectable body of learning brought them deserved preëminence.

The Babylonians, however, were unable to rise above that superstition which has been the besetting sin of the human mind. They poisoned their scientific teachings with a vast mass of groundless imaginings deduced from their own vague fears and conjectures. Astronomy thus sank to the level of astrology, and science in general remained without a fixed limit of certainty. The same degeneration of learning took place as afterwards occurred among the Arabian philosophers of Baghdad, Cairo, and Cordova. For this reason the purposes had in view by the scholars of Babylonia fell below the ends of true science. To determine some occult or mysterious thing appeared to be the highest aim of their investigations. To interpret dreams, or to determine from the aspect of the stars and planets the destinies of human life, was the chief work of the Babylonian philosophy. The scientist became a soothsayer, and the sage degenerated into a rhapsodist or prophet. The mind had not yet learned in its investigations that in order to know, the hand of Thought must be laid implicity in the hand of Nature.

In the matter of personal energy and ac-

tivity the Babylonians held a high rank among the nations of antiquity. They had the spirit of adventure. Alike on land and sea they went forth to acquaint themselves with the world and the world with them. They became, after the Phœnicians, the most distinguished merchants of the age. Their enterprise made them first in the marts of Asiatic commerce. Babylon became the great metropolis of Western Asia. Whatever mankind had to sell was offered, and whatever the needs of the world demanded was purchasable, in the emporiums of that great city. The life of the capital was the life of trade and commercial rivalry.

Under these conditions the Babylonians became greedy of gain. Avarice grew upon what it fed on, and the covetous spirit dominated almost every other feeling. Whatever would bring money was *for sale*. The domestic virtues were recklessly flung away for the means of further gratification. Every woman once in her life must offer herself to strangers publicly before the temple of Beltis; for by this means the crowd of strangers in the city would be increased. Maidens were sold at auction, for thus the wealthy princes and libertines of the surrounding nations would be drawn to the unscrupulous market. The father or brother, with his daughter or sister, stood ready to barter for money the pleasures due only to love.

The prime motive of all this avarice was the passion for luxurious living. Babylon was the paradise of gluttony and lust. Whatever ministered to the appetites and senses was eagerly sought and enjoyed without scruple. Adornment of the person, rich garments dyed with costly dyes, jewels of untold value, costly viands gathered perhaps from foreign lands, fragrant oils for perfuming the body—every thing that could excite or appease human desire was demanded and found and wasted in luxurious and riotous abandonment. The banquet and the feast brought drunkenness and revel. The tables were spread with riches which no appetite could consume. Dark wines were poured into goblets of gold. Tropical fruits were heaped in plates of silver. The palace halls were harems; for polygamy was the usage of the land and city.

It has not often happened in the history of mankind that such personal traits and habits as those of the Babylonians were blended—and partly redeemed—with strength and heroism. In spite of their luxury, the people of the Empire were fearless soldiers. Those who encountered them in the field found that there was iron under the velvet. The epithets which were applied to them by foreign historians show that their valor in war was equal to their abandonments of pleasure. One would have looked in vain among the bronzed cohorts of Nebuchadnezzar for the fragrant dandies who were recently drunken in Babylonian palaces.

Not only were the people brave and warlike, but with these heroic virtues they joined rapacity and cruelty. The Babylonian soldiery was not only without fear, but also without mercy. Woe to the enemy against whom the fierce hand was lifted! There was neither quarter nor compassion. Nearly always engaged in contests with surrounding nations, war became a profession. Accustomed to bloodshed and rapine, the soldiers of the Empire learned to destroy without discrimination, to kill without compunction. They rode their horses and drove their chariots over living and dead, crushing in an indistinguishable mass the innocent with the guilty. The tender and outraged form of woman was thrown with contempt across the brainless bodies of babes. From the mountains that frowned on the thither borders of Luristan to the gateway of Egypt, this iron-hearted, merciless, lascivious soldiery carried the banners of the Empire, and the nations cowered in fear before them.

In their methods and usages of war the Babylonians were very little impressed with the practices of civilized states. Their campaigns were characterized with needless violence and barbarity. The plan of colonizing insurrectionary inhabitants was rigorously followed. All the hardships of such removals were inflicted without mercy. Prisoners taken in battle were either killed or shamelessly mutilated. The unresisting inhabitants of provinces engaged in revolt were visited with indiscriminate vengeance. The best interests

of the Empire were many times sacrificed to the blind rage of revenge kindled against those whom a better treatment might easily have won to loyalty.

In the civil administration of the government the same ferocious methods were employed by the public officers. The suspected was condemned, and the condemned was executed. A fault was a crime. The displeasure of the king meant death. His frown was fatal. Torture was inflicted without mercy upon the objects of the royal wrath. Offenders were cut to pieces alive or were cast bound into fiery furnaces. Such was the spirit, the temper, of this terrible race of Asiatic conquerors. They spared not any thing that opposed them.

Following hard after these dissolute and vengeful methods of peace and war came that haughty and austere spirit for which the Babylonians were noted. Their successes were such as to make them deem themselves invincible. Pride came with power, as avarice from gain, and lust from lawless indulgence. The princes of Babylon walked abroad amid the splendors of the city, and contemplated with haughty egotism the magnificence of their surroundings. The city sat as a queen, and her royal broods of pampered idlers found little to check their selfishness and overweening pride.

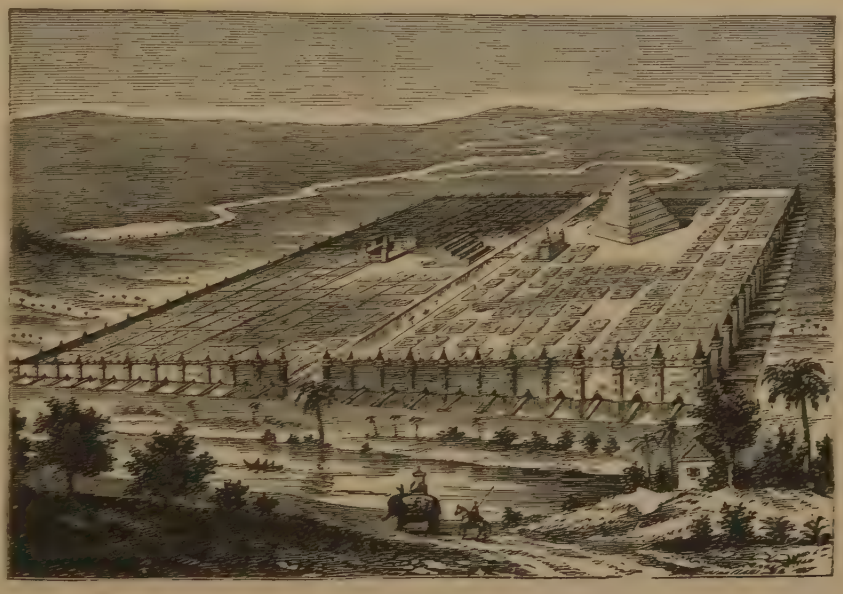
These hard, cruel, and relentless features of Babylonian character were little softened by their religion. Albeit, the traveler visiting the great metropolis would have imagined that a people so devoted to the worship of the gods would be incapable of the deeds of cruelty. Temples rose on the right hand and the left. Retinues of priests, engaged in some work peculiar to their sacred offices, were ever in sight. Costly statues of the deities were set up in honor of the unseen, and to attract the gaze of the pious. In no other country, with the possible exception of Egypt, was the ceremonial of religion more costly and elaborate. The kings were the chief worshipers. Princes went devoutly to the temples. Royal favors were poured out without stint in the maintenance of the national faith. The names of all classes had a religious signification, containing some sacred syllable from the name of a god. The seals of officers and the charms worn by men and women of fashion were nearly always embellished with some religious device or emblem. When the feast was spread and the wine was poured and the banqueters became uproarious, ever and anon a song in honor of the gods was heard above the rout.

It is said that in the noisy marts of Babylon, where each was striving to sell and get gain, a certain code of honesty prevailed. Perhaps it was such honesty as was current in the streets of mediæval Venice—a kind of politic observance of one's words and promises. Commercial transactions necessarily imply a certain kind of good faith which must be observed by those who trade; and it is rather to this condition than to any subjective trait of character that the alleged honesty of the Babylonian tradesmen must be referred. To this must be added another element of temper with which the people of the Empire have been credited by ancient historians. They are said to have preserved under all circumstances a calm and placid demeanor, little indicative of the fierce passions which were burning under the surface. This trait is, indeed, a quality of Asiatic manners quite universal in some of the oriental nations. It appears to accord with the character of the Chinese and Hindus and Turks to conceal under a calm and sometimes benignant demeanor the fiercest rage and most vindictive purposes of which the human heart is capable; and it is not unlikely that some race-characteristic of this sort has furnished the basis for the reputed equanimity of the Babylonians. However this may be, it is of record that they hid beneath a calm and imperturbable exterior the evil designs and bloody purposes which so much abounded in their characters and lives.

The Babylonians were a people dwelling mostly in cities. The rural population was relatively unimportant. It was in the crowded thoroughfares of the noisy metropolis that the national qualities were fully developed. The character of great Babylon, who said in her heart, "I sit a queen," may, therefore, be

properly considered in this part of the history of the Empire. Perhaps no other city of the ancient world, with the single exception of Rome, has occupied so large a share of the attention of the antiquary, the historian, and the philosopher.

BABYLON, the chief city and great capital of the Empire of Nebuchadnezzar, was situated on both sides of the river Euphrates in latitude 32° 39′ N. The name "Bab-ili" signifies *the gate of God.* The modern town of Hillah occupies the ancient site. It was the largest and most opulent metropolis of the ancient world. In modern times the whole space once occupied by the city is dotted here and there with ruins, indicating in shadowy outline the site of palace and temple, of wall and battlement. Huge mounds of incredible extent and number show the traveler and the antiquary the tomb of one of the wonders of the world.



BABYLON.

The exact size of ancient Babylon is not known. Modern explorers have been unable to trace the course and extent of the walls. All authorities, both of ancient and recent times, agree that the city lay four-square, with the river running diagonally through the midst. But the remains of the ancient ramparts do not sufficiently indicate the lines of circumvallation. The old historians, therefore, several of whom visited the city and were eye-witnesses of her greatness, are the best, and, indeed, the only, sources of information. Herodotus declares the walls to have been fourteen miles in length on each side, or fifty-six miles in circumference. This would give an area of one hundred and ninety-six square miles. Ctesias, who also wrote from personal observation, fixes the length of the walls at ten and a half miles on each side, or forty miles in entire compass, giving an area of one hundred and ten square miles. These are respectively the largest and the smallest estimates of the size of the city which have reached us from antiquity. The writers and travelers who followed Alexander in his victorious career report the dimensions of Babylon as intermediate between the figures given by Herodotus and those of Ctesias. The historian Rawlinson, after a careful review of all the facts, fixes the size of the city or inclosure within the walls at about one hundred square miles. This, though a much less area than is included in the modern cities of Paris or London, is far greater than the space covered by any other ancient city. Rome could have been two or three times inclosed within these walls, and Nineveh was hardly one-fifth as great in extent.

It must not be supposed, however, that this whole area of a hundred square miles or more was actually occupied with the buildings of the city. An open space all around was left inside of the walls, and even in the parts covered with edifices or devoted to streets there was doubtless much unoccupied ground. Orchards and gardens and parks would intervene here and there, and certain parts would be

reserved for public or private improvements. It is believed that the city by the extent of space thus included within the walls, and not actually appropriated for building purposes, was rendered quite independent of outside support in case of invasion or siege; for the rich grounds which were not devoted to building could be made quickly available for gardens.

For an elaborate description of Babylon we are indebted to Herodotus. The streets were broad, and were laid out at right angles. The city was thus divided into blocks or squares. The walls were pierced on each side with twenty-five gates—a hundred openings in all. The gates were the termini of the streets, so that the whole inclosure was divided into six hundred and twenty-five great squares.[1] These in their turn were divided into smaller blocks by less important streets, and along these the imposing houses of the proud city were erected.

The buildings of Babylon were generally three or four stories in height. They were not, however, of so solid a character as those of Nineveh. Good building-stone, that *sine qua non* of architecture, was wanting in Babylonia, and its place had in a large measure to be supplied with less desirable materials. The walls were for the most part of brick, and the beams and frame-work were of the palm-tree, which constituted the one available timber of the country. Of the trunks of this tree the posts and columns were fashioned. About these were twined for decorations wreaths of rushes, and the whole was then covered with stucco, and made to resemble carved pillars of stone.

The Euphrates entered the city by one archway and found an exit by another. Along its whole course inside of the walls the banks were paved for a great distance with bricks laid in bitumen. Thus were constituted the wharves of Babylon. The river, moreover, was inclosed with a wall on either bank running parallel with his course, and preventing the waters from overflow in times of floods. These protecting walls were pierced with arched openings at every street crossing, and through these openings the crowds of merchants and market people and idlers made their way down to the river bank, where boats were ever ready for conveyance to the other side. In case of high water the archways were shut, and the walls became continuous. In some places, instead of the ferry, the river was spanned with bridges, over which the crowds jostled from side to side. These bridges were built with a draw between the piers, so that communication could be easily cut off. As an additional means of passage, a tunnel (if we may believe Diodorus) was constructed under the channel from shore to shore. This passage was fifteen feet in width and twelve feet in height, being paved and walled and arched with bricks.

Perhaps the most remarkable single structure of Babylon was the great temple of Belus. It was founded four-square, in an inclosure a quarter of a mile long on each side. It consisted of a great tower or pyramid, on the top of which was placed the shrine of the deity. It was built somewhat after the manner of the structures of Egypt. The basement was a square of solid masonry, measuring over six hundred feet on each side. On this was another square of smaller proportions, and on this another, and so up to the summit. The ascent to the top was on the outside by means of steps, which wound around the edifice. The height of the temple was four hnndred and eighty feet, being but a few feet less than that of the greatest Egyptian pyramid. The summit overtopped the city. From the shrine the whole panorama of Babylonian glory lay spread below as a picture. Palaces and marts, walls and river, quays and decorated boats, and beyond all the limitless plains of old Chaldæa, down to the distant horizon of the desert, furnished perhaps the most wonderful vision which the eyes of man beheld anywhere in the precincts of the ages that are dead.

The shrine on the summit of the tower contained originally three colossal statues; one of the god Bel, one of Beltis, and one of Ishtar. Here were two great censers and three golden bowls, the drinking cups of the three deities. In front of Beltis were placed two

[1] At the smallest estimate each of these squares contained nearly *a hundred acres.*

lions of gold and two silver serpents, weighing each thirty talents; and these were accompanied with two huge bowls of silver of the same weight as the serpents. These splendid treasures, however, were carried away at the time of the Persian conquest; and when Herodotus visited Babylon the shrine was dismantled. The statues were gone. So also the golden lions, the serpents, and the drinking-cups. Instead of these were set a golden table, and a couch draped with a rich covering. The old Greek historian found on his ascent to the top, about half-way up, a resting-place arranged with seats for those who ascended and descended the great tower.

The second and less pretentious shrine at the base of the edifice had also been despoiled by the Persians. Originally there had stood in this place a colossal human figure, wrought of solid gold, twelve cubits in height. In the time of Herodotus there remained only a small sitting image of Bel, with a golden table placed in front. Here the offerings of the worshipers were laid in the presence of the deity. In front of the basement of the temple were set two altars of sacrifice, and on these human beings were probably offered up to appease the anger of the Warrior Bel.

Not equal to the temple of Belus in height, but of greater ground dimensions, was the royal palace. This also was a quadrangular edifice, and was surrounded with three-fold ramparts of masonry, the outermost being nearly seven miles in extent. The inner wall measured more than two miles around, and the basement of the palace proper was of an incredible size. The two inner walls were faced with enameled bricks, upon which were pictured a vast array of animals. The scenes were chiefly from the chase. In one part a lion is thrust through with a spear, and in another a huntress hurls a javelin at a leopard. No complete description of the parts and general appearance of this great building has been preserved. It is only known that there were three bronze gates to the palace, so massive as to require machinery to open and shut them.

It was within the inclosure of this royal palace that were constructed the famous Hanging or Elevated Gardens of Babylon, which constituted one of the "Seven Wonders" of the ancient world. Their construction was due to the caprice of Amyitis, the Median wife of Nebuchadnezzar, who, pining for her native hills, besought her royal spouse to create for her a landscape. A rectangle was selected, each side of which measured four hundred feet. Around this space were built a series of open arches, and upon these, serving as piers, other rows of arches were erected, after the manner of an ancient theater; and thus the vast structure arose to the height of seventy-five feet. Upon the summit was spread an abundance of earth, and here not only were seeds sown and flowers reared and shrubs transplanted, but trees of the largest growth, brought from distant provinces, were set in their native beauty. It was a miniature *Bois de Boulogne*, created on a hill of masonry.

On the banks of the Euphrates was set a huge hydraulic machine, working after the manner of the screw of Archimedes, and by this means water was raised in pipes to the summit and distributed about the Gardens; and to prevent this water from percolating to the masonry, layers of rushes and floors of bricks laid in bitumen and sheets of lead were interposed between the superincumbent earth and the supporting arches beneath. On the outside, at convenient intervals, were flights of steps leading to the top, and along the ascent were grottoes and resting-places, where the royal pleasure-parties regaled themselves at their ease: why should they hurry on such an excursion? Hurry is precipitated by those who fear that their pleasures will escape them.

Across the Euphrates from the principal palace stood another of smaller proportions. Around it, in the usual manner, was drawn a three-fold rampart, the outer wall measuring about three and a-half miles in circumference. These ramparts and the walls of the palace itself were covered with representations of hunting scenes and battles, drawn with considerable skill on the surface of enameled bricks. As in the case of the larger palace, not much is known of the appearance of the smaller structure. Within the halls and courts were set bronze statues, representing the gods

and the great kings of Babylon. Here were seen the mythical Ninus and Semiramis, surrounded by princes of old Chaldæan renown.

The Walls of Babylon are associated in history and tradition with the Hanging Gardens as one of the Seven Wonders of the world.[1] These walls were, perhaps, the most marvelous structures of the sort ever erected. Their true dimensions, however, have never been determined. The Greek historians who visited Babylon have left contradictory accounts of the breadth and height of the vast ramparts surrounding the city. Nor is it likely that positive measurements would have been much more satisfactory, for these being made at different times would have represented the walls in various degrees of dilapidation resulting from the havoc wrought by besiegers and the slower ravages of time. Herodotus states the breadth of the walls at eighty-five feet, and the height at three hundred and thirty-five feet. Ctesias, without giving the breadth, puts the height at three hundred feet. Pliny gives the two dimensions as sixty and two hundred and thirty-five feet respectively. The lowest estimates of all are those given by Clitarchus and Strabo, who place the breadth at thirty-two feet and the height at seventy-five feet; but these authors must either have greatly underestimated the dimensions or else given measures of the ruined rampart rather than of the original walls. Perhaps a fair average approximation would be seventy-five feet for the thickness and two hundred and fifty feet for the height—measurements sufficiently vast to shock if not confound the credulity of modern times. The length of these stupendous battlements has already been given as being more than forty miles.

On the top of the great wall of the city were two hundred and fifty towers. These were arranged in pairs on the outer and inner edges of the rampart, and so broad was the space that a four-horse chariot could be turned between them. The towers were square, and looked down, the outer row upon the surrounding country, and the inner, upon the city. So vast was the mass of masonry in these walls, so great their height and thickness, that they were an impregnable bulwark against any enginery of the times. They could be neither undermined nor surmounted.

Such was the famous capital of the Babylonian kings. In splendor and opulence and power it far surpassed any other city of ancient times. Through her magnificent streets swept the chariots of princes and monarchs. Out of her splendid gates poured the bronzed cohorts of well-nigh invincible soldiers, going forth to conquest. Into these same gates were driven the captives from a hundred vanquished provinces. Over her palaces and temples the oriental sun rose in unclouded glory. In the might of her power and renown she saw her rivals one by one expire, and in her triumph she arrogated to herself the rank and title of mistress of the world. But in the slow processes of destiny her own time came to suffer humiliation and downfall. No other city, reared by the genius and pride of man, has suffered a more complete extinction. Babylon is literally in the dust. Only scattered mounds, which the rolling years have covered with grass and shrubs, remain of the once mighty metropolis of the Babylonians. All else rests in the slumber of everlasting oblivion.

Journeying down the river from Baghdad to Hillah, the traveler of to-day comes unexpectedly upon a series of scattered heaps which, could they speak, would cry up from the ground, "We are Babylon!" As he proceeds, the mounds increase in size and frequency. In the intervals between them, should he disturb the soil, he finds an indistinguishable mass of broken bricks and pottery, slowly returning to dust. The mounds mark the sites of the palaces and temples, and the intermediate spaces the place of the common buildings and streets of the city. The northernmost of the great heaps is called *Babil* by the Arabs to the present day. It is a mound nearly four-square, with steep sides. The top

[1] The Seven Wonders of the ancient world were: the Pyramids of Egypt, the Pharos or Light-house of Alexandria, the Colossus of Rhodes, the Walls and Hanging Gardens of Babylon, the Tomb of King Mausolus, the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, and the statue of Jupiter Olympius.

is flat, though traversed with several ravines, plowed out by time. The southern side of the elevation, extending a distance of six hundred feet, is tolerably well preserved. The eastern face, also, is easily traceable for a distance of five hundred and forty feet. The other two sides of the square have been worn down by the action of the elements, and reduced in some places to a level with the plain. The highest part of the mound is one hundred and forty feet above the surrounding country. The vast heap consists of a mass of sun-dried bricks, but in the outer wall the bricks are burnt and enameled, bearing the monogram of NEBUCHADNEZZAR. This great mound of Babil has been identified by antiquaries as the site of the temple of Belus.

A short distance down the river is the still larger mound known as EL KASR, or "the Palace." This remarkable elevation is two thousand one hundred feet in length by one thousand eight hundred in breadth. Its summit is seventy feet above the level of the plain. Like the other heaps, it consists of an infinity of crushed bricks and slabs and pottery. In the basement some passages have been explored, which are paved and arched with bricks. Some of the slabs which have been discovered in this mound bear inscriptions by which the place has been identified as the site of Nebuchadnezzar's palace. All the bricks which have been discovered in that vicinity bear his monogram, so that both tradition—as shown in the name of "the Palace" now borne by the ruin—and antiquities point unmistakably to this spot as that on which was reared the royal house of the great king.

Near the ruin of El Kasr is that of AMRAN, so-called, according to tradition, because here was buried the prophet Amran-ibn-Ali. It is simply a heap, irregular in outline, and less striking than the Kasr ruin. It lies near the river bank, and one of the sides of the original structure was evidently lashed by the water when the river was full. The three sides of the elevation, which have been traced with some accuracy, measure respectively 3,000, 2,400, and 2,100 feet. The slopes of this mound, like many others, are furrowed with deep ravines, through which the rains of two thousand years have found their way to the plain.

It is fitting in this connection to call attention to the fact that modern antiquaries have been divided in their opinion as to the site of the famous BIRS NIMRUD, or so-called "Tower of Babel." Some have attempted to identify this ruin with the Mound of Babil already described; while others, with better reason, have decided in favor of a more striking elevation near the city of Borsippa. This is distant from the heaps which mark the site of Babylon about eleven miles, and may, therefore, have *possibly* been included within the walls of the ancient city. There are reasons for believing, however, that such was not the case, though no doubt, owing to the vast extent of the rampart of the capital, the Birs Nimrud may have not been far distant from the walls. Be this as it may, and whatever difficulties may arise from fixing the site of the Tower away from Babylon, there can be little doubt that the Birs Nimrud of Borsippa is the true ruin of the ancient and gigantic structure.

It is from this greatest of the Babylonian mounds that the best knowledge of the character of the ancient temples or towers is derived. Some account of the general features of the Birs Nimrud and of the wonderful tower which constituted its essential part will accordingly be given in this connection. The plan of the structure has been carefully studied on the ground, and an accurate knowledge has thus been acquired of the dimensions and peculiarities of the original edifice.

The Birs Nimrud is the ruin of the great temple of Nebo. Its foundation was an exact square, each side being two hundred and seventy-two feet in length. The height of this first platform of masonry was twenty-six feet. Upon this was raised the second square of the same height as the first, the sides measuring two hundred and thirty feet. This second square, however, was not placed centrally over the first, but was displaced or drawn over towards the south-western edge of the lower platform. The displacement was such as to make the offset on one side measure thirty feet and on the other but twelve feet.

The third square was laid upon the second in precisely the same manner as the second on the first. This platform was also twenty-six feet in height, and measured one hundred and eighty-eight feet on each side. The fourth square was laid on the third in the same manner as the others; but the thickness of this platform was reduced to fifteen feet, the sides measuring one hundred and forty-six feet, and the same style of displacement towards the south-west side being observed.

Above the fourth stage in the Birs the effects of the ruin become more manifest, and estimates have to be substituted in many parts for exact measurements. The fifth square was of the same thickness as the fourth, and was laid in like manner. The sides of this platform and of the sixth and seventh squares measured one hundred and four feet, sixty-two feet, and twenty feet respectively. The thickness of fifteen feet for each platform was maintained to the top. On the seventh square was erected the shrine of the god, being a cube of fifteen feet in each of its dimensions. The whole height of the original structure was, therefore, one hundred and fifty-six feet, and the theodolite shows that the present height of the Birs is within *three feet* of the original elevation! The blasts of twenty-five centuries have not sufficed to level the house of Nebo with the Chaldæan plain.

The great temple was an embodiment of Babylonian mythology. The seven platforms were dedicated to the seven planets known to the ancients. To each of these planets a color was assigned, according to the astrological notions of the Chaldæans. To the Sun was given the color of gold; to the Moon, silver; to Mercury, blue; to Venus, yellow; to Mars, red; to Jupiter, orange; to Saturn, black. To this planet was assigned the basement square, which was accordingly painted black. The second platform was dedicated to Jupiter, and was painted orange. The third was given to Mars, and was red. The fourth, or golden square, was assigned to the Sun; the fifth, or yellow, to Venus. The sixth, or blue platform, was sacred to Mercury; and the last was assigned to the Moon and received her color—silver. These colors were laid on in various ways, some being burnt in the surface of the bricks, some painted, and the fourth and seventh squares—and with the latter perhaps the shrine itself—being faced respectively *with thin layers of gold and silver!* Such was the profusion of superstition!

It will thus be seen that the Tower of Nebo rose, like the temple of the Medes in Ecbatana, in successive bands of brilliant color. Viewed from a distance, the effect must have been such as to attract and please the eye.[1] Doubtless, when the sun flashed his splendors upon the brilliant hues of the great pyramid, or when the full-orbed moon in milder radiance diffused her light around the gigantic pile, the awe-struck worshiper may well have imagined that Nebo himself was enshrined on the summit.

A strange fact relative to the Birs Nimrud monument is that no stairways or other means of ascending to the top have been discovered. It is possible, however, that more extensive explorations would uncover flights of steps. The face of the first or basement square of masonry was in several places indented with niches, but these seem to have been for ornament rather than for statues. It may be remarked, also, that the third platform was less durable than the rest, owing to the fact that the bricks composing it were, in order to secure the blood-red color, only half-burnt, and were thus left perishable.

Antiquaries have decided that the sloping or receding side of the mound facing to the north-east is the true front of the Tower. It is also believed that within the platforms of masonry were apartments where the priests of Nebo lived; and it is not impossible that the means of ascent were contrived within rather than without the temple. Many of these things, however, have been left to conjecture and to such dim reasoning as the data will support. It is a disputed point, even, whether the approach to the Tower was simply a plain ascent, or whether there was an elaborate

[1] It will be observed that the Babylonians were either ignorant of the charming effects of the solar spectrum, or else they preferred to sacrifice beauty to their mythology. The beautiful contrasts of color were quite neglected in the arrangement of the bands on the successive squares.

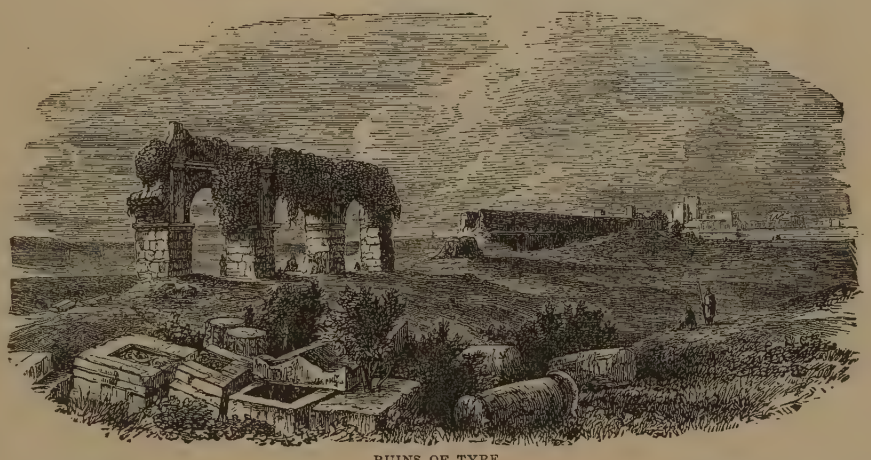
vestibule which has gone to dust with the centuries. The latter view is sustained to a certain extent by the existence in front of the north-east slope of an irregular mass of ruins, which seem to indicate some kind of raised or columnar approach to the main edifice.

The city of BORSIPPA, near which the great Birs still stands, was among the most important of Babylonia. It was one of the ancient and venerated towns of Chaldæa. In the primitive ages, before the Assyrian Empire had arisen or Media had an existence, Borsippa was already a flourishing mart, adorned with temples and other public buildings. A sketch of these, and of the city itself, has been given in the Second Book.

After Borsippa may be mentioned the town of OPIS. It was situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris, just below the confluence of the Gyndes. The ancient name of this city was Hupiya. The site is now marked by the ruins of Khafaji. In the days of its importance Opis was a large and flourishing emporium, receiving commerce from both the rivers which washed its walls. A short distance to the south, and on the same side of the Tigris, was another considerable town called SITACÉ, which gave its name to the province in which it lay. Further down, on the shore of the Persian Gulf, was TEREDON, founded by Nebuchadnezzar, and containing in the palmy days of the Empire many thousand inhabitants. The site has not been identified, owing to the fact that the shore line of the Gulf has receded and the whole district been covered with deposits. It is thought, however, that Teredon was located in the neighborhood of the modern town of Zobair.

Passing into the Provinces of the Empire the most notable city was SUSA, the capital of Susiana. In the times of Babylonian greatness it was second only to Babylon. It lay, as already stated, between the two branches of the river Chaospes, on a beautiful plain, relieved, at the distance of twenty-five miles, with a background of mountains. It was one of the most healthful and attractive regions within the dominions of Nebuchadnezzar. Here was situated the ancient palace of the old native kings. It was reared upon a great mound, after the style of the Babylonian and Assyrian temples. The ancient city lay on the eastern side of the palace. Here, according to Herodotus, lived in primitive days KING MEMNON, who led an army to Troy to defend the city against the Greeks. Such was the beauty and salubrity of Susa and her environs that the place was regarded as a sort of second capital of the Empire. Several of the Babylonian monarchs here maintained summer residences, and the court of Susa, thronged with princes and native and foreign noblemen, almost rivaled the splendors of Babylon.

On the Upper Euphrates was CARCHEMISH, famous for more than one decisive battle fought in her vicinity. The strategic position was one of great importance. By this route, as through a gate, the armies of Mesopotamia and the South must make their way in their invasions of Syria. Here the nations of the West—Egyptians, Phœnicians, Israelites—must debouch, if at all, into Babylonia.



RUINS OF TYRE.

Far distant on the Mediterranean lay queenly TYRE, greatest of the maritime cities

of the Empire. The position was strong, easily defensible. At first the shore was chosen; but at a later date, when Tyre had grown to be the wealthiest metropolis of the West, the city was carried out to a littoral island, which became thenceforth the principal seat of business and defense. The shore-town was known as Old Tyre. The people of the city were the most enterprising of their times. They were manufacturers, merchants, sailors; large-minded and courageous; ready for any enterprise, and quick in the spirit of adventure. Their manufactures were of matchless beauty and excellence. Kings, princes, and nobles were proud to wear the royal-dyed fabrics of Tyre. Several times in the vicissitudes of the nations the city was besieged, and a few times taken; but its fortunate position and the genius of its inhabitants upheld its preëminence even down to the days of the Mohammedan conquests.

Next may be mentioned the rival city of SIDON—older, but less famous, than Tyre. It was situated on the coast, twenty-three miles north of the sister city. Sidon was the old metropolis of Phœnicia. The people of the country were proud to be called Sidonians in honor of their ancient capital. The period of greatest prosperity was from 1600 to 1200 B. C., when its commercial preëminence was already acknowledged by the Egyptians. Sidon was destroyed by the Persians in the year B. C. 351, as a punishment for rebelling against Artaxerxes III. It then became a provincial town of little importance. In

VIEW OF JERUSALEM.

modern times the site of the old capital is marked by the seaport of Saïda.

On the route from Palestine to Egypt lay the city of ASHDOD. It was regarded as the western key to Syria, as Carchemish was the eastern. He who held the two strongholds just mentioned, and Tyre, the doorway to the sea, practically controlled the whole of the Syrian dominions; nor could the supremacy of these regions be long maintained save by the possession and control of these important cities.

Finally should be mentioned JERUSALEM, the capital of Palestine. It is situated fifteen miles west of the head of the Dead Sea. It is built on a high plateau of limestone about two miles square, abutting against the mountains on the north. Here was originally the capital of the Jebusites, one of the Canaanitish tribes expelled by Joshua. Under David and Solomon, Jerusalem grew into importance. It became regarded as the Holy City of Israel, and acquired great fame as the principal seat of the worship of Jehovah. In the times of the Babylonian ascendency the city, lying almost on the route between Babylon and Memphis, was many times an object of the cupidity or vengeance of the rival nations of the East and the West. Her demolished walls, ruined towers, pillaged temple, and depopulated streets frequently bore witness to obstinate defense and signal punishment.

CHAPTER XXII.—ARTS AND SCIENCES.

OF the general character of the learning of the Babylonians, much may be inferred from what has already been said of the lore of the Chaldees. The artistic tastes and philosophical opinions of the later people were derived from the culture of the ancient monarchy. The civilization of Babylonia was merely an expansion or development of that of Chaldæa, modified as it was, with a certain infusion of Assyrian opinions and practices.

If we begin with Architecture, we must traverse to a considerable extent the same ground which has been gone over in the account of the cities and temples of the Empire. Perhaps, however, some more specific notice of the style of building employed by the Babylonians may be added with propriety; and in producing such a sketch it is natural to begin with the royal palaces. These were, of course, next after the temples of the gods, the most important structures of the times.

It is an unfortunate fact that the Babylonian royal palaces have suffered more from the dilapidations of war and violence than have the temples; partly, no doubt, because the latter were more solidly built, and partly because, in case of conquest, the temple is less likely than the king's house to suffer from the fury and lust of a victorious soldiery. The remains of the royal structures of the Babylonians furnish but a meager outline and dim shadow of the superb originals. But, as if in compensation for this loss, the old historians and travelers have left us materials tolerably abundant from which to fill out the the outline.

The palaces of Babylon, like those of Assyria, were built upon raised mounds or platforms. These mounds were square in shape, and were constructed of solid masonry. The elevation of the platform was fifty or sixty feet above the surface. The great mass of the square was constructed of sun-dried bricks, but a thick wall around the outside and a substantial pavement on the top were of burnt bricks or stone slabs carefully laid in bitumen. Upon this practically imperishable basis the palace proper was reared.

The material used in the body of the structure was burnt bricks of the finest and most durable quality. They were laid in a kind of cement which, if we may judge from the way in which it has withstood the elements

for centuries, was superior to any thing of like sort employed in modern masonry. The walls of the building were of enormous thickness. The ground-plan was a rectangle, the sides of the square being parallel with those of the foundation. It is unfortunate that no remains of a Babylonian palace have been discovered in a state of such preservation as to furnish authentic data for the restoration of the edifice. Only a few facts can be educed from the crumbling *débris* on the summits of the mounds. In general, the walls were straight. They were high enough to be imposing. They were not pierced with windows or other openings. They were strengthened by buttresses, built at intervals along the face. They were decorated here and there with sculptured slabs, set in both the inner and the outer surface. The figures with which these were adorned were generally small, but were executed with care and with considerable artistic skill.

It was rather, however, to the device of color than to the work of the chisel that the palace walls owed their beauty. On the smooth surface of the bricks the Babylonian painters exhausted their resources in depicting such scenes from the chase and the fight as could please the eye or flatter the vanity of the royal occupants. What the splendid sculptures of Nineveh furnished to the Assyrian kings in the way of artistic pleasures, that the painter's brush in some measure supplied for the princes of Babylon. An abundance of these pictorial representations have been found on the great mound of El Kasr.

Curiosity to know the details—the height, the number of stories, the internal arrangement—of these Babylonian palaces will, perhaps, remain forever ungratified. No doubt, in altitude, they greatly overtopped the three- and four-story houses. As the king was lifted up above his subject, so his abode and the abodes of his princes and nobles were raised on high above the unaspiring cityful. Another conjecture is that the palaces were lighted through the roofless space overhead, and not by means of windows. The extreme mildness of the climate would justify such a supposition, and the same is attested by the fact that no windows have been found in the walls. Another feature of the palaces, not conjectural, is the drainage, which was carefully provided for by subterranean passages in the basement.

An examination of the meager remains of the bridges across the Euphrates and of the great wall around the city does not indicate that the Babylonian architects were especially skillful. The piers of the bridges, however, were correctly built, with a sharp angle against the current of the river. In general, the buildings of Babylonia, particularly those of the great capital, were loftier and more imposing than the structures of other oriental countries.[1] No doubt they were equally superior to those of other nations in respect to ornamentation and general structure and adaptation.

In the manufacture and preparation of building material, the Babylonians surpassed only in the production of bricks. Like their ancestors, the Chaldæans, they had two varieties—those dried in the sun and those burnt in kilns. The former were used only in the interior of thick walls and in building great platforms and buttresses, wherein the action of the elements could not be felt. All the exposed portions of structures were of the kiln-baked variety—very hard and perfect. The finest were of a yellow color, and were so firm as to be practically imperishable. Another very superior quality were of a bluish tinge, sometimes almost black, and were well-nigh as hard as stone. The softer sorts—half-burnt varieties, etc.—were red or pink, and could be easily broken into fragments.

The sizes employed were variable, but the standard make were from twelve to fourteen inches square on the face and three or four inches thick. For the corners and angles sizes and shapes were used which were adapted in form to the situation. The bricks were all cast in molds, after the manner of modern times, and were stamped on one face with a monogram or inscription. The die was always

[1] In the present day the houses of the people of the countries described in the text are rarely, if ever, more than two stories in height. According to Herodotus, those of ancient Babylon were "three or four stories high."

sunk below the surface, so that the design, whatever it was, should not be injured or broken away in laying or handling. In building walls or other masonry, the bricks were generally laid horizontally, though in some instances the vertical position was preferred. In other cases both plans were adopted, a row being set vertically after each horizontal layer.

The material used to keep the bricks in place was cement, and of this there were three varieties. The first was composed of a mixture of common clay and chopped straw. In building, this mortar was used more abundantly than by modern masons, being sometimes laid on to the thickness of two inches. The second sort of cement was composed of bitumen, and was identical with that employed by the Chaldæans. This variety was used in basements and pavements, and especially in those parts of structures which were exposed to the action of water. The third kind was composed of lime, and was of a quality unsurpassed, perhaps unequaled, by that employed in any other country. Until to-day, the great masses of bricks piled up in the basement squares and thick walls of the Babylonian ruins are held together with a tenacity which seems to defy alike the insidious onset of the elements and the stroke of the antiquary's hatchet.

That which is the most striking feature of the present ruins of the Babylonian plain, and which, no doubt, *was* most striking in the original edifices, is their great magnitude. They are imposing by their size. In this respect they are allied with the monuments of Egypt. There is about them a certain impressive grandeur, which, next after the gigantic structures of the Nile valley, strike the beholder as the most majestic remains of antiquity. They make up in massiveness what they lack in beauty, and their sameness and silence heightens rather than weakens the vision of vanished greatness.

Passing from architecture to Painting and Sculpture, but little is found to admire. Only a few fragments, mutilated by time and accident, have survived to the present; and from these it may not be properly judged what was or was not the attainment of Babylonian art. Of sculpture, a half-dozen broken pieces have survived. Of these the most important is the figure of a colossal lion standing over the prostrate body of a man, found on the top of the mound of El Kasr. Artists and antiquarians have pronounced the work of little merit. The figure of the lion in many parts deviates from the outlines of nature, and in some features is distorted. The form of the man is so clumsily done as to be hardly distinguishable. A certain pose and grandeur of general effect, faintly suggestive of the sculptures of Egypt, are all that redeem the group from contempt. Of figures modeled in clay a few have been discovered. The best is that of a mother and child. The statuette is no more than three and a half inches in height. The mother sits. The child is encircled in the left arm. The figures are nude, the attitudes graceful. The general effect is pleasing, as if deduced from nature by an artist. The figures were originally glazed with some sort of enamel, which has peeled off, exposing the clay.

Of bas-reliefs the best specimen is that of one of the Babylonian kings. The piece is now preserved in the British Museum. It is a black slab, upon the surface of which the figure is engraved with excessive details of ornament. There is very little grace or artistic skill displayed in the work, though the *finish* is almost as fine as that of the Assyrian sculptures. The proportions of the figure are tolerably well preserved, and there is a certain stiff dignity in the attitude not wholly unmeritorious. The king with the left hand grasps his bow; in the right he holds his arrow. His eyes are fixed, like those of Apollo on the typhon—but here the likeness ends. The whole figure, with the exception of the face and neck and hands, is covered with elaborate ornamentation, showing all the details of the royal garment.

Turning to animal forms, Babylonian art appears to a better advantage. A common subject of the artist was the dog. The creature was presented in bas-relief, generally on a black stone slab. His canine excellency is on guard. He rises on his fore-feet, and will

spring upon the intruder if he advances further. The piece is evidently a kind of *cave canem*, suitable for halls and doorways. Another figure, also in relief, is that of a great bustard, executed with much spirit. The bird strides, and has the manner of nature. On the cylinders are figures of cows, deer, monkeys, goats—sometimes figured with what may be called artistic ability.

In the matter of engraved gems, the art of Babylonia is tolerably represented in modern museums. The peculiarity of such work is its quaintness. Sometimes the artist seems to have caricatured the thing represented. In one gem the central figure is that of a man with *two elbow joints* in one of his arms! In the same group two of the figures menace each other with their fists, while two grotesque animals in another corner make grimaces. The whole is purposely done in the ridiculous or satirical spirit. In some pieces the whole group is composed of animals intentionally misshapen and ludicrous. They make faces. One takes the head of another in his mouth. The wrong head is put on the body. A bird is finished as a fish, and a goat ends like a monkey. Among these odd conceits a human figure appears. He would assert human dignity by kicking out at the well-pleased monsters around him. It is a mark of grotesque fancy, perhaps tipped with satire. In other gems there is a sort of procession of nondescript creatures flung from the fancy of the artist. Some are comical; some, quaint; some, it may be, serious. Generally a man brings up the rear—human intelligence following a nondescript cavalcade of the lower creatures in the march of folly! It is hard to discover whether the spirit of the work is that of profound irony or of mere caprice.

One feature of the gem-engraving practiced by the Babylonians may well excite some wonder. This relates rather to the mechanical than to the artistic part of the process. By what means was the *cutting* of the stones accomplished? In some cases, as when the softer gems such as lapis-lazuli, serpentine, and alabaster were used, the engraving would be easily accomplished. But in the case of the hard stones, such as cornelian, jasper, agate, quartz, syenite, loadstone, and feldspar, it is difficult to understand how the cutting could be accomplished—what kind of tools and devices could be employed in an unscientific age to reach the required result. The use of emery seems to have been a necessary part of the process. From the nature of the work done it appears that revolving points of steel or some other substance equally hard and tenacious would have been a *sine qua non* of the lapidary's bench. It should be observed that the Babylonian gems indicate clearly the superiority of the mechanical over the artistic part of the process—a rare fact in the history of ancient art. Modern curiosity may well be racked to know by what kind of contrivances the work was accomplished.

Another fact still better calculated to excite our astonishment is the minuteness of much of the engraving. It seems impossible that it could have been done without the use of magnifying lenses. Indeed, the supposition of the use of such devices is not wholly unwarranted. It is certain that the manufacture of glass was known and practiced by several of the nations of antiquity, and the actual discovery by Mr. Layard, at Nineveh, of a plano-convex lens of rock crystal is proof positive of the existence of such knowledge in Assyria. Why not in Babylonia? The gem-engraving of that country seems to have demanded some such scientific expedient.

It is not unlikely that the best and at the same time most peculiar species of Babylonian art has perished. This was pictorial enameling. It was practiced on the surface of glazed bricks. The almost universal decay of the great walls and bastions and buttresses of the palaces and temples has carried down to dust the artistic designs with which they were embellished. The ancient historians bear record to the striking and beautiful effects which were achieved in the surface decorations of the public and private buildings of Babylon, but the actual evidence has crumbled away and the antiquary is put at fault. What is known with respect to these remarkable pictorial representations is that their subjects were selected chiefly from battle and the chase, and that nearly all conspicuous build-

ings were distinguished by their presence. Just as the artistic sense of the Assyrians found expression in the abundant sculptures of Nineveh and Calah, so the taste of the Babylonians sought and found gratification in the colored designs of enameled walls. The prophet Ezekiel speaks only common fame when he refers to "the image of the Chaldæans, portrayed upon the walls with vermilion." He also describes the pictures thereon as being "girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldæa, the land of their nativity." He further says that as soon as Aholibah saw these images she *doted upon them*, and sent messengers into Chaldæa. Such was the influence of these striking pictures upon those who visited the great city. All the facts in the case go to show that according to the then standards of art criticism the enameled pictures on the walls of Babylonian buildings were of a high degree of excellence. The known skill of the Assyrians in sculpture at a much earlier date, as well as the kinship and similar tastes and activities of the two peoples, render it inherently probable that the Babylonian artists achieved with the brush something of the same distinction attained by their northern rivals with the chisel. It also stands to reason that the artists of the two nations would alike select from war and the chase the principal subjects for delineation.

In the application of color the Babylonians seem to have followed nature. The tints most employed were white, blue, yellow, brown, and black. Red was not much used. These colors were distributed to different objects according to the fitness of things. Water was represented with pale blue, and the earth with a shade of yellow. Lions were painted a tawny hue, and spear-heads black.

Chemical analysis shows that the pigments employed on the decorated walls were essentially the same as those used by modern artists. The yellow was principally an oxide of iron; the blue was produced by the oxidation of cobalt or copper. The red was a sub-oxide of the last-named metal. The yellow was sometimes the antimoniate of lead.

The designs were painted on the surface of brick walls before the glazing was applied. Or, if the bricks were glazed before they were laid, then the design was laid on with reference to the position which the bricks should occupy in the structure. The latter supposition is borne out by the fact that the bricks were so laid, and indeed so made, as to give the figure represented on the surface a *raised character*, like that attained in bas-relief. This indicates no little skill in both the artist and the artisan. The effect could only have been reached by modeling a large mass of clay with the desired figure in the surface, and then cutting the same into bricks to be afterwards set in the same relative position in the wall. All of this implies a kind of designing, and an adaptation of means to ends, of which modern workmen need not be ashamed.

In the matter of metallurgy the Babylonians had considerable attainments. Of the precious metals, gold and silver were abundantly employed. Of these were made the vessels and utensils of the palace and the temple. The chief of the baser metals were iron and lead. The alloy, known as bronze, was more important than either. Of this were made the magnificent gates and doors for which the great buildings of Babylon were famous. The art of casting metals was well known. The golden images found about the temple altars and shrines were generally cast in a mould. Sometimes, however, the idol was of baser stuff, plated with the precious metal. The silver statuettes were in like manner cast molten. The gold and silver facings so much used as a covering for walls and furniture were thin plates hammered into proper shape. The great castings, such as enormous bronze gates, doors, portcullises, etc., were of a sort to be set in fair rivalry with the works of modern times. Of smaller castings of the same material there were a multitude: bracelets, armlets, dagger handles, small figures in imitation of the human form, or the forms of animals. Such were set as decorations about the halls and hearths of the Babylonians.

The pottery of the nation was as good as the fine wares of Assyria, from which it differed in no essential particular. Brick-making

was better understood than by the Ninevites, with whom stone was more prized. From the kilns of Babylon all kinds of cups and vases and jars were produced of good quality and in great abundance. The colors preferred were yellow and red and green. The vessels thus produced were symmetrical, being evidently the work of the potter's wheel. They were of elegant shapes, but were without ornamentation, the only exception being in the case of vases, which sometimes have a raised band carried around the exterior surface in the form of a spiral. Glazing was frequently employed, both without and within.

Among the other arts practiced by the Babylonians was that of glass-blowing. Several bottles and vases produced by this method have been found in the ruins. These articles, however, are not very perfect either in design or execution. Every specimen is more or less warped from symmetrical outlines. The glass composing them is in some instances tolerably clear; in others tinted with coloring matter. There are some grounds for believing that the artisans of the country were able to produce large masses of solid glass, but no actual discovery has verified the supposition. The historian Pliny has contributed a rather apocryphal story about the presentation to an Egyptian king by one of the Babylonian monarchs, of a huge block of green glass, or emerald, six feet in length and four and a half feet broad.

No nation of antiquity, with the possible exception of the Phœnicians, surpassed the Babylonians in the manufacture of textile fabrics. The products of the factories of the capital were famous as far as civilization extended. As far west as Athens and Carthage the carpets of Babylon were prized above those of every other country. The dyes employed were imperishable, and the designs used were artistic and beautiful. The figures of animals, real and fabulous, were woven into the patterns with wellnigh as much skill and delicacy as by the looms of modern times.

In like manner cotton goods were produced of the finest and best quality. Brilliant dyes and beautiful patterns made these fabrics so attractive that the kings and princes preferred them for garments. Such goods were exported to foreign countries, and were the admiration of the connoisseurs of Sardis and Damascus and Memphis. Nor was the manufacture of linen less conspicuously successful. At Borsippa and other places in Babylonia factories were established which produced great quantities of linen fabrics, these being the goods commonly worn by the people.[1] The nobles preferred cotton and woolen garments.

It is the misfortune of nations living in a pre-literary age that their learning is either unknown or discredited by posterity. The lore of the Chaldees perished for want of books. The tradition of it only is preserved in the literature of the Western nations. But this reflected light has indicated ancient Chaldæa as the birthplace of several branches of learning, most notably the science of astronomy. Over these old Babylonian plains was arched a cloudless sky. The great heats of midday made the calm twilights and starry nights of summer the time of out-door meditation. Overhead the benignant planets pursued their everlasting courses. The upturned face of that unscientific age caught from the bending heavens the first sublime lessons of the universe. To trace the paths of familiar stars, to watch the silent revolution of the celestial wheel, to note recurrences and then to expect them,—these were but natural and necessary stages in the sublime lore of the heavens.

Thus would soon be developed a correct perception of the differences between the planets and stars, and a knowledge of the diverse laws by which they were respectively governed. By and by the moon, as being a wanderer, was associated with those five planetary bodies discoverable by the naked eye, and finally the sun himself was added as the seventh globe of fire which seemed to change place among the fixed orbs of the skies. The paths of these seven "planets" were carefully mapped, and the rudiments thus obtained of

[1] It is interesting to note how the various products of manufacture will be reversed in value in the processes of civilization. The relative values of cotton, linen, woolen, and even silk goods have been many times interchanged in the course of history. The same may occur again.

a true science of astronomy. Of course, the fundamental hypothesis of the solar system was at fault, as it continued to be until the days of Copernicus.

Beyond their knowledge of the planetary system, the Babylonians made considerable progress in the study of the fixed stars. These were arranged in groups and constellations, and upon them was conferred the imperishable poetry of names. The imagination of the observer caught a resemblance in the heavens to the things on earth. The figures of the great animals of the terrestrial sphere were transferred to the celestial, and sky-maps were drawn with the outlines of these figures. The poles of the heavens were fixed, and Arcturus and Orion took their place, the one with his bow and the other with his club, in the blue pavilion spangled with points of fire.

From the Babylonians to the Greeks, from the Greeks to the Arabians, from the Arabians to Modern Europe, from Modern Europe to the world, this old star lore of the East, with its quaint uranography of animals and men and monsters, has been transmitted, and the science of to-day and to-morrow seems unable to cast the spotted skin of the past! The Zodiac is there with its Bull and its Lion and its Virgin, and who shall ascend into heaven to take them down?

In the British Museum is a conical, black stone upon which are figured the Signs of the Zodiac as taught by the Babylonian astronomers. Several of the outlines are identical with those presented on a modern celestial sphere. The Ram, the Bull, and the Scorpion are easily recognized among the groups, and the genius of ancient Superstition makes comical grimaces at the genius of recent Folly.

After the manner of their system and under the limitations of their knowledge, the Babylonians labored at the practical problems of the heavens. Eclipses were calculated and predicted; the phenomena sometimes happening as foretold and sometimes falling wide of the times specified. Of course, the calculations were based upon observations of recurrences and other data of a misleading character rather than upon the well-known principles of modern astronomy. Certain facts were recognized, however, with respect to the motions of the sun and moon, tending to make the calculations of the Babylonian seers more trustworthy than at first sight would be conjectured. In the first place, the sun's course through the Zodiac was carefully traced. The signs of the great belt were called the "Houses of the Sun"—for there the deity seemed to lodge from month to month. In like manner the path of the moon was accurately mapped through the same zone of the heavens. The "Houses of the Moon," marking the monthly stages of the silver orb, were located as were the "Houses of the Sun." Albeit, the two classes of "Houses" did not exactly coincide, owing to the inclination of the moon's orbit; but the relations of the two paths through space were so well determined as to afford a fair basis of expectancy in the matter of eclipses. The laws of nature, however, were not sufficiently understood to remove such striking phenomena from the realm of superstition to the cool domain of Science. The Babylonians, like the other peoples of antiquity, looked on and shuddered while the great mystery of darkness was accomplished. Lists of eclipses as recorded by the astronomers of Babylon and preserved by the Greek historians have been verified by modern mathematicians, and have been found correct[1] in time and extent of obscuration.

The Babylonians also succeeded in a tolerably accurate measurement of time. They fixed the length of the year at three hundred and sixty-five days, six hours, and eleven minutes—a very close approximation. By means of the *gnomon* and the *polos*, two varieties of sun-dial, they kept the hours of the day. The period of the moon's revolution in her orbit was accurately determined, and the relative—though not the absolute—distances of the planets from the earth and from each other seem to have been known. It is also in evidence that some of the secondary planets, as the four moons of Jupiter, had been observed and figured by the sages of Babylon.

If we look at the *uses* to which the scholars

[1] The five most conspicuous examples—all being eclipses of the moon—belong to the years B. C. 747, 721, 720, 621, and 523.

of the Empire put their astronomical knowledge, there is less to admire. The astrological purpose was dominant. The astronomer was expected to inquire under what stars a person was born, and to determine therefrom his destiny. The fortunes and fate of human life were to be deduced from the aspects of the skies. Sometimes the celestial influence, which began with birth and ended only with death, was benign, and sometimes malignant. A particular star presided at the entrance of each man into the world, but to determine the entire destiny of his life the astrologer must know the aspect of the whole heavens at the moment of his entrance upon life. From these higher offices, relating to the weal or woe of human beings, the Babylonian sages descended to such topics as meteorology. They predicted the weather, the apparition of comets, the coming of the earthquake. They kept lists of lucky and unlucky days, and pointed out in a semi-prophetical way the portents of doom to particular countries and peoples. Peace, prosperity, and plenty; famine, pestilence, and war, were all determined from the overruling influence of the stars.

Such was the mixture of scientific truth and vague superstition in the beliefs and scholasticism of the Babylonians, who from the great city of the Euphrates stretched out so proudly the imperial rod over the nations of Western Asia.

CHAPTER XXIII.—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

CONCERNING the Manners and Customs of the Babylonians, a great deal may be inferred from what has already been said respecting the other aspects of their civilization. The monuments of the country being so meager as compared with the imperishable records left us by the primitive Egyptians and the Assyrians, we are more at a loss to deduce what may be called the Personal Life of the people of Babylonia than in the case of the ancient inhabitants of the valleys of the Nile and the Tigris. We are left, therefore, rather to the old historians than to contemporaneous inscriptions, in determining the personal habits and individuality of the subjects of Nebuchadnezzar. To Herodotus especially are we indebted for copious descriptions of what he saw and heard in Babylon.

Beginning with the subject of dress: the people of the lower classes generally clad themselves in a linen garment reaching to the feet. Over this a woolen tunic was worn, and this was surmounted with a white cape. The feet were sometimes incased in checkered shoes with wooden bottoms. The hair was usually worn long, and was gathered close to the head under a sort of miter or turban. A cane or walking-stick, with a carved handle, was a universal accompaniment, especially in the hands of gentlemen of leisure. The miter and cape and woolen tunic of the Babylonian attire were thrown off as convenience suggested, and the figures frequently appear merely with the long linen robe. The worshipers in the temples are generally bare-headed, and wear to their devotions a peculiar embroidered tunic, different from that worn at labor. The rich man at the altars of the gods is arrayed in more costly style. He wears a miter, and his garments are longer and more elaborate than are those worn by the peasantry. He is pictured with a goat in his arms, or some other sacrifice ready to be offered. In adjusting the long or principal garment, the Babylonians left the right arm and shoulder bare, somewhat after the manner of the Romans. Around the waist the clothing was held securely with a belt.

A different style of dress was that of a short coat with sleeves, fringed on the sides, reaching to the knees. This also was worn by worshipers in the temples, though sometimes in every-day life by peasants. As a general rule

the feet of the common people are bare, though kings and noblemen are not so represented. Other parts of the royal attire were distinguished both in pattern and material from the dress of the people. His gown descended to the ankles. It was richly fringed and embroidered. A vestment worn over this came as low as the knees, and was adorned with tassels. In addition to the regular girdle two cross belts, perhaps to support the monarch's quiver, are seen on the royal person. The miter or turban was of great height, cylindrical in shape, and expanded towards the crown. It covered nearly the whole head, resting close upon the brows. The material was of some kind of felt-cloth, elaborately wrought and brilliantly dyed to please the kingly fancy.

The chief articles of mere adornment were the bracelets. The figures on the cylinders indicate that the kings had the good taste to leave earrings to others. In some instances collars or necklaces were worn by royal personages, and these articles are sometimes found about the necks of the gods. The collars were made of joints or rings of gold or silver, and the bracelets were plain bands of the same precious metals.

As in most of the ancient countries, the garments of the priests were costly and elaborate. The principal article was a long robe, ornamented from top to bottom with a series of flounces. Over this was placed an open jacket, finished in the same style as the robe. Down the back hung a long scarf or ribbon. The head-dress was a tiara or miter, different in pattern from those turbans worn by other people of high or low degree. Sometimes the priestly cap was pointed with horns in a way to suggest the sacerdotal head-gear of the Egyptians. The priests went barefoot before the altars of the gods.

Of military armor and dress not so much is known as of the garments of the priestly caste. The principal articles worn by soldiers were helmets, breast-plates, and shields. The material used was bronze. The articles carried were bows and arrows, spears, daggers, and clubs. The bows are of the usual pattern, and might be mistaken for those of American Indians. The curve extends from end to end; the length is about four feet. The quiver, too, is the ordinary sheath, such as is used by the half-civilized races of to-day. The arrows are three feet in length, barbed with a metallic point, feathered and notched to receive the string. In the soldier's girdle were worn his daggers, many specimens of which have been discovered and are preserved in modern museums. No battle-axes have been found, but the same are represented in several patterns on the cylinders. The drawings indicate that the weapons were rude and clumsy, such as are employed by people just emerging from savagery.[1]

The Babylonian army embraced the three divisions of infantry, cavalry, and chariots. The tactics and discipline were essentially the same as those employed by the Assyrians. A few representations of war-chariots have been found on the cylinders. The pattern and equipment are like those seen in the sculptures of Nineveh, but the drawings are rude, and the details can not be determined. The cavalry was regarded by foreign nations as the most formidable division of the army. The prophet Habakkuk, who had occasion to know whereof he affirmed, says of the Babylonian soldiery: "They are terrible and dreadful. From them shall proceed judgment and captivity; their horses also are swifter than the leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves. And their horsemen shall spread themselves, and their horsemen shall come from far; they shall fly as the eagle that hasteth to eat. And they shall scoff at the kings, and the princes shall be a scorn unto them: they shall deride every stronghold; for they shall heap up the earth and take it." A like fame is given to the Babylonian cavalry by Jeremiah, and others of the Hebrew seers. In later times, however, as appears from the distribution of the forces in the army of Xerxes, the horsemen of Babylonia were less esteemed than the infantry, perhaps on account of the superior reputation which had now been attained by

[1] A battle-axe, pictured on a clay tablet discovered in the ruins of Sinkara, is thought, from its primitive pattern, to have belonged to the Chaldaic period.

the cavalry of the Medes and Persians themselves.

The Babylonian infantry was a vast mass of half-disciplined soldiers, made up of natives, provincials, and foreigners. They were irregular, both in movement and weaponry. Each of the subject nations sent its own contingent of troops, armed and equipped according to the manner of the respective countries. It was a courageous host, having an almost fatalistic contempt of death, inspired by the hope of booty and fired with the lust of conquest. In marching, the army spread itself over the invaded country, destroying every thing within reach. The populace was driven before them into the towns. These were besieged and taken with every accompaniment of violence and barbarity. If the walls were weak, they were soon leveled with battering-rams. If the ramparts resisted such assault, then mounds of earth were heaped outside until the fortifications were overtopped, and the infuriated soldiery poured in to their repast of blood and plunder. Sometimes, when the walls were high and strong and ably defended, years were consumed in the siege, the vengeance of the besiegers gathering head to burst with the excess of long-restrained rage upon the fated city. Woe to the rebellious, and a double woe to them that resisted!

The campaigns of the Babylonians were waged without much regard to political expediency. The object had in view was rarely, if ever, the national development of the Empire. Passion was the mainspring of war. When that failed, the priests were called in with their hocus-pocus to decide what nation *should be next invaded!* In the progress and management of the invasion the priests were as much relied on as the generals to give direction to the movements and to explain the failures and successes of the army. The wars, indeed, were regarded as the avenging bolts of the Babylonian gods, hurled against the impudent deities of other lands. Meanwhile, if a royal indigestion precipitated a bad dream, or if the king was from any cause troubled in his cogitations, all must be interpreted and made clear by the clever gentlemen who wore the robes of the altar. The only compensation to this mutual superstition was that if the priests failed to satisfy the king's spirit with their rendering of his troubles, or if they gave advice ending in disaster which could not be explained away, their gods were rarely able to save them from their master's wrath.

Looking more closely at the priestly profession, not merely in their relations to military management, but more particularly as to their regular duties in the temples, we find them, as were the priests of Egypt, the possessors of a certain body of learning and traditions. They had rules and precedents, dogmas and ceremonials. They had methods of purification, and laws for conducting the sacrifices. They had principles of interpretation, and a canon of criticism relating to portents and omens. Their wisdom was in high repute. From king to peasant no one might question the infallibility of their oracles.

It is not certainly known to what extent there was in Babylon a guild of secular scholars distinct from the priests. There are some reasons for believing that such a class of persons existed; and the condition of Babylonian learning—a mixture, as we have seen, of tolerably exact science with gross superstition—seems to warrant the supposition of a secular as well as a hierarchical brain at work in the problem. The language of contemporaneous Western writers also, notably the expressions of the prophet Daniel, indicate quite clearly the existence of several classes of wise men in Nebuchadnezzar's capital. Some are called simply Chaldæans; some, soothsayers; some, magicians; some, astrologers. Nor does the language indicate that these are merely different names for the same group of persons. It could not even be inferred from the recital of Daniel that any of the classes referred to were priests. Indeed, it would seem clear from the presidency of Daniel (himself a Hebrew and not a priest) over the Babylonian college that a powerful non-priestly element existed in the learned body of the city. In all such questions, however, it should be always borne in mind that the office of the priest in most of the nations of antiquity was that of a *natural philosopher*, rather than of a spiritual guide. He was expected to interpret the phenomena

of nature, for with those phenomena the ancients were much more concerned than with the mysteries of spiritual being or the possibilities of immortality.

However these questions may be decided, there is no doubt that the philosophers and priests of the Babylonian Empire exercised great influence in the affairs of the state. They held high office. They were the king's advisers. They conducted the ceremonials of religion. They were reputed to have the confidence of the gods. By degrees the priests became a caste. They had their own rules and discipline. Their sons were brought up to perform the duties of their fathers. Around this organization grew a certain body of literature, in which were recorded the traditions of the past and the speculations of the present. The history of the ancient Chaldæans, chronological lists of kings real and mythical, treatises on grammar and law and science—such were the materials of which the Babylonian sages constructed their meager kingdom of letters.

The principal schools and seats of learning in Babylonia were at the old towns of Erech and Borsippa. At these places a certain degree of mental activity and even audacity was developed. There were scholastic schisms and disputatious factions suggestive of Greek wrangling and mediæval dogmatism. But under this superficial agitation, such as will always exist when the human mind undertakes to drag Nature up to the temple of Truth, there was a vast deal of practical scientific knowledge. Mathematics, astronomy, and other branches of natural philosophy were cultivated with such success as to leave a trace on all subsequent history.

As already indicated the two principal pursuits of the Babylonian common folk were agriculture and commerce; after these, manufactures loomed into much importance. Of the kinds of agricultural work and the methods of tillage not much is known beyond what has already been presented in the History of Chaldæa. The products were the same, and the cultivation perhaps identical.

From Babylon the lines of commerce stretched out to nearly all the countries of the known world. The merchants, resident and traveling, constituted a large per cent of the population. Their energy and success are attested by tradition and history. They were both exporters and importers; and the shops of Babylon displayed an array of goods from almost every land. Not only by land, but by sea as well, was this commerce carried on. Around the shores of the Persian Gulf, and as ambition and cupidity increased along the distant coasts of Africa and India, the ships of the merchant princes of the great city sailed with their cargoes and returned laden. Babylon was called the "City of Merchants," and the Babylonians in the army of Xerxes were known as the "Navigators of Ships."

The leading articles of merchandise were wool, linen, cotton, and the fabrics made therefrom. The precious metals were imported from distant mines. From Phœnicia were brought tin and copper. Gold and ivory were gathered from Arabia; silk, from India. Media contributed wool and several varieties of precious stones. From Upper Mesopotamia were imported—by way of the great rivers—wine and gems, emery and building stone. With these imports came foreign merchants as well as native traders—in the shops of Babylon was heard the jargon of tongues and the noise of them who sell and get gain.

The staple of the Babylonian table was the dried fruit of the date tree: this for the common peasants. Herodotus declares it to have been the *bread* of the people. The dates were gathered when ripe, and were pressed into cakes in the same manner in which they are prepared at the present time. The goat furnished milk and cheese. The sap and pith of the palm yielded, under fermentation, the palm-wine which was served on the table. Of vegetables the chief were cucumbers and melons. Of the oddities of the Babylonian board may be mentioned gourds and *pickled bats*—the latter especially being a dish which could hardly excite the appetite of a modern epicure. The markets of the country always abounded in fish. It constituted one of the chief articles of diet, particularly of those living on the borders of the provincial marshes

of the Empire or along the Gulf. Fishes were taken with hooks and nets, and were cured in the sun. Sometimes a "fish-cake" was produced by pounding and straining the fiber and reducing it to a compact mass, like bread. As already narrated, the tables of the rich were loaded with viands and delicacies.

No people lived more luxuriously, as it respects banqueting and feasting, than did the ancient Babylonians. The supper of princes was a revel, at which voluptuousness and intoxication, heightened with music, were the presiding genii. An orchestra of trained performers sat conspicuous and discoursed mellifluous strains, while the perfumed guests were plied with wine. Indeed, the music of the Babylonians, struck from fine instruments of many sorts and fashions, was a notable feature of social life. Alike in the royal banqueting-halls and in the huts of the peasantry, in the stores and market-houses as well as in the painted palaces and the temples of the gods, sweet strains were heard to inspire the courage or lull the senses of the people.

The position of the women of the Empire was peculiar. It began in abasement and came near ending in honor. When a maiden became marriageable, which she did at an early age, she was subject to be sold by public auction. Her father or brother might thus expose her to the excited passions of rival bidders. The custom was commonly practiced, and, as it appears, without compunction on the part of either seller or buyer. When the creature was thus sold and delivered over to lawless rapacity, it was with the understanding that she should at some time go of her own accord to the temple of Beltis and deliver herself up to the first stranger whom she met. And this Esplanade of Shame was always thronged with visitors!

These two degrading customs apart, the women of Babylonia fared much better than in most other Eastern countries. There was no harem, properly so called. Women were apparently free from that degrading seclusion which oriental despots have contrived to preserve the purity of the sex! Nor do the annals of the Empire indicate that the wives of the Babylonian kings and princes were worse treated or held in less esteem than were the women of Macedonia or Carthage. From the pictorial sketches found on the cylinders, representing the various vocations and pleasures of the Babylonian women, even among the peasantry, it would not appear that their lot was to be more deplored than that of the men of their age and country. Doubtless, the relations of the sexes then, as always under the present constitution of human nature, were to a certain degree refined by mutual sorrow and hallowed by the blessedness of love.

CHAPTER XXIV.—RELIGION.

FEW paragraphs will suffice to give an outline of the theology and religious rites of the Babylonians. Their system was so little deflected from that of primitive Chaldæa that the whole subject might be dismissed with a simple reference to what has been said in the Second Book respecting the religion of the Chaldees. The original gods of the plains of Shinar survived the shock of the Assyrian conquest, and revived without a change of name or feature amid the splendors of the Later Empire. Nebuchadnezzar might have walked to the temple arm in arm with the shade of Kudur-Lagamer, and the twain would have found no cause of controversy! True, some subtle distinctions had arisen with which the elder was unfamiliar in his day, but they were not such as to disturb his faith or shock his orthodoxy.

The few changes which occurred in the religious development of the Chaldæan into the Babylonian system had respect to such points as the relative rank of different deities, and

to such non-essentials as the matter of names and epithets. In several instances, the higher god of the Chaldæans becomes the lower of the Babylonians, and *vice versa*. Thus Merodach, who was inferior to Bel in the primitive pantheon, was made his superior by the priests of Nebuchadnezzar. Nabonadius, however, resented the degradation of Bel and restored him to his supremacy. In like manner, there was a confusion and even blending of the names and offices of Beltis and Ishtar, who are sometimes spoken of as one and the same divinity.

The three great gods of the Babylonian system were Bel, Merodach, and Nebo. After these was Nergal, who had the principal seat of his worship at Cutha. Bel and Merodach were the supreme deities of Babylon. Here once a year, in the magnificent temple of the former god, a great festival was celebrated. A splendid procession was formed in his honor, and on the broad altar in front of his shrine a thousand talents of frankincense were burned. Nebo was the tutelary deity of Borsippa. His worship was especially popular, and his name was incorporated in the names of a majority of the Babylonian kings. The great monarchs,

IMAGE OF BEELZEBUB, THE FLY GOD.

Nabo-polassar, *Nebu*-chadnezzar, and *Nabo*-nadius, were so-called after their patron god. The names of Nergal and Bel occur in like manner, but less frequently. The worship of the Moon as the deity of Borsippa, and the Sun at Sippara, has already been described in the Book on Chaldæa.

In all the Babylonian temples were images of the gods. It does not appear, however, that the worship conducted before these images was downright idolatry. The theory of the priests was—as it has ever been—that the mind of the worshiper was fixed upon the deity by means of the symbol. To many of the ignorant masses, however, the idol was doubtless the god, and the god the idol. An intermediate class believed that the deity came down at certain times, and ate and drank the offerings which were left before his image.

IMAGE OF ASHTAROTH.

The making of idols was a regular trade in the city. The god-smith was in good repute. The materials used in the fabrication of images were gold, silver, bronze, and stone—according to the costliness of the temple and shrine wherein the statues were to be placed. Some of the idols were cast solid; others were of the base metals, or even of clay, overlaid or plated with gold or silver.

Each one of the Babylonian temples had its retinue of priests. To them the management of the shrines and images and the conduct of worship were intrusted. These hierarchs lived either in the temple itself or in adjacent houses assigned to their use. They married and reared families just as the members of other professions, and their places in the priestly office were taken by their sons. In many cases, however, the sacred college was recruited from the ranks of the laity, nor was any marked discrimination made even against foreigners. In the conduct of the ceremonies of their religion the priests were formal and dignified. Their dresses were rich to the last degree, and the public services were pompous and magnificent. The altars were hidden under clouds of frankincense; costly offerings were laid on the shrine; victims bled to satisfy the hunger of the gods. The great occasions

of religious solemnity were holidays in the city. Processions were formed and banquets spread in honor of such days. Wine flowed freely. Priests and people alike gave way to the revel. The gods were said to rejoice and drink with their worshipers, and all the excesses of the festival were shared in common by men and deities.[1] During such seasons of religious abandonment the esplanade before the temple of Beltis was more than usually thronged with women and strangers to fulfill the degrading injunctions of that goddess and her priests.

As among the Egyptians and the Jews, certain requirements were made of the Babylonians respecting personal cleanliness. Ablutions and the burning of incense were the means employed to purify those who were defiled. The newly-married were unclean, and were obliged to sit for a season before a burning censer. The touch of a dead body, and many other acts analogous to those interdicted by the Egyptian priests and by Moses, rendered the person unclean; and whatever thing the unclean touched was in like manner defiled. After the prescribed formula of purification the unclean were restored to purity and returned to the ordinary duties of life.

The Babylonian priests were mystics. They delighted in the substitution of the symbol for the thing. They assigned to their deities, and to many other facts of their religion, sacred numbers and signs by which the divine things were known in conversation and writing. Thus the god Anu was numbered 60; Bel, 50; and Hea, 40. The Moon was 30; the Sun, 20; and Vul, 10. Beltis was 15, and Nergal 12. Besides these numbers, which were usually employed instead of the sacred names for which they stood, many other signs and symbols were used in the same mystical manner. The surfaces of the cylinders are in some instances almost covered with these signs, the same being placed here and there in all the vacant spaces of the regular inscription. Among such signs may be mentioned the circle crossed with transverse diameters, which was the symbol of Shamas, god of the Sun; also the six-rayed star, which was the emblem of Anunit. Vul, the air-god, was represented by a triple thunderbolt, and Hea by a serpent. Ishtar was symbolized by the female form, and Bar by a fish. Besides those signs, the meanings of which have been determined, many more are found, the significance of which has not yet been determined—and may never be. Prominent among these uninterpreted symbols are the double cross, the jar, the altar, the lozenge, and many kinds of beasts and birds. To these may be added the double horn, the sacred tree, and the spearhead, all of which are many times repeated on the cylinders. It is safe to infer that all these signs had reference to the theological notions and religious ceremonies of the Babylonians, that they were understood by the priests and perhaps by the people, and that the final purpose of such symbolization was to prevent the most sacred ideas and words of religion from becoming too common by repetition on the lips of the vulgar.

Most of the great temples of Babylonia had symbolic names, the meanings of which have not been determined. Such names are nearly always preceded by the syllable *bit*, and this part is evidently identical with the Hebrew word *beth*, meaning a "house." Thus the names of some of the most noted temples were Bit-Saggath, Bit-Ana, Bit-Parra, Bit-Ulmis, Bit-Tsida, etc.; but the meanings of these primitive words, *Saggath*, *Parra*, *Ulmis*, etc., are unknown. The sense and the symbol have sunk together into that oblivious dust from which there is no resurrection.

[1] It was on occasions of this sort that the priestess of the temple had the splendid gold-embroidered couch of the inner shrine prepared for herself and for the god who was said to visit her.

CHAPTER XXV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY ANNALS.

BABYLON was ruled by seven kings. Of these the great names are Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, and Nabonadius. The history of the Empire begins with the accession of the first named, in the year B. C. 625. Babylonia, however, as a province or viceroyalty of Assyria, had had an existence extending over several centuries. The Assyrian conquest had never extinguished the southern kingdom, but merely reduced it to a position of subordination. There was thus interposed between the time of the capture of Babylon by the Assyrians, in B. C. 1300, with the consequent transfer of the leadership of the Mesopotamian nations to Nineveh, and the sudden revival of Babylonian independence under Nabopolassar, a long and dubious period in the history of the ancient kingdom of the South—a period in which the political status of Babylonia fluctuated between absolute subjection and *quasi* independence. It is in this chaotic time, between the extinction of the Chaldæan monarchy and the restitution under Nabopolassar, that the beginnings of Babylonian history must be sought and found.

Very soon after the conquest of the country by Tiglathi-Adar, in B. C. 1300, it was found desirable to govern Babylonia as a viceroyalty rather than as an integral part of the Assyrian Empire. In order to prevent revolts and to insure the loyalty of the provincial government, the Ninevite kings were careful for a long time to select, as their viceroys in the South, princes and nobles of Assyrian blood. With this precaution, the province was left in a state of comparative independence, subject only to the regular payment of the tribute. It was but natural, however, that these Babylonian governors, so far removed from Nineveh, should frequently look askance at the doings of the home government, and that they should see in the situation the suggestion of independence. Even under a certain NEBUCHADNEZZAR, the first Babylonian viceroy, there were two outbreaks on the part of the governor. He made considerable headway against the forces of Asshur-Ris-Ilim, the then Assyrian king, and though defeated and driven back, he retired into his government without serious punishment.

When Asshur-Ris-Ilim was succeeded by his son, Tiglath-Pileser I., the latter determined to avenge the insult offered to his country and led an army into Babylonia. Merodach-Iddin-Akhi had now become viceroy, and between him and the Assyrian there was a struggle for the mastery. The Babylonians were beaten. Several of their cities were taken, including the two Sipparas, Opis, and Babylon; but there was still vigor enough left in the army of the viceroy to pursue and harass the king as he retired from the country. It is said, even, that Merodach in one instance made a dash on the rear of the Assyrian army, and succeeded in capturing and carrying away the images of the gods, which Pileser had brought along to protect him. These disturbances continued during the two succeeding reigns, and it was not until the close of the first century after the conquest that a state of comparative quiet was attained.

This more peaceful condition was brought about rather by the weakening of Assyrian influence than by any stupor among the Babylonians. For about two hundred years (B. C. 1100–900), the power which had been so signally established by Tiglathi-Adar was allowed to decline in the hands of incompetent successors. Meanwhile the Babylonians, recovering from the depression of conquest, flourished and extended their influence, political and commercial, into several surrounding countries. But, with the accession, in the year B. C. 880, of Asshur-Izir-Pal, a new energy was diffused in Assyrian affairs. This monarch marched an army into Babylonia, and recovered all those territories over which

the viceroys had in the interim extended their authority.

In the year 850 B. C. a civil broil arose in Babylonia, and the distraction thus entailed gave an easy opportunity to the son of Asshur-Izir-Pal still further to humble the ambitions of the Babylonians. He had the prudence to espouse the cause of the legitimate viceroy, who was opposed by a younger brother. The Assyrian king was admitted to Babylon. The younger brother was slain, and the rightful governor restored to his authority. But the Assyrian, having thus become strong by acting as arbiter in a civil war, proceeded to make himself more completely than ever master of the whole of Lower Mesopotamia. Those districts which had been dependent upon Babylonia were made to feel that a mightier than Babylonia had come. Their petty kings were displaced. Assyrians were put in their stead, and tribute exacted from all the provinces of the South. The relation of the viceroyalty to the Ninevite power was no longer ambiguous.

Nine years later the country was again—and this time wantonly—invaded by the Assyrians. The object seems to have been mere spoliation. The viceroy met his antagonist in the field, and was twice disastrously defeated. He was obliged to make an absolute submission. Babylon fell to the rank of a provincial city, subject to a heavy tribute. For more than fifty years this state of miserable subjection continued. Not until the disturbed reign of Asshur-Dayan III., B. C. 770, did a revival take place in the fortunes of Babylonia. PUL was now the provincial governor. Taking advantage of the troubles in Assyria, he organized an army, overran Lower Mesopotamia, made a successful campaign into the upper valley of the Euphrates, and carried his victorious arms without serious opposition into Syria and even Palestine. These bold movements on the part of Pul cleared the ground for the still more marked successes which were to follow.

In 747 B. C. NABONASSAR became ruler of Babylonia. He is generally regarded as the first *king* of the Later Empire. Certain it is that by him Babylonian independence was for a time reëstablished. The ambition of this monarch, however, seems to have extended no further than Babylonia Proper. The other dependent provinces of the South were left to go their ways. Several of them succeeded for a season in throwing off the yoke and reaching up towards sovereignty. Thus did Yakin, chief of one of the coast provinces. Thus also did Nadina and Zakiru, two other local rulers in the northern part of Lower Mesopotamia. Babylonia under Nabonassar was thus restricted to her narrowest limits. Nevertheless, the kingdom was so completely established as to constitute the beginning of a new era, from which are dated the subsequent events in the history of the Empire.[1]

It does not appear that the rather easy-going Tiglath-Pileser II., king of Assyria, was much disturbed by Nabonassar's assumption of sovereignty. In the early part of his reign he made an invasion of Chaldæa, but his object seems to have been merely to humble Merodach-Baladan—son and successor of Yakin, mentioned above—who was trying to maintain local independence. Pileser does not seem to have troubled himself with the more important work of humbling Nabonassar, who was, perhaps, too large game for the king's quiver. All of this inured greatly to the benefit of the Babylonian, who witnessed with delight the subjugation of the petty, rebellious princes of his own neighborhood by the Assyrians. It saved himself the trouble of making war upon the insurrectionists within his own borders. That which humbled them gave him strength. The broken-down provinces of the South naturally looked to him as a leader and protector, since he only seemed able to stand without alarm in the presence of the majesty of Assyria.

The reign of Nabonassar extended from B. C. 747 to B. C. 733. With him, according to Herodotus and other ancient writers, was associated his mother, SEMIRAMIS. Attempts have been made to show that she and the Assyrian Semiramis were one and the same per-

[1] It should not be forgotten in this connection that Nabonassar took care to have destroyed the records of his predecessor in order to make sure his own place in history as the founder of a dynasty.

sonage. If we are to trust the accepted chronologies, the Assyrian queen flourished a full half century before the date assigned to the Babylonian. Possibly there were two princesses of the same name. Possibly a mistake has been made in the dates. At any rate it appears that the queen-mother—or queen-wife, as some say—of Nabonassar exercised a large influence during his reign, and added to the traditional glory of the name of Semiramis.

Nabonassar conducted no important wars, and added nothing by conquest to his dominions. After a reign of fourteen years he was succeeded by an obscure prince, called NADIUS. He is not reckoned among the "kings," and his two successors, CHINZINUS and PORUS, were still less worthy to be counted among the great rulers of Babylon. The next was named ELULACUS, who is rather a mythical than a historical personage. Nadius is said to have reigned for two years, and the others followed in quick succession. None of the four left any distinct impress on the history of their times, nor do they seem to have been honored even in their own country. With the accession of MERODACH-BALADAN, however, another era of prosperity and power dawned in Babylonia.

This ambitious prince had been the ruler of a province in the times of Nabonassar, and in the vicissitudes that followed that monarch's death gained such influence as to make himself the successor of Elulacus. He had, after his father's death, been obliged by Tiglath-Pileser to acknowledge himself tributary to Assyria; but this was done with a mental reservation, and after remaining for a while in obscurity, he suddenly availed himself of a change of dynasties in both Assyria and Babylonia to extend his authority over the latter country. This was accomplished in the year 721 B. C., coïncidently with the accession of Sargon to the throne of Nineveh.

It was a precarious assumption of power. Merodach-Baladan seemed to realize the peril of his situation. Sargon, the new monarch of Assyria, was not a ruler to be trifled with. The Babylonian saw that he must fight. For some time the affairs at Nineveh were in such a condition as to favor Merodach's usurpation. A period of twelve years intervened before Sargon was ready to turn his attention to affairs in Babylonia. This interval had been well employed by the king of that country in preparations for the conflict. He had succeeded in building up a formidable league to resist the further encroachments of Assyrian ambition. He established friendly relations with Hezekiah, king of Judah. Sabak, the Egyptian Pharaoh, also entered into the plans of Merodach, and thus an alliance was effected between Babylonia and Susiana in the East and Egypt and Palestine in the West. The array thus presented to Sargon was not to be despised.

The geographical position of the parties, however, greatly favored the Assyrians. Nineveh was so situated with respect to Babylonia and Syria as to enable Sargon to divide the parties to the league. He could easily thrust his armies between those of his antagonists and beat them in detail. He accordingly organized two campaigns, one against Egypt and one against Babylon. The allies were unable to withstand him. In B. C. 711 he made his way into Egypt. The stronghold of Ashdod was taken without much resistance, and Pharaoh Sabak made haste to send an embassy suing for peace. Egyptian dependency was reëstablished, and Sargon turned his attention to the reduction of Babylonia.

In the next year he marched into Lower Mesopotamia. A decisive battle was fought, and Merodach-Baladan was completely overthrown. He retreated into his native province, and shut himself in the fortress of Yakin; but Sargon pursued him, took the city, got possession of the Babylonian himself, and carried him off to Nineveh. Before leaving the South, Sargon had himself proclaimed king of Babylon, thus, for the time, extinguishing the line of native rulers.

The Assyrian monarch, however, did not long live to enjoy his double throne. Upon his death, in the year B. C. 704, insurrections immediately broke out in Babylonia, and several aspirants claimed the crown. A son of Sargon attempted to uphold his father's claims, but was unable to do so. A prince named HAGISA secured the throne, but was driven

away after a month's occupancy. Meanwhile, Merodach-Baladan, after a captivity of several years, succeeded in escaping from Nineveh, and reäppeared where he was most needed. He killed Hagisa, and again seized the throne.

His ascendency was for a short time maintained, but Sennacherib, who had now succeeded Sargon as king of Assyria, marched against him, overthrew him in battle, and drove him into exile. The Assyrian then reëstablished the authority which had been exercised by his father in Babylonia, and for the next seventy-five years the status of the country as a dependency of Assyria was not seriously disturbed. Sometimes the kings of Nineveh controlled affairs in the South without subordinate governors, and at other times viceroys were appointed after the manner which had prevailed before the accession of Pul. During the reigns of Esarhaddon and Asshur-Bani-Pal, of Assyria, several revolts occurred, but they were of little importance, and were easily subdued. In no case did these civil troubles continue for more than a year.—Such is a brief sketch of the Babylonian kingdom from the conquest by Tiglathi-Adar down to the time of the revolt of Nabopolassar.

The circumstances leading to this important event have already been reviewed in connection with the overthrow of Assyria by the Medes. Two generations had now passed, and the Babylonians had become comparatively contented under the dominion of the Ninevite rule. Perhaps they had come in some measure to regard themselves as an integral part of the Assyrian Empire. At any rate, when the first symptoms of the Median invasion appeared, they were not shaken from the allegiance to which they had now grown accustomed. In the first disastrous expedition of Cyaxares against Nineveh, the Babylonians took no part. During the whole time of the Scythic invasions, when the attention of the Empire was absorbed with the movements of that barbaric horde, the southern viceroys made no effort to assert their independence.

Meanwhile the baffled but not broken ambition of Cyaxares was busily at work. His emissaries were in Babylonia, sowing the seeds of insurrection. The nobles and princes of the country were taught to expect the not improbable collapse of Assyria under the assaults of the Mede. Such was the discontent thus created that when the rumor of a second advance by Cyaxares through the passes of the Zagros reached Nineveh, the news also came that the Babylonians had revolted, and were marching from the south to coöperate in the invasion. Under this double peril the forces of Assyria were divided. Saracus remained at the head of his principal army to confront the Medes, and Nabopolassar, a trusted Assyrian general, was put in command of a large division with orders to march into Babylonia, restore order in the kingdom, and defend the southern border against aggression.

It appears that Nabopolassar was not seriously resisted in his mission. Either by force or counsel he conciliated the Babylonians to the extent of gaining admission to the capital, where he was quietly installed as viceroy of the kingdom. Here, however, he soon saw his own opportunity. The agents of Cyaxares were ready to foster and stimulate a treason, which the circumstances had already suggested. Nabopolassar fell from his loyalty and entered into willing negotiations with the Mede. It was arranged that the viceroy should betray his king and join in the coming invasion of Assyria. Babylonia, as the price of this treachery, was to be made independent. Nabopolassar was to be the king. His son Nebuchadnezzar should have for his queen Amyitis, the daughter of Cyaxares: and all was accomplished as it was contrived.

As soon as it was known in Babylon that the king of the Medes was on the march, Nabopolassar set out from the capital with an army. While he made his way northward his ally came from the east. The overthrow of Saracus and the siege and capture of Nineveh followed. The Assyrian Empire was broken up, and each of the confederates took his allotted portion. Assyria Proper fell to the Medes, and Nabopolassar received the kingdom of Babylon, to which were annexed Susiana on the east, and the valley of the Euphrates and the whole of Syria on the

west. To these subject countries the transfer of masters was no great hardship, nor was the conduct and usurpations of Nabopolassar in any quarter seriously resented. Such were the circumstances of the founding of what may be properly called the Empire of the Babylonians.

The great revolution occurred in the year 625 B. C. NABOPOLASSAR entered upon a peaceful reign of twenty-one years. His government was not seriously disturbed by revolts or by foreign invasion. He seems to have had that wisdom of peace which permits the fruits of revolution to ripen into institutions. The reigns of such rulers are generally called uneventful, but if the histories of countries were written by peasants, a different story would be told—a story of prosperity in commercial marts and of quiet under roofs of thatch.

The foreign relations of Babylonia were peculiarly auspicious. Assyria on the north was disrupted. Media on the east was bound by a marriage tie and a treaty of amity. Persia had not yet become formidable, and Lydia was far away. Egypt, now under the rule of Pharaoh Psametik, had assumed a conservative policy quite necessary to her own salvation. So Babylon, basking in the sunshine of good fortune, began to wax great and to exhibit that splendor of proportions and adornment for which she was soon to become famous throughout the world.

A single circumstance contributed to maintain the military ardor of the Babylonians. By the terms of the alliance between Cyaxares and Nabopolassar, the latter was to assist the former in the prosecution of his wars. From this clause in the agreement it frequently happened that the Babylonian king had to lead an army into the field to aid in the campaigns of his ally. In those wars in which the Medes were obliged to engage after the capture of Nineveh, in order to maintain and establish by force what had been won by battle, contingents of Babylonian troops were always auxiliary, and not infrequently Nabopolassar himself and, after him, his successors were present in person in the field. It will be remembered that when the armies of Cyaxares and Alyattes were contending in the great Battle of the Eclipse, it was Nabopolassar who acted on the part of the Medes in settling the conditions of peace.[1] It is easy to conceive that the Babylonian was more zealous in his efforts for reconciliation than if he himself had been one of the principals in the contest. Albeit, he may have known better than the other kings on that memorable field that an eclipse is simply a natural occurrence in no wise indicative of the wrath of the celestials.

After the peace thus established between the Medes and the Lydians, Nabopolassar returned to his own capital. He was no longer either young or warlike. It was the fate of his old age, and of the close of his reign, to be clouded with disaster. A cloud arose out of Egypt which cast a shadow over him and his empire. The Pharaoh Psametik was now dead, and his successor, Necho, was a ruler less politic and more ambitious. He regarded the Babylonian dominion in Syria as a usurpation, which he determined to resent and punish. Accordingly he raised an army and began an invasion, with a view to reëstablish Egyptian supremacy in that country. He proceeded through the plain of Esdraëlon, as far as the city of MEGIDDO, where he met Josiah, king of Judah, with an army drawn up to oppose his progress. Josiah was at this time tributary to Nabopolassar, and from some cause had come to prefer a Babylonian to an Egyptian master. He therefore stood loyally in the way of Necho, who first tried strategy and then force to remove the obstacle. The battle went against the Jewish king, who was driven, mortally wounded, into Jerusalem, where he died. Necho then proceeded with the invasion of Syria, and carried his triumphant arms to the very banks of the Euphrates.

The authority of Egypt was thus restored over the whole western portion of the dominions which, out of the spoils of Assyria, had fallen to Nabopolassar. On his return from this successful campaign, Necho interfered in the civil war which was going on between the two sons of Josiah, both of whom claimed the crown of Judah. The Egyptian decided in

[1] See page 229.

favor of Jehoiakim, Jehoahaz, the younger brother, being deposed as a usurper. Before reaching his own country, Necho fell upon the strong fortress of Gaza, next to Ashdod, the principal town of Philistia, and carried it after a siege.

Nabopolassar was now (B. C. 605) in the last year of his life. Alarmed by the loss of Syria, he determined to recover what Necho had taken from him. After the army was raised and equipped, however, the aged king found himself unable to conduct the expedition, and so the command was given to his son, Nebuchadnezzar. This prince had already had considerable experience in war, and had shown tokens of the distinguished career which awaited him. He pushed boldly into Upper Syria, where at Carchemish the Egyptians had established themselves in full force to hold the country. Here they were attacked by the Babylonian army and were completely routed. Every vestige of Egyptian resistance melted away.

Nebuchadnezzar proceeded to the West, meeting no further opposition. He paused for a short time in Palestine, where he received the submission of Jehoiakim, whom Necho had set up, and then continued his triumphant course to the gateway of Egypt. Doubtless the Pharaoh would have paid dearly for his recent ambitions but for the news which here reached Nebuchadnezzar of his father's death. Without delay, the king, fearing that some rival might usurp the throne of Babylon, gave orders for his army to retrace its course into Upper Syria, and himself, with a detachment, made all speed by the nearest route across the desert to the capital.

In Babylon, however, every thing was quiet. After the death of Nabopolassar, the priests, loyal to the son, had assumed the conduct of affairs until the prince might return from the borders of Egypt. He had a triumphant reception, and was peacefully established on the throne of the Empire. His accession, in B. C. 604, marks the era of Babylonian greatness. Whether we regard the vigor and success of his wars, or the glory of his capital, or his prestige as a civil ruler, his reign must be considered one of the most illustrious of ancient history. It was at this time that the great palaces and temples arose, that the Walls were built, that the Hanging Gardens were reared for the Median wife of the king. It is hardly too much to say that the chief renown of the Babylonians as a nation is referable in a large degree to the personal energy and kingcraft and warcraft of Nebuchadnezzar.

To Josephus and other Jewish historians we are indebted for the best accounts of the wars of this period. The contemporaneous records of Babylonia furnish but scanty and imperfect materials from which to gather any extended account of the military movements of the time. It is to be assumed that most of the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar were carried on to the West—into Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia, Egypt. It was from this direction that he was provoked in his boyhood, and the restless peoples spreading out towards Syria and the Mediterranean were in a state of turbulence most likely to continue the provocation. On the side of the Medes and Persians not much trouble was to be anticipated. His wife was a sister of Astyages, and Cyrus had not yet appeared on the stage. These circumstances gave peace on one side of the Empire, and on the other war. The Jewish historians had good reason to recount the inroads and devastations wrought by the great king's armies.

For the first six years the reign of Nebuchadnezzar was but little disturbed. The first important insurrection was the revolt of Tyre, the chief city of the Phœnicians. About the same time, Jehoiakim, king of Judah—doubtless calling to mind the fact that he owed his own sovereignty to Pharaoh Necho, the rival of the king of Babylon, and believing that the Egyptians would come to his aid—revolted and took up arms. It was to punish these Phœnician and Jewish rebels that Nebuchadnezzar undertook the first great campaign after his accession. He invested Tyre, but that strong city proved for a long time impregnable. So the king, without desisting from the siege, divided his forces, and with one division proceeded against Jerusalem. To the last moment Jehoiakim relied upon the

Egyptians to come to his aid, but the Pharaoh held aloof, and his self-constituted ally was left to his fate. He made his submission to Nebuchadnezzar, who deliberately put him to death, and he was "buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem." For the time being, the Babylonian king conferred the crown of Judah upon Jehoiakin, son of the recent ruler; but he soon fell under suspicion of treachery, was deposed, and taken a captive to Babylon, thus making way for Zedekiah, who was put upon the Jewish throne.

Meanwhile, the siege of Tyre continued. The island city seemed invincible before the clumsy methods of the Babylonians, but the latter hung to the task with vindictive energy. Year after year went by, and the city must soon have fallen but for a second revolt on the part of the Jews. For some reason these people had come to prefer Egyptian to Babylonian masters. Perhaps they even hoped ultimately to throw off all mastery and become independent, as in the days of David. At any rate, Zedekiah, after having kept his faith with Nebuchadnezzar for eight years, became at heart disloyal, and entered into an intrigue with Egypt against the Babylonians.

Pharaoh Apries was now the Egyptian ruler, a youth whose ambition overleaped his prudence. He and Zedekiah took counsel together against the mighty, and it was agreed that the Jewish king should revolt and that the Egyptian should come to his support. Accordingly, in B. C. 588, Zedekiah threw off his allegiance and gathered an army for defense. This was the *fourth* insurrection which had occurred since Palestine became a Babylonian dependency. Nebuchadnezzar was enraged. He marched with his host against the city of the Jews, desolating the country as he came. Jerusalem was at once invested. Mounds were built against the walls, and the place was already reduced to straits when Apries came up from Egypt to succor his friend. Nebuchadnezzar, for the time, gave up the siege, turned upon the Egyptians, whom he routed in battle and drove precipitately into their own country. Zedekiah was thus left to his fate. The investment of the city was renewed, and after eighteen months Jerusalem fell. Zedekiah attempted to escape with a remnant of his troops, but was captured near Jericho. His sons were slaughtered before his face; his eyes were put out, and he was sent in chains to Babylon. The state of Judah was extinguished, and the seventy years' captivity of the Jews began. Gedaliah was appointed by Nebuchadnezzar to rule over the ruins of Palestine, among which Jeremiah sat weeping.

It is appropriate in this connection to recount in a few paragraphs the history of the people of Israel.—Their career as a tribe from the days of Abraham to the time of the Exodus has already been sketched in the First Book.[1] After their escape from the Egyptians, the crossing of the Gulf of Suez, and a conflict with the Amalekites, MOSES led the people to Sinai, where the Law was given and the Jewish economy instituted. The Levites were set apart to have exclusive jurisdiction over the national worship. In his progress from Sinai to Canaan—a desert march from station to station through a period of forty years—Moses avoided the lands of the Edomites, the Moabites, and the Ammonites, but proceeded boldly against Sihon, king of the Amorites, and Og, king of Bashan. Both of these chieftains lived east of the Jordan. They were dispossessed of their lands, which were bestowed on the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh. Moses died on Mount Nebo, and was succeeded in authority by JOSHUA, of the tribe of Ephraim.

He proved himself to be an able and resolute general. He led the tribes of Israel across the Jordan into Canaan, or the Holy Land, and there began a war of extermination upon the native inhabitants. A predatory life of forty years in the desert had converted the brick-makers of Egypt into a hardy soldiery, and the Canaanites were driven back before them. All were exterminated except the Gibeonites, who secured their safety by a stratagem, and became a dependent or servile class among the Hebrews. The other Canaanitish kings were enraged at this immunity of the Gibeonites, and assembled in the

[1] See Book First, pp. 64–66.

north with the remnants of the native tribes to punish those who had made an alliance with the invader. Jabin, the so-called "king" of Canaan, was leader of the confederacy against which Joshua mustered his forces at Beth-horon. Decisive battles were fought at this place, and shortly afterwards at Merom, in both of which Joshua completely overthrew and dispersed his enemies. The country of Palestine was peaceably divided among the remaining ten and a half tribes of Israel.[1] The tribes of Reuben and Gad and half of the tribe of Manasseh had already received

HIGH PRIEST OF ISRAEL.

their chosen portion east of the Jordan. The first period of Jewish history extends from the time of the conquest of Canaan, B. C. 1350, to the establishment of the monarchy under Saul, B. C. 1095. The government of Israel during this period was a theocracy. Moses had been a law-giver and leader. After him Joshua, the general, gave the people peace by war. After him a series of rulers arose known as Judges; for they "judged Israel." Many of these were persons of distinguished merit either in wisdom or war. Such were Deborah and Samson and Gideon, who—the first by exaltation of character, the second by strength, and the third by military prowess—conducted the government with energy and success. Sometimes for an interval there was no judge at all. In such interregna every man was at liberty to do what seemed good in his own eyes.

By and by the example of the surrounding nations produced the infection of monarchy in Israel. The people clamored for a king. The uncertain judgeship proved only an equivocal defense against the strong, personal governments of the adjacent pagan nations. Under the popular impulse, and against the theocratic principle, SAUL, the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, was chosen for the royal honor, and was anointed by the prophet Samuel. With this event the second period of Israelitish history begins.

Saul was a warrior. He was an austere and able man, cordially disliked by the priesthood, between whom and himself there was a conflict of authority. He began his reign by making war on the Ammonites, whom he quickly reduced to subjection. He then fell upon the Philistines, whom he routed with great slaughter in the decisive battle of Michmash. Then the Moabites, Amalekites, and Edomites were successively driven beyond the borders of Israel. Meanwhile, however, an anti-Saul party had arisen among the people. The intractable spirit of the king had given the priests opportunity to incite discontent and to direct popular attention to young DAVID, the son of Jesse, as the coming ruler of Israel. There were dissensions in the house of Saul. The jealousy of the king was aroused against David, and Jonathan, the king's son, espoused the cause of the young aspirant to the extent of becoming his protector. By and by, in a battle with the Philistines, led by Achish, king of Gath, Saul and all but one of his sons were killed. Ishbosheth survived, and was for a brief period rec-

[1] It will be remembered that the twelve sons of Jacob became the progenitors of the *thirteen* tribes of Israel. The two sons of Joseph—Ephraim and Manasseh—inherited equally with their uncles. When the tribe of Levi was set apart for the service of the sanctuary, the number of tribes inheriting lands (for the Levites had none) was again reduced to twelve.

BATTLE OF MICHMASH.

ognized as king of Israel. David, however, was also crowned at Hebron, and only awaited Ishbosheth's death to become king of the whole nation.

One of the first acts of his reign was the conquest of Jerusalem, the principal town of the Jebusites, which place he made the future capital of Israel and the holy city of his race in all time to come. The Ark of the Covenant, set up a long time ago in the desert, was now transferred from Kirjathjearim to Jerusalem, and this fact fixed the religious thought of the people on the new capital. David then entered upon his wars, which were successful to the extent that the primacy of Israel was for a season extended from the Red Sea to the banks of the Euphrates. All the remnants of the old pagan nations around the borders of Palestine were reduced to absolute subjection. The king conquered a peace, and rested on his laurels.

At this epoch a national literature made its appearance. David himself was a poet and a patron of song. He is the reputed author of many of the Psalms composed during his reign, which have ever since remained a central element in the religious worship of both Jewish and Christian peoples. Less creditable to the king were the social abuses which began in his time, and in some measure under his countenance. Polygamy was introduced and abetted by the king's example, and his personal conduct in many respects has subjected him to the censure of after ages. Growing

SAUL ANOINTED BY SAMUEL.

out of the jealousies attendant upon his multiple marriages, his sons, Absalom and Adonijah, revolted against their father's authority, and the former of the two was proclaimed king. The armies of Israel were sent against them; Absalom was killed, and Adonijah was sentenced and executed after the death of the king.

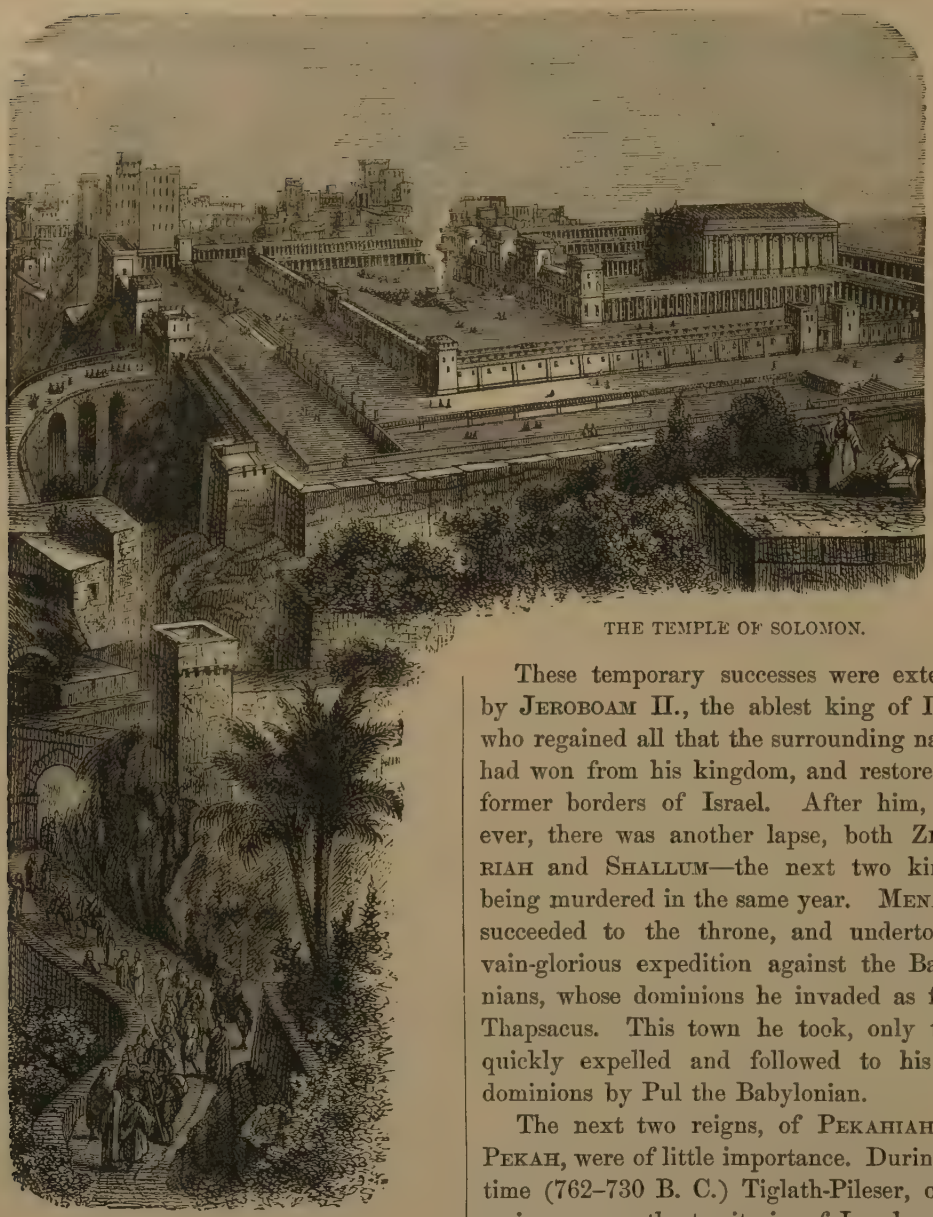
ABSALOM'S TOMB.

David was succeeded by his son SOLOMON, whose chief glory is the building of the temple at Jerusalem. He was perhaps the most cultured and certainly the most splendid king of his times. The fame of his court extended into all the surrounding nations. Luxury was given full sway. The government was transformed into a sultanate, in which all the vices of the East flourished. The splendors of the gorgeous temple erected on Mount Moriah shone with a strange luster into the royal palace and harem of the abandoned king. His old age was distracted with domestic troubles, and his death was clouded with the shadows of imminent revolt and dissolution.

No sooner was Solomon dead than REHOBOAM, his son and successor, adopted his father's methods as his own. He assumed towards the discontented people, long oppressed by heavy burdens of taxation, a haughty air well calculated to fire the rebellious spirit. JEROBOAM, the Ephraimite, appeared as a popular leader. Ten of the tribes revolted and went over to his banner. The remaining two tribes of Judah and Benjamin remained under Rehoboam, who henceforth took the title of king of JUDAH, the ten tribes under Jeroboam constituting the kingdom of ISRAEL. Thus, in B. C. 975, was effected the division of the Hebrew nation into two peoples, who ever afterwards maintained towards each other an attitude of estrangement and hostility.

Jerusalem remained the capital of Judah, but the borders of Israel came within ten miles of the city. The capital of the latter kingdom was fixed first at Shechem, then at Tirzah, and finally at Samaria. Jeroboam began his reign with a series of measures best calculated to win the people away from any remaining compunctions as it respected allegiance to the House of David, now represented by Rehoboam. At Bethel and Dan new sanctuaries were set up, and the god Apis, cast of gold, was substituted for the ark and the altar of the temple. A new priesthood was instituted, and not a few Levites went over from Judah to Israel. The people followed the new idolatry with enthusiasm, upbraided for their apostasy, but hardly checked in their fall by the indignant protests of the prophets. It was under these conditions that Elijah appeared and fought the good fight with the prophets of Baal.

From Jeroboam, the first, to HOSHEA, the last, of the kings of Israel, there were nineteen reigns. The rulers who held the throne during this period belonged to no fewer than nine different houses—a fact indicative of the extreme turbulence of the kingdom. NADAB, the successor of Jeroboam, was murdered by *his* successor, BAASHA. The latter had some military ambition, and built a fortress at Ramah, with a view to future encroachments on the kingdom of Judah; but Ben-hadad, king of Syria and friend of Judah, drove the Israelite back into his own country. ELAH succeeded to the throne only to be slain by ZIMRI, who was king for a week, when he in turn was deposed by OMRI, who had been Elah's captain of the host. Then came AHAB and JEZEBEL, whose unsavory names have offended all christendom. She outlived her husband, as well as AHAZIAH, who succeeded him, until she and her favorite son JEHORAM were both put to death by JEHU, captain of the guard. The latter took the kingdom, and held it long enough to lose all his territories



THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

east of the Jordan in a war with Hazael, king of Damascus. It was at this epoch that Israel first became tributary to Assyria, in the reign of Asshur-Nazir-Pal, monarch of that country. In the times of JEHOAHAZ, successor of Jehu, the Syrians made further conquests from Israel, and the kingdom appeared on the verge of extinction until the military abilities of JOASH, the next king of the line, restored a part of what had been lost during the two preceding reigns.

These temporary successes were extended by JEROBOAM II., the ablest king of Israel, who regained all that the surrounding nations had won from his kingdom, and restored the former borders of Israel. After him, however, there was another lapse, both ZECHARIAH and SHALLUM—the next two kings—being murdered in the same year. MENAHEM succeeded to the throne, and undertook a vain-glorious expedition against the Babylonians, whose dominions he invaded as far as Thapsacus. This town he took, only to be quickly expelled and followed to his own dominions by Pul the Babylonian.

The next two reigns, of PEKAHIAH and PEKAH, were of little importance. During this time (762–730 B. C.) Tiglath-Pileser, of Assyria, overran the territories of Israel and reduced the kingdom to the last extreme. Hoshea, the last king of Israel, came to the throne in B. C. 730, and held it for nine years, when, after a two years' siege of his capital, he was taken and the nationality of Israel extinguished by Shalmaneser—a full account of which is given in the History of Assyria.[1]

The kingdom of Judah, ruled over by the descendants of David during twenty reigns—covering a period of three hundred and sixty-

[1] See Book III., p. 175.

nine years—has a history somewhat more reputable than that of Israel. The people had fewer vices, and fewer of their kings suffered death by violence. A long list of misfortunes, however, came upon the kingdom, not a few of which were precipitated either by the folly of the people or the treachery of their rulers. Judah, as has already been asserted, lay on the highway beween Babylonia and Egypt, the rival powers of the East and the West; and the Jewish nation was not infrequently ground between the upper and the nether mill-stone. Thus, during the reign of Rehoboam, the first king of Judah, Jerusalem was taken and pillaged by Shishak of Egypt. There were, also, constant troubles with Israel. ABIJAM, the successor of Rehoboam, gained some successes over that kingdom, especially the capture of Bethel, one of the ancient sacred places of the nation. ASA, the next king, was so hard pressed, by the Egyptians on one side and the Israelites on the other, that he was obliged to despoil the temple of its treasures in order to purchase the help of Ben-hadad of Damascus. JEHOSHAPHAT, the next king, made an alliance with the Israelite Ahab, and the two made common cause against the Syrians; but the people of Judah paid dearly for the advantage on account of the idolatrous practices which flowed in with this friendly intercourse. While JEHORAM was king, a horde of Philistines and Arabs gained possession of Jerusalem. Later, Athaliah, mother of AHAZIAH, killed all of her offspring, except Joash, and instituted the worship of Baal instead of that of Jehovah. Idolatry was rampant for a season, until the queen was overthrown in a revolt headed by Jehoida, the high-priest.

Of the reigns of JOASH, AMAZIAH, UZZIAH, JOTHAM, AHAZ, HEZEKIAH, MANASSEH, and AMON there is little to be recorded, except a steady decline of the kingdom, accompanied with domestic troubles and petty wars. JOSIAH'S reign was an epoch of partial restoration. The land was cleared of idolatry. The king showed himself to be a true iconoclast. The pagan altars were everywhere broken down and the idols ground to dust. After this work was done the temple was renovated, and the ancient worship of Jehovah restored in comparative purity. It was at this time that a copy of the Mosaic Law was found and brought forth as a swift witness against the degeneracy of the Jewish nation.

The close of the reign of Josiah corresponds with the date of those devastating incursions of the Scythians, which have been hitherto narrated in the Second and Third Books. These barbarians found their way into Palestine, and even as far as Ascalon and Bethshan. At the former city they captured and despoiled the temple of Astarte, and the latter place took the name of the savage invaders, being known for many centuries as *Scythopolis*. About the same time that Judah was thus overrun by savages from the north-east, Pharaoh Necho of Egypt started on his campaign against Babylonia. Josiah, the king, for once loyal to the Babylonian sovereign, undertook to oppose the Egyptian's progress, but in the great battle of MEGIDDO was defeated and slain. Then followed the brief and disastrous reigns of JEHOIAKIM and JEHOIACHIN, and finally that of ZEDEKIAH, whose relations with Nebuchadnezzar were narrated at the beginning of this digression. With the overthrow of Zedekiah, in the year B. C. 586, the kingdom of Judah was extinguished. It had survived the rival kingdom established by Jeroboam one hundred and thirty-five years, but finally yielded to the same forces which had brought to an end the erratic career of the Ten Tribes of Israel.

Resuming, then, the thread of Babylonian history: Tyre fell. For thirteen years it had withstood the siege, but in the year after the downfall of Jerusalem, namely, in B. C. 585, Nebuchadnezzar, now relieved from his embarrassments with the Jews, renewed in person the assaults on the Phœnician capital, and the investment was pressed to a successful issue.

Having thus secured, beyond peradventure, the capitals of two of the principal states of the West, Nebuchadnezzar was free to undertake the chastisement of Egypt. It will be remembered how Pharaoh Apries, having allowed Zedekiah to break with the Babylonians in the interest of Egypt, had

incontinently rushed to the support of his ally and had then incontinently rushed back again. Nebuchadnezzar now made preparations to punish his would-be rival, and, in B. C. 581, began an Egyptian campaign.

Herodotus and the records of Egypt differ as to the results of the invasion, the former stating that Apries was dethroned and put to death; the latter, that the Pharaoh continued to reign until many years afterwards, when he perished in an insurrection of his own subjects. The truth appears to be that in his *first* campaign, Nebuchadnezzar had no marked success; but that in a *second* invasion of the country, in B. C. 570, the king of Egypt was driven from his throne, to be succeeded by Amasis, who became tributary to the Babylonian Empire.

Such were the wars of the great king in Syria and the West. Besides these actual achievements tradition has built up about the name of Nebuchadnezzar almost as dazzling an array of conquests as of Sesostris or of Alexander. The Babylonian was even reputed to have made war in Africa and Spain and all around the outposts to the horizon of civilization, until his Empire extended from the Pillars of Hercules to the limits of Armenia and the foot of the Caucasus. For such extraordinary exploits and wide-spread dominion there are no sufficient grounds of historic belief. After all deductions, however, the wars of Nebuchadnezzar were sufficiently important and successful to win for him the name of a great conqueror, and to insure for his own capital and kingdom an era of peace and splendor.

SIEGE OF TYRE BY THE BABYLONIANS.

Perhaps the first great result of these imperial conquests was to bring into Babylon and the surrounding districts vast multitudes of captives, who sank at once to the level of a servile class. These hordes of driven creatures furnished at a trifling cost an unlimited supply of labor. The Babylonians were thus relieved from oppression, and found time to build and to banquet. There were thus afforded those limitless resources out of which arose the otherwise inconceivable wonders of Babylon. The conquered provinces were in a measure depopulated, in order that by de-

portation and colonization in and around Babylon all further danger of provincial insurrections might be removed, and at the same time an exhaustless supply of slave labor be furnished to meet the demands of the splendid capital, led and incited by imperial caprice.

Thus were begun and executed the princi-

CAPTIVE JEWS LED INTO BABYLONIA.
After the painting by E. Bendemann.

pal monuments of Babylonian greatness: for most of these wonders belong to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. It was the captive Jews, Egyptians, Phœnicians, Syrians, and Moabites—swept hitherward in the wake of the victorious armies of the Empire—who for the most part reared those stupendous masses of masonry which even to-day in ruins break here and there the horizon of the Babylonian plain as if with the shoulders of a mountain. Now it was that the incomparable Walls of Babylon, with their more than five hundred million cubic feet of solid masonry, were raised in massive grandeur around a circumference of forty-one miles. Now it was that the Hanging Gardens arose for the delight of the imperial spouse, capricious as Pompadour. Now it was that the great temple of Nebo at Borsippa, hidden at present under the mountainous Birs-Nimrud, was reared as if to the skies. Now it was that the almost equally grand temple of Belus at Babylon was extended and adorned. Now it was that the vast reservoir of Sippara, one hundred and forty miles in circumference and one hundred and eighty feet in depth, was digged and furnished with its flood-gates and sluices. Now it was that not only the banks of the Eu-

phrates, but also the shores of the Persian Gulf, were lined with quays and warehouses for the safety and convenience of them that go down to the sea in ships. Now it was that on more than a hundred sites in Babylonia cities were built, any one of which, but for the superior splendor of Babylon, would have been worthy to perpetuate the fame of the king. Now it was that the grand canal from the city of Hit, on the Euphrates, to the sea, a distance of four hundred miles, carrying through the alluvial plain a broad stream of water that gave life and kept the desert at bay, was excavated by the servile armies that Nebuchadnezzar had brought home in the wake of conquest. No wonder that the captive Hebrew cried out, "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down and wept."

The old writers have left not a few traces of the personal character of this great king. By the Jewish historians he is generally depicted as a sanguinary and cruel monarch. If his conduct with respect to the Jews be viewed apart from the provocations which led to the same, there is good ground for the antipathy manifested by Israelitish authors. But it must be remembered that the kings of Israel were guilty of constant duplicity, and that the severe punishments which followed came as a necessary consequence under the military practices of the times. In the case of the slaughter of Zedekiah's sons before the face of their father and the putting out of his own eyes, there could be found little palliation for the atrocity. The act, however, was in keeping with the spirit of the age, and could be easily paralleled in the history of almost any other oriental nation.

Of the splendor and magnificence of Nebuchadnezzar, as displayed in his court and government, there can be no doubt. His audiences before his courtiers and foreign ambassadors were a pageant perhaps unequaled in the ancient world. He was surrounded by a retinue of princes, governors, and captains, whose gorgeous apparel and courtly manners made the throne a cynosure. The halls of his palace were thronged with counselors and soothsayers, who, according to common fame, were expert in the lore of both earth and heaven. His coffers were filled with untold treasures, gathered by taxation and tribute and war from nearly all the nations of Western Asia. To have withstood the volume of adulation which rose in clouds around his throne would have implied a type of character unknown in his age and country. The great king was proud and haughty. He ordered to be made of himself a golden image ninety feet in height and nine feet in breadth! And he was not free from the Egyptian folly of claiming a measure of divine honors.

To the credit of the king may be mentioned his loyalty to his queen. It was hardly to be expected that a princess of a foreign nation, given to him without his choosing and for reasons purely political, would have gained, much less retained, an ascendency over his mind and affections. But Amyitis charmed her royal spouse, and maintained such an influence over him as to become a powerful factor in the government. Besides the Hanging Gardens erected for her delight, many other works, public and private, gave proof of the esteem in which she continued to be held by the king.

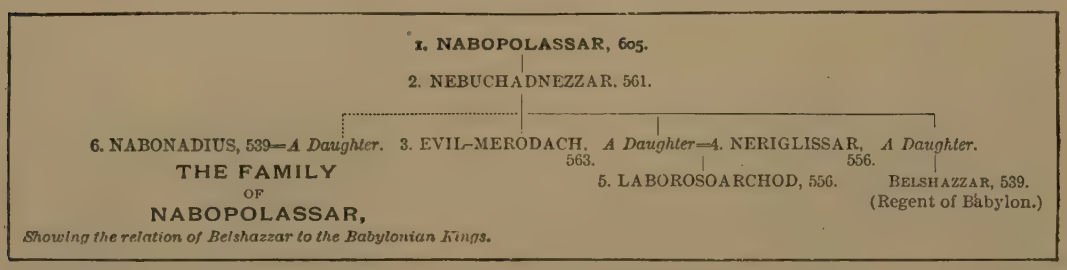
The old age of Nebuchadnezzar was not unlike that of Louis XIV. In the midday of their power each might well be called the Grand Monarch. In the hour of the setting sun each might well be commiserated for the woes that befell him. When well advanced in years, the king of Babylon dreamed a dream. It was the vision of a tree reaching unto heaven, and bearing leaves and fruit for the blessing of the nations. Suddenly a watcher appeared, and said, "Hew it down, and cut off his branches. Nevertheless, leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts." All of the soothsayers and astrologers of the court failed to interpret this strange vision until the Hebrew Daniel was called in, who declared to the monarch that he himself was the tree which should be hewn down and have his branches cut away; that the king should be smitten and driven forth to live with the beasts of the field until his

pride should be humbled and his reason restored. So Nebuchadnezzar was visited with madness. He imagined himself a beast, and went forth on all fours into the fields. He lived on herbs, and slept under the open canopy at night. Under the influence of the lycanthropy which had attacked him, he barked like a wolf. He became hairy by exposure to the elements, until after seven years his reason suddenly returned, and he was allowed a brief interval of glory and peace before his death. His reign covered a period of forty-four years, and is by far the most illustrious in the annals of the Babylonian Empire.

DANIEL INTERPRETING THE DREAM OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded in B. C. 557 by his son, EVIL-MERODACH. He appears not to have possessed his father's courage or

abilities. He had been reared in the court rather than in the field, and his tastes were little inclined to war and great enterprises of state. It seems that the circumstances of his father's affliction, and the part played by Daniel in relation thereto, had influenced his mind towards religious subjects and made a favorable impression regarding the Hebrew captives. Under these impulses the young king ordered the now aged Jehoiachin, who had been in a Babylonian prison for thirty-five years, to be set at liberty. The Israelite was advanced to honor at the court, and is said to have become one of the king's councilors. Other marks of favor were shown to the Jewish captives, whose condition from this time forth became more tolerable than that of most of their fellow exiles. But before any important measures were undertaken in



their behalf an insurrection broke out in which, after a reign of only two years, Evil-Merodach was driven from his throne and killed.

The leader of this revolt was Neriglissar, a turbulent spirit, who had married Nebuchadnezzar's daughter. He had participated in the Western wars of that great king, and had imbibed the military ardor of his sovereign. His character was thus more in accord with the temper of the Babylonians than was that of Evil-Merodach, and the revolution was easily accomplished. NERIGLISSAR ascended the throne without opposition as the fourth king in the line of Nabopolassar. His accession was all the more readily accepted on account of a claim which he advanced to be a descendant of one of the old kings of Babylon. The principal event of his reign, which was peaceful, was the erection, across the river from the great palace of Nebuchadnezzar, of what is known as the Lesser Palace. The ruins of this edifice indicate that it was a royal residence, second only in proportions and splendor to the greater wonder on the opposite side of the Euphrates. The house of Neriglissar was ornamented with the best art of the times, and but for the superior magnificence of its rival, would have been regarded as the special glory of Babylon.

The reign of Neriglissar was brief, lasting only for a little over three years. He was succeeded by his son LABŌROSARCHOD, a mere youth, unable either in age or abilities to bear the vast responsibilities of the Empire. The ambitious princes of the court, tired of inefficiency, resolved on heroic measures. Accusations of crime were put forth against the young king, who, incapable of defense, was seized, dethroned, and put to death with torture. With his overthrow the House of Nabopolassar, which had held the throne of Babylonia for seventy years, was extinguished, and the crown was conferred by the conspirators upon one of their own number named NABONADIUS. He had been an important officer in the government, but had no claim by blood relationship to royal honors. To remedy this defect in title he immediately sought a marriage with one of the daughters of Nebuchadnezzar, and to placate the ghost of legitimacy the widow of Neriglissar was taken to the royal couch. After the marriage no trouble was anticipated, nor did any occur relative to the right of the usurper to be king.

Babylonia was now on the eve of great events. Scarcely was Nabonadius securely seated on the throne when an embassy came to Babylon from Sardis, the capital of Lydia. The business was of the utmost moment. The circumstances of the overthrow of the king-

dom of the Medes by Cyrus will be readily recalled.[1] The ambitious young prince of Persia very little resembled either in character or policy the unaspiring Astyages, whom he had beaten out of an empire. The Persian at once entered on a career of conquest. Dissatisfied with a dominion embracing not only his paternal kingdom, but also that of Media, inclusive of all Cyaxares had retained of the Assyrian Empire, Cyrus looked boldly to the West, and discovered on the horizon the rich domains of Lydia. That realm discerned the approaching danger, and doubting of its own ability to cope single-handed with so powerful an enemy at once sought to contract alliances with the neighboring powers. To this end, in the year B. C. 555, legates were sent to Nabonadius, who had thus to decide between the risk which he himself might soon have to take from the overgrown ambition of Persia, and the certainty of exciting the hostility of Cyrus by accepting the overtures of the Lydians. The latter alternative was chosen. The proposed alliance between Lydia and Babylonia was consummated. The two kingdoms agreed to coöperate in the maintenance of mutual independence against the threatened encroachments of the Persians.

Nabonadius had the wisdom to see that his course would in the near future bring on a trial of arms between himself and Cyrus. To prepare for this emergency was, therefore, the first and great care of the Babylonian. He accordingly began a series of works in and about Babylon, the object of which was to secure the capital and government against the coming storm. The nature of these works was such as to indicate that the people had already fallen into that stage of helplessness which prefers the impotent array of walls and barricades to the decisive battle of the open plain. In the first place the Euphrates was confined within walls, which were closed at the street crossings with ponderous gates of bronze. Thus, though an enemy might enter by the river, he would find himself between huge battlements, and would be no more in the city than he was outside the ramparts.

In addition to this, a great wall—described by Xenophon—a hundred feet high and twenty feet in thickness, extending across the Mesopotamian plain from the Euphrates to the Tigris, was interposed against the approach of an army from that direction. The surface of the country towards the north was likewise cut transversely with canals and sluices to impede the progress of invasion from the side of Assyria. Ample time was given to complete these great works; for the Persians and the Lydians were already engaged in war.

RUINS OF SARDIS.

Crœsus, king of Lydia, had acted with too great haste. Without awaiting the movements of the Babylonians he plunged into the fight with Cyrus. The latter pressed forward into the country of his antagonist, whom he overthrew in the battle of Pteria, and then beseiged the capital. After an investment Sardis fell; Crœsus was taken prisoner, and his kingdom, reduced to submission, was annexed to the Persian Empire.[1]

[1] See Book IV., p. 344.

[1] It is narrated in a tradition which has gone into the literature of all lands, that the Lydian king was condemned to die by fire. When the pyre was prepared and Crœsus was seated thereon awaiting the application of the torch, he cried out, "O, Solon, Solon!" For he remembered the

In these events Nabonadius had borne no hand, being occupied with the defenses of his own capital. These were completed. A period of fourteen years elapsed before Cyrus turned his attention to the great power which by the Lydian alliance had thrown down the gage of battle. The actual invasion of Babylonia did not begin until B. C. 539, and then Nabonadius behind his ramparts regarded the movement with contempt. It was not thought possible that the Persian could penetrate to the capital, or that if he did, he could make the slightest impression upon the massive fortifications of the city.

Cyrus was now on the march. About midway between Ecbatana and Babylon an incident occurred highly characteristic of the times. In crossing the river Gyndes one of the white horses which drew the chariot of the sun was drowned. The Persian king thereupon ordered a halt, and consumed the better part of the summer and fall *in punishing the river*, which he did by scattering its waters through three hundred and sixty channels into the desert! In the following spring he was enabled to resume *the less important* work of overthrowing an Empire! Such was the folly of antiquity.

Cyrus crossed the Tigris without opposition, and found himself in Babylonia. He proceeded to the immediate vicinity of Babylon, where he was encountered by the army of Nabonadius, who had resolved to risk a battle in defense of his capital. In the conflict which ensued the Babylonians were completely defeated. The larger portion of the army retreated into the city, but the king with the remainder threw himself into Borsippa, thus perhaps hoping to divide the forces of his antagonist. But the hope was vain. He who was fool enough to attack the Gyndes for drowning a horse, was wise enough to know that Babylon was the object of his endeavor.

Meanwhile in the city there was little alarm. Belshazzar, the eldest son of the king, had remained therein, and to him, when his father went forth to contend with the Persians, the general direction of affairs was naturally intrusted. The queen, his mother, also remained in the city, against the walls of which for a season the hosts of Cyrus beat in vain. Indeed, the Persian soon despaired of taking Babylon by any direct or open means. He therefore resorted to an audacious expedient, which was planned and executed with entire success. Leaving a portion of his troops to occupy the attention of the Babylonians before the city walls, he withdrew with the remainder to a safe distance up the river, and there having marked the topography of the country, undertook the work of dispersing a large part of the waters of the Euphrates from the natural bed into canals which he had cut for the purpose. When the work was done, and every thing was in readiness to dissipate the river, Cyrus still delayed. He had learned that the great annual festival of the Babylonians was about to be celebrated, and he awaited the coming of that event as the best time to strike the impending blow.

Meanwhile, the Babylonians, in contempt of an enemy whom they supposed to be foiled in his purposes, made unusual preparations for the great feast. The young prince, Belshazzar, gave himself up recklessly to the occasion. A thousand nobles were invited to a royal banquet at the palace. There was splendor within and darkness without. It was the night of doom. While the revel was going on in the wild abandonment of victorious debauchery, the hardy Persian was opening the sluices into his canals above the city. The river began to sink, but made no moan. The invaders hurried along the banks to the wall of the city. There was no alarm. The river had left on either side a broad space of bare ground. The Persians passed in without opposition. The noise of the festival resounded afar. The river-gates were seized by the invaders, who now sounded the tocsin and began the assault. It was a gigantic massacre. The drunken Babylonians fled

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declaration of the Athenian sage that none might be truly considered happy until they were dead. This exclamation led to an inquiry on the part of Cyrus as to what god it was that Crœsus called upon. On hearing the story of Solon and his sayings, the half-barbaric mind of the Persian was struck with admiration, and Crœsus was released from the penalty.

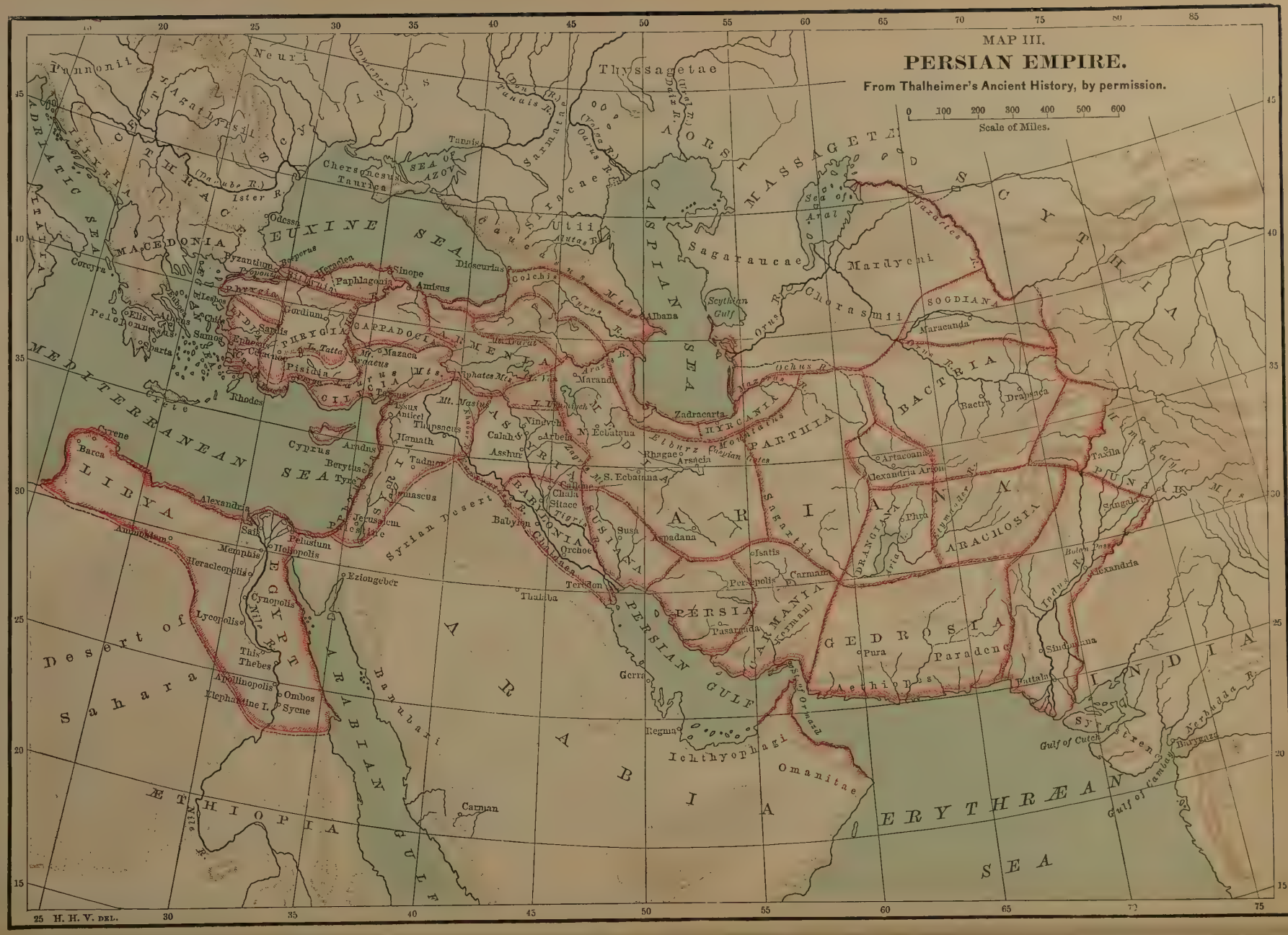
CRŒSUS ON THE FUNERAL PYRE.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

in all directions. The prince Belshazzar and his nobles were slain at their banquet, and the dawn found the victorious Persian in complete possession of the city.

As soon as possible he dismantled the outer walls, and then proceeded against Nabonadius. The latter was still at Borsippa, awaiting an opportunity to strike a blow at the invader. But the invader came swiftly upon him, and the king, seeing the uselessness of a further struggle against the inevitable, went forth and surrendered. Honorable terms were granted by Cyrus, who treated the subject army with consideration, and bestowed on the dethroned king the governorship of the province of Carmania.

It was the last act in the drama of the great Empire. "The kingdom was given to the Medes and Persians." A new power had arisen, whose energies were still freshened with the breezes of the hills and whose natural ambitions had not yet been quenched in the cups of luxury and lust. "The beauty of the Chaldees' excellency" faded like the shadow of a pageant from the great canvas of history, and the glory of Babylon began to hide itself under the dust and ruin of the ages.

CAPTURE OF BABYLON.


MAP III.
PERSIAN EMPIRE.
From Thalheimer's Ancient History, by permission.
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
Scale of Miles.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
EUXINE SEA
CASPIAN SEA
ERYTHRÆAN SEA
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIAN GULF
Gulf of Cutch
Gulf of Cambay
LIBYA
Desert of Sahara
EGYPT
ÆTHIOPIA
ARABIA
PERSIA
INDIA
SCYTHIA
MASSAGETÆ
Sea of Aral
Scythian Gulf
Albana
Sagaraucae
Mardyeni
SOGDIANA
Maracanda
BACTRIA
Bactra
Drapsaca
HYRCANIA
PARTHIA
Zadracarta
Ecbatana
Rhagae
Arsacia
Artacoana
Alexandria Arion
ARIANA
ARACHOSIA
Alexandria
Pura
Carmana
Persepolis
Susa
Aspadana
Isatis
Orchoe
Teredon
Babylon
Chaldæa
Susiana
Sagartii
Drangiana
Gedrosia
Paradene
Pasargada
Gerra
Regma
Ichthyophagi
Omanitae
Sachtan
Sindomana
Tuttahia
Pattalene
Indus R.
Nerbudda R.
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Araxes R.
Oxus R.
Jaxartes R.
Danube R.
Tanais R.
Halys R.
Cyrus R.
Ister R.
Taurica Chersonesus
Sea of Azov
Thyssagetae
Sarmatae
Neuri
Illyria
Thessaly
Macedonia
Thrace
Phrygia
Cappadocia
Armenia
Media
Assyria
Babylonia
Susiana
Persia
Carmania
Gedrosia
Arachosia
Ariana
Bactria
Hyrcania
Parthia
Scythia
Massagetæ
Sogdiana
Cilicia
Pisidia
Lydia
Mysia
Troas
Bithynia
Paphlagonia
Colchis
Albania
Iberia
Armenia Minor
Mesopotamia
Syria
Phœnicia
Judæa
Arabia
Ægyptus
Libya
Æthiopia
Cyrene
Barca
Alexandria
Memphis
Heliopolis
Heracleopolis
Cynopolis
Lycopolis
Thebes
Apollinopolis
Ombos
Syene
Elephantine I.
Meroe
Nile R.
Ammonium
Eziongeber
Thabiba
Camian
Rhodes
Crete
Corcyra
Athens
Sparta
Samos
Ephesus
Sardis
Byzantium
Sinope
Amisus
Dioscurias
Odessa
Tyre
Sidon
Damascus
Jerusalem
Gaza
Pelusium
Arados
Berytus
Tadmor
Thapsacus
Carchemish
Nineveh
Arbela
Calah
Asshur
Babylon
Ctesiphon
Seleucia
Opis
Sittace
Vologesocerta
Ecbatana
Rhagae
Arsacia
Zadracarta
Maracanda
Bactra
Drapsaca
Alexandria Arion
Artacoana
Susa
Aspadana
Isatis
Carmana
Persepolis
Pura
Pasargada
Gerra
Regma
Ichthyophagi
Omanitae
Sachtan
Sindomana
Tuttahia
Pattalene
Indus R.
Nerbudda R.
Gulf of Cutch
Gulf of Cambay

Book Sixth.

PERSIA.

CHAPTER XXVI.—THE COUNTRY.

THE Persian Empire, established by Cyrus the Great, was of vast extent. After the dominion of the Cæsars, no other kingdom of the ancient world had equal territorial limits. From east to west the rule of the Achæmenian kings extended over more than fifty-six degrees of longitude, and from north to south through twenty degrees of latitude. The boundaries of the Empire on the east were the river Indus and Thibet; on the south, the Persian Gulf and the deserts of Arabia and Nubia; on the west, the Great Desert, the Mediterranean, the Ægean, and the river Strymon; on the north, the Danube, the Euxine, the Caucasus, the Caspian, and the Jaxartes.

Such was the territorial horizon of the great kings. A right line from the eastern to the western limit of the Empire reached as far as from New York to San Francisco; and the measure from north to south was, in its greatest dimension, fully one thousand five hundred miles. The entire area was more than eight times as great as Babylonia, four times as great as Assyria, and more than one-half as great as the whole of modern Europe. The Persian territories embraced fully two million square miles.

Glancing at the political divisions of the Empire, we find an array of provinces and subordinate kingdoms almost equal in number and extent to the *Provinciæ* of Rome. The general divisions were into three groups: the Central, the Eastern, and the Western. The Central provinces were Persia Proper, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Media, the Caspian district, and the Great Desert. The Eastern were Hyrcania, Parthia, Asia, Chorasmia, Sogdiana, Bactria, Scythia, Sattagydia, India, Paricania, Eastern Ethiopia, and Mycia. The Western were Pæonia, Thrace, Asia Minor, Armenia, Iberia, Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia, Egypt, and Cyrenaica. Most of these countries, especially the more important, have been already described in the preceding Books. Others will be considered in subsequent portions of the work. It remains, in this connection, to describe briefly the character, climate, and resources of that district which constituted the nucleus of the Empire.

PERSIA PROPER, corresponding almost pre-

cisely in boundaries with the modern province of Faristan, lay upon the gulf of the same name, and extended from the river Tab to the Indian Ocean. It was bounded on the east by Mycia, on the north by Media, on the west by Susiana, and on the south by the ocean. Its length from east to west was four hundred and fifty miles, and its breadth an average of two hundred and fifty miles, giving a geographical area of over one hundred thousand square miles, being about one-half as large as Spain. This territory exceeds that of modern Faristan to the extent of including the ancient province of Carmania, which now constitutes the district of Kerman.

The most distinctly marked natural division of Persia Proper was—and is—into a Warm and a Cold district, the former being about one-eighth and the latter seven-eighths of the whole territory. The Hot region, a strip from ten to fifty miles in width, lies next to the sea, and consists of the eastern extension of the Susianian plain. It is a kind of a half-desert, saline district, whose salt sands, sloping to the sun, are heated to an unusual degree, and drink up the streams which, few and sparse, make a feeble struggle to reach the ocean. In summer the temperature is excessive. The air glows and fluctuates and flings up the mirage like that of Arabia. The soil is gravel and clay—poor in almost every quality of productiveness.

The Cold region of ancient Persia was an upland, flanked with ranges of mountains. From Ispahan, in a south-westerly direction, runs a lofty chain, which, in the province of Kerman, turns to the west, and thus supports the larger part of Faristan on the east and south. It is in the angle thus formed that the Persian upland lies—a district in every respect different from the hot belt which, south of the mountains, slopes to the sea. The high tract included in the ranges east and south is generally broken. Here and there hills rise to mountains. Plains are interspersed. At intervals verdant valleys appear, rich in their luxuriance. It is the common verdict of travelers that the region is in many respects one of the most beautiful in the world. There are situations which, for loveliness and romantic scenery, rival the vales of Greece; but these are contrasted in other parts with landscapes which, from the scantiness of water, sink into comparative sterility. The north-eastern portion of Persia is for the most part of this character. In this region the streams are of the same sort as those of Media, many of them running in sunken channels or dwindling away to nothing in a country of sand.

The chief rivers of Persia are the TAB and the ARAXES. The former has been already described in the History of Babylonia.[1] The latter rises in the mountains of Bakhtiyari, and flows in a south-easterly direction past the ruins of Persepolis. Here it receives the PULWAR, and thence makes its way to the salt lake Neyriz, in which it is lost. In all the lower course of this river the waters are drawn off at intervals into canals, which, traversing the country, furnish the means of irrigation. The volume of the stream is thus greatly reduced, and the remnant discharged into the lake is insignificant.

Next in importance may be mentioned the KOONAZABERNI, a small stream which rises near the ruins of Shapur. Pressed between ranges of lofty hills, it traverses a valley for nearly a hundred miles, and reaches the Persian Gulf a short distance north of the city of Bushire. All the other streams of the country are of comparatively little importance.

Of other inland bodies of water the largest is the lake NEYRIZ, above referred to. It is about sixty miles in length and five miles broad. In summer, owing to the intense heat, its dimensions are greatly reduced. When this occurs the inhabitants make the most of nature's offer by gathering large quantities of salt from the exposed bed, after the manner already described in the account of the lakes of Syria. The second lake in size is the DERIAH NEMEK, about ten miles from the town of Shiraz. It is also a "dead" sea, having no outlet. It has an area of about forty square miles; the character of the waters is the same as that of Neyriz. A few other small lakes are found in different parts of the country, but none contain fresh water.

[1] See Book Fifth, p. 245.

In its general features the country is mountainous. The geographical peculiarity of the ranges is the frequent gorges and chasms by which they are cleft in twain. Not only where the mountains are divided for the passage of streams, but in many other places where nature makes no such demand, the chains are parted, so that transit from one side to the other is easy. In many districts roads are made through these great chasms, on either side of which rise frightful precipices of rock, some of which are two thousand feet high. Sometimes the abyss is closed overhead, and the road winds under a grotto.

The range already referred to as dividing the Hot from the Cold region of Persia is cleft in no fewer than four places by these striking and picturesque mountain gorges. These passes have in all ages furnished the inhabitants with a safe and easy route from the inland districts to the sea, and at the same time, from their defensibility, have ever been a safeguard in war. A few men at the top of the chasms can easily make the passage of an army impossible. It was in the very entrance to one of these mountain gorges that PASARGADÆ, the ancient capital of the country, was situated.

Of political divisions in Persia Proper there were five: Paractacene, Mardyene, Taocene, Ciribo, and Carmania. The first of these lay among the mountains of Bakhtiyari. The second was adjacent to the first, and extended from Bebahan to Kazerun. Taocene lay in the Hot district along the coast. Ciribo was the other division of the same region. The eastern part of the Persian upland was known as Carmania—the modern Kerman. Between these political districts into which the country was divided there were no natural lines of demarkation, the only distinction of that kind being the mountain range already referred to as dividing the coast region from the table-lands.

Nearly one-half of Persia Proper was uninhabitable. The mountain regions could support only a scanty population. The sandy plains, devoid of vegetation and incrusted with salt, could sustain no animal life. It was on the hill-slopes, and by the banks of infrequent rivers, and in the valleys that a population accumulated and flourished. The uplands generally tended to sterility, and the landscape in such regions had a touch of desolation, dropping away to a brown horizon of cheerlessness and solitude.

The forests of Persia were in the mountains. Between Bebahan and Shiraz there is a tract of fine wood land sixty miles in extent, and from the latter city eastward towards Carmania is an attractive country of low hills covered with timber and divided by luxuriant valleys. The plains about Shiraz and Kazerun are beautiful in appearance, and even under their scanty supply of water produces abundant crops. Such is the general character of Persia Proper, the heart of the great Empire of the Achæmenian kings.

Turning to the provinces and countries which were conquered by the Persian monarchs and added to their dominions, we find many of those already described in the histories of Chaldæa, Media, and Babylonia. But the limits of Persia reached far beyond these countries, and embraced others of which no account has hitherto been given. Some of the regions with which we are now brought into contact lay eastward from Persia Proper, some to the far north-west, and some to the south-west, looking to Africa.

Beginning with the eastern part of the Empire, we have first of all the Great Plateau of IRAN, a vast region extending through twenty degrees of longitude, and raised to an elevation of five thousand feet above the level of the sea. It has a breadth of seven degrees, forming a kind of rectangle with an area of five hundred and fifty thousand square miles. The grand plateau extends from the Zagros mountains to the valley of the Indus, and embraces the great countries of Khorasan and Afghanistan.

Two-thirds of this vast region are a desert. The plain is high and rainless. The few streams that descend from the mountain slopes flow a short distance and are swallowed in the sands. Of all the rivers on the northern and western sides, only two contribute sufficient water to form lakes. On the south the mountains are cleft here and there for the

passage of some more ambitious stream to the sea, but for the rest running water is a stranger. With the coming of the summer heats the limits of the desert are greatly extended; for many districts which in the brief spring-time put up a sudden verdure, wither to desolation under the cloudless skies and fierce suns of July. At such seasons of the year the river beds are dry and the air glows like a furnace.

In the western portions of the great plateau the conditions of nature are modified by the proximity of the mountains. Here the surface of the country is broken into ridges. Rain is more abundant, and many small streams trace the valleys with a band of life. In the south and east also the same changes occur as the limits of the table-land are approached, and the plains grow green as the hills rise above the horizon. But within these surrounding borders of comparative fertility there is little else than a barren waste of blackened sand: nor will there ever be.

On the north of the region here described is another not more attractive. It is the district occupied by the modern Khiva and Bokhara, bounded on the west by the Caspian, and running eastward through fourteen degrees of longitude. Its breadth is about the same, extending from the thirty-sixth to the fiftieth parallel of north latitude, a distance of more than eight hundred miles. The whole region is one of the most forbidding in the world. It is the great Sahara of the North, a vast trackless plain of red or black sand, blown up here and there into dunes by the bleak wind which finds nought else upon which to waste its vagrant energies. If it were not for the ranges of the Great and Little Balkan which, near the Caspian, break the surface with moderate elevations and furnish the conditions of rain, the whole region would be a treeless and almost lifeless desert.

To the modifying influence of these mountains must be added the presence of two large rivers which traverse the waste and pour their volumes into the basin of the Aral. These are the Oxus (the modern Amoo) and the Jaxartes (the modern Sir)—two streams of considerable historical importance. Others of lesser note are the Murgah, the Abi Meshed, the Herirud, the Maymene, the Balkh, and the Ak Su. Most of these take their rise on the slopes of the mountains referred to, and flow desertward until they are lost in the sands. In some instances small, brackish lakes are formed as the termini of these streams. It is along the banks of these rivers that the only fertile soil of the country—except in proximity to the Balkans—is found. Here, in good seasons, a fair degree of fruitfulness is seen, and a line of orchards and cornfields and meadows marks the course of the river across the waste. Here, from times immemorial, the larger part of the population inhabiting this desolate region has been gathered.

Lying to the east of this desert of Bokhara and Khiva is the Valley of the Indus, one of the most ancient seats of civilization. Its importance has been but feebly apprehended by the Western nations, to whom the Nile of the East has seemed like a dream on the horizon. The region drained by the Indus is divided into two distinct regions, a broad, triangular plain towards the north, and a long, narrow valley towards the south. The broad district of the north is a territory through which, gathering their waters from the hills, flow five considerable rivers converging into one—the Indus; and hence to this division of the country is given the name of Punjab, or *Five Rivers*. At the lower angle of this district the five valleys narrow into one, and through this to the sea flows the river of India. This valley is known in modern geography as Sinde, which is merely a variation of the word India or Hindu.[1]

The Punjab region has at the north a breadth of about three hundred and fifty miles, but the country narrows towards the south until, at the confluence of the Five Rivers, the breadth is not more than seventy miles. The whole length of the Indus valley is about eight hundred miles, and the average breadth below the Punjab is, approximately, fifty miles. The upper division of the country is mountainous towards the north, and

[1] In the native language the Indus is called the *Sindus*.

abuts against Kashmeer and Thibet. Sloping southward it sinks into a plain whose natural resources are unsurpassed. The area of the Punjab is about fifty thousand square miles.

The valley of the Indus proper is almost as fertile as that of the Nile. Like that river, the Indus is the father of the land. He divides his channel, giving off here an arm and there a branch for the perpetual nourishment of the hungry soil. All the way down from the twenty-eighth parallel to the sea these diverging channels are found at intervals, sometimes rejoining the parent tide and sometimes diffusing themselves completely in the districts which they water. As we descend to the sea we find on the right the ranges of Suliman and Hala, between which and the river lies the important plain of Gandava, with an area of seven thousand square miles—one of the richest tracts in the world. From this point southward the valley narrows for a hundred miles, and thence to the sea expands into the Delta of the Indus, a district of an area of more than one thousand square miles, rich as Egypt, but breeding malaria and subject to inundations. This is the rice field of India.

Passing westward from the mouth of the Indus along the coast to the Persian Gulf the traveler enters the long, narrow strip of shore land, once the native seat of the Ichthyophagi, or Fish Eaters. The region is bounded on the north by the Great Plateau of Iran, and on the south by the Indian Ocean. Its length from east to west is about five hundred and fifty miles, but its greatest breadth scarcely exceeds twenty miles. It slopes seaward, has a surface of scorched sand, and most of the streams run dry in summer. The winter rains, however, blown up heavily from the Indian Ocean, completely saturate the soil, and in some parts there is for a considerable season good pasturage and some fair crops of grain.

The next district requiring notice is that which is formed by the eastern outspreading and descent of the Elburz mountains. This high chain divides into a number of parallel ranges of no great height, between which flow such streams as the Ettrek and the Gurgan; and the valleys thus formed, with their general trend to the East, were among the most delightful within the limits of the Persian Empire. Another district less attractive was that lying east of Sogdiana and Bactria, the modern Chinese Tartary. It was one of the native seats of the Scythians, and contributed to the Persian army a quota of fearless half-savages. The country in the north and west was comparatively well-watered and fertile, but the remainder was an arid waste.—Such were the Eastern provinces of the Empire of Cyrus and Darius.

The North-western districts of that Empire were still more important. West of the Caspian Sea lies the great table-land of Armenia. This is indeed a continuation westward of the Great Plateau of Iran: they touch at the corners, and would be continuous but for the interposition of the Caspian. The western portion of the great elevation embraces not only Armenia Proper, but also a part of Modern Persia and most of Asia Minor.

The mountain ranges traversing this vast region extend from east to west, with transverse spurs running north and south. The most important chain is the Taurus, which really supports the plateau on the south-west, and traverses a large part of Asia Minor. The peaks of this range in the western portion rise to the height of ten thousand feet, and further east the elevation is still greater, reaching the line of perpetual snow. On the opposite or northern side of the plateau the mountains are not so high. These extend from the Mysian Olympus to the neighborhood of Kars. Between this northern range and the Taurus several parallel chains of slight elevation occur, and this country of high ridges and mountain spurs is Armenia—one of the most beautiful and valuable parts of the Persian Empire. From this province came the horses which the nobility proudly rode to battle. From these mountain slopes and hill sides was taken the larger part of the timber and stone demanded by the architects of Ecbatana and Persepolis.

West of Armenia lay Asia Minor, a country of vast resources. The general elevation is not great. A single mountain, Argæus,

rises to the height of thirteen thousand feet. The country is one of broad plains well-watered and fertile, rich in timber and minerals. Nearly every important product of the north temperate zone was found in this delightful region. The principal rivers were the Meander and the Hermus. Outside of the mountainous borders of Armenia and Asia Minor, on the north and north-east, were various lowland districts which were overrun by the armies of the Empire, but were not of much historical importance. South of the Taurus lay Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, provinces the names of which frequently occur in the annals of the times.

It must not be supposed that the limit of Persian ambition on the west was marked by the shore-line of the Ægean. Many of the littoral islands and the more remote Cyclades were both claimed and conquered by the successors of Cyrus. Of these may be mentioned Rhodes, Cos, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, Tenedos, Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, and Thasos. Further on, the extensive countries of Thrace and Pæonia were subjugated and held for twenty years by Darius. The general character of these islands and countries will be properly considered in the History of Greece.

More important than any other island conquest was that of Cyprus.[1] Here were fine forests. Here grew the vine and the olive. Here the cornfields flourished, and here the copper mines poured out their wealth. The island is one hundred and forty miles in length and thirty-five miles broad, somewhat mountainous in the interior, but in all respects a beautiful and valuable country.

Of the African districts brought under dominion of the Persians, the principal was Egypt, of which an ample geographical description has already been given in Book First. Beyond Egypt was Libya, a desert country dotted with oases. The tract lay along the Mediterranean, and varied considerably in breadth from a narrow strip to districts several hundred miles in width. The chief products were dates and the hides of wild animals. From this region, moreover, a large proportion of the African slaves of antiquity were gathered by traders and pirates.

Further west along the coast was Cyrenaica, lying between the meridians of 20° and 23° 15′ E. The country is a highland, and is for that reason well-watered and fruitful. Rich pastures and fields of grain might be seen even from times most ancient. The people were much more civilized than were the Libyan savages, and the province—which was the westernmost of the Persian dominions—was always regarded as among the best in Africa.

It will be remembered that in addition to vast districts and countries—Eastern, North-western, South-western—here described as parts of the Empire of the Achæmenians, all of the countries of Media, Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt were likewise embraced in their almost world-wide dominion. The great bulk of the territory lay to the east; but outside of the valleys of the Indus and the Oxus the lands stretching out beyond Persepolis were of little value. Civilization has never been able, in those vast and arid regions, to maintain more than a precarious footing. The greater part was a riverless, shrubless waste, better adapted to the cultivation of jackals and bustards than to the development of highways and the growth of cities.

In the western half of the Empire nature was more generous. Here were the rich and powerful countries of Susiana, Media, Babylonia, Assyria, to say nothing of the fertile and productive countries of Syria, Armenia, and Asia Minor. Egypt herself, the harvest-field of the whole earth, was for a while included among the territorial treasures of the descendants of Cambyses. Within their dominions six great rivers throbbed like tremendous arteries, sending life from the mountains to the seas. The Jaxartes, the Oxus, the Indus, the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile—such were the mighty currents on whose banks were gathered the subjects of Darius, and on whose bosoms floated fleets of boats bearing his treasures. It is now fitting to examine somewhat in detail the resources of the Empire, as determined by its climate and other natural conditions.

[1] It was from the Greek word *cyprios* [sc. *chalcos*], meaning copper, that the name of Cyprus was derived.

CHAPTER XXVII.—CLIMATE AND PRODUCTS.

IT is impossible to sketch in general terms the climatic peculiarities of a country extending through twenty degrees of latitude. The difficulty is heightened if the country extends for three thousand miles from east to west, and varies in its level from sunken gorges one thousand three hundred feet below the sea to mountains whose summits are twenty thousand feet in height. Only specific observations on different parts of the vast tract can give any adequate idea of the inner moods and outward aspects of Nature.

In Persia Proper—both ancient and modern—there are two kinds of climate. The narrow strip along the coast is a region of torrid heats. No snow is ever seen. Through the larger part of the year rain seldom falls. The one redeeming feature, so far as moisture is concerned, is the heavy dew, which saturates whatever is exposed to it at night. The early mornings are from this cause cool and refreshing. But as midday approaches, the scorching rays of the sun drive away every particle of vapor and burn the earth to a crisp. The thermometer marks as high as 125° F. Nature lies weltering or is blistered with heated sands blown in clouds before some sudden gust or sirocco. Only certain types of animal and vegetable life can survive the fierce heats of the worse than tropical summers. Men retreat from the coast and find refuge in the foot-hills, or even ascend the mountains, till the torrid season is past.

With the approach of autumn, when the reign of the sun is abbreviated and occasional showers are blown up from the sea, the situation again becomes tolerable, and such life as can be supported in the region finds a respite from the excesses of the climate. Along the whole coast, as far east as the excessive limit of the Empire, the same extreme heats are found, modified about the estuaries of occasional rivers into the damp suffocations of water-vapor and malaria.

Passing into the uplands of Persia, a great change is encountered. The winters are cold. The thermometer marks fifteen degrees below the freezing point. Snow falls abundantly. Severe storms drive across the face of the country. Then, with the opening of spring, comes a heavy fall of rain. In summer the showers are few and scanty, and the autumns are very dry. The temperature of midsummer is not enervating, being nearly always modified by cool breezes. The fluctuation, however, between the noonday heat and the chill of night is so considerable as to put the constitution to the test of endurance.

Turning to the mountainous countries of the Elburz, the Zagros, and Armenia, a still more rigorous climate is experienced. With the return of the sun in summer the weather is bright and genial, but the winter blasts are furious, and the snow heaps up to a great depth in the gorges of the hills. The climate of Asia Minor was, on the whole, the best of any in the confines of the Empire. The meteorological character of Syria has been sufficiently noted in connection with the history of Babylonia; and that of Egypt, in Book First. Cyrenaica had a delightful climate. Except in winter there was no rain at all, but the summer vapors of the Mediterranean, heavy to saturation, drooping over the cool uplands of this peculiar region, came down in dews so copious as to leave all nature dripping: it was sufficient. In the winter time violent storms rolled along the coast, bellowing with thunder and pouring out floods of rain.

On the extreme east of the dominions of the Achæmenians lay the valley of the Indus, with such climatic conditions as are not, perhaps, encountered anywhere else in the world. The heats are so oppressive, the atmosphere so sultry, as to quench the energy of the strongest race if long exposed to their debili-

tating influence. For a while, in a rainless season, the valley will be filled with intolerable clouds of dust, driven into the eyes and nostrils of every thing alive, and then a tornado will roll up from the horizon and pour out a flood, whirled into sheets by furious winds. Then will come a lull; the stifling air becomes laden with hot vapors, under the influence of which human nature collapses. The delta of the great river is a locality so hot and dank, so infected with miasmatic vapors and flooded with poisonous waters, as to be unendurable except for a small portion of the year.[1]

Turning to the vegetable growths of the Empire, and beginning with the woodland, we find in Persia Proper a valuable, but not very extensive, forest. The prevailing trees are oaks, sycamores, poplars, planes, willows, cypresses, acacias, and junipers. The principal shrubs are the wild fig, the wild almond, the tamarisk, the myrtle, the box, the rhododendron, the tragacanth bush, the blackberry, and the liquorice-plant. Perhaps no country in the world is richer in native fruits than Persia. The date-palm flourishes. Lemons, oranges, and pomegranates abound. Grapes, apricots, and plums are found in all parts. Peaches, quinces, and apples are indigenous to the country. Pears, figs, and mulberries are gathered in abundance. The "royal" walnuts, sold in all the markets of the world, are from Persia. The almonds and pistachio-nuts served in the great hotels of Europe and America are in many cases a Persian product. In short, almost every variety of fruit produced in the north temperate zone either grows wild in this land, or else yields abundantly under transplantation.

In the matter of grain the products are almost equally various. Besides the usual small crops of the field many products peculiar to the country are added to her resources. Of this sort are madder, and indigo, and henna. Opium and tobacco are also produced in large quantities, though it is quite certain that some of these were unknown in ancient times. Cotton has been from time immemorial a product of Persia, but Indian corn is of recent introduction.

The wild animals are almost identical with those of Mesopotamia.[1] The ichneumon, however, is not found west of the Zagros. It inhabits the strip of hot country next to the Indian Ocean. The birds of Persia are the same as those of Assyria and Babylonia. To these must be added the oyster-catcher, the hooded crow, and the cuckoo. In the matter of song birds the Persian woods and hedges can boast of a greater variety than almost any other country, thrushes and nightingales being of the number. Swallows, sparrows, and blackbirds also add their less artistic music.

The supply of fish was, so far as the coast countries were concerned, quite inexhaustible. In the Hot district of Southern Persia this article of food gave a name to the inhabitants, who were known to the ancient writers as Ichthyophagi. The sea also gave an unusual contribution in its whales, which were often cast ashore. The bones were a great treasure to the natives, who used them for building huts. The waters along the coast abounded in oyster-beds, from which the inhabitants scooped up with little exertion a large proportion of their food.

The rivers of the Empire were, as a general thing, well supplied with fish; but the same could not be said for the lakes, whose brackish waters were rarely capable of supporting life. The reptiles of the country were of the same species as those inhabiting Mesopotamia. Snakes have always prevailed in the Persian plateau, but they are not especially venomous. The insects, however, are peculiarly troublesome, many of the species being of a sort to endanger life by their bite or sting. Scorpions are everywhere, creeping into houses and furniture. In some districts there are poisonous spiders or tarantulas. There are also centipedes, whose bite is sometimes fatal. Among the lesser pests may be

[1] It remains for modern science to determine whether *any* locality, unless actually infected with living germs sown by some preceding contagion, will, under the influence of purely natural conditions, *produce disease*. If the so-called germ theory of disease be correct, then the question is answered in the negative.

[1] See Book Fifth, pp. 252–254.

mentioned musquitoes, which swarm and buzz and bite with the ferocity of those infesting the banks of the Lower Mississippi.

At intervals Persia is greatly afflicted with locusts. They sometimes swarm up like the devouring plagues of Syria and Egypt. They generally come on the winds which blow from the coasts of Arabia. The sky is not infrequently darkened with the clouds of these devastating creatures that drop in myriads on every spot of greenness, leaving it a desolation. It only remains for the inhabitants when visited with this plague to avenge themselves by *eating the eaters.*

The domestic animals of Persia are the same as those of Media and Mesopotamia. The most valuable are the sheep and the goat. Cows and oxen are less esteemed. The horses are of many fine breeds, from the fleet Arabian to the heavy Turcomans used for common service. The sheep are, for the most part, black or brown, small and short-legged, but bearing fleeces of great fineness. Camels were employed by the ancient, as by the modern Persians, for carrying heavy burdens, and for other service requiring great endurance.

In the times of the Empire the mines of Persia were already in a flourishing condition. Gold and silver, copper and iron, were the principal metals produced therefrom. It is believed that the red-lead mines near Neyriz were also worked with advantage in the times of the Achæmenians. As to salt, the supply was limitless. From the exposed beds of lakes, and in some districts from the surface of the earth, it was taken up with little labor. In Carmania and some other provinces rock salt was found of several colors, and in great abundance. Near the city of Dalaki there were springs of naphtha and bitumen. Sulphur was a product of several districts, but the values of this mineral were little known or appreciated.

The pearl-fisheries of the Persian Gulf have been famous since the days of Darius. The pearls gathered from this source were reckoned the finest of all the East. In the uplands of the north several varieties of hard gems were found, but they were for the most part of kinds less valuable than those of Babylonia and India.

Passing beyond the limits of Persia Proper, we come again to those great countries—Egypt, Chaldæa, Assyria, Media—whose animal and vegetable products and mineral resources have already been described in the preceding Books. Outside of the borders of these countries, in regions of which only the geography has thus far been sketched, there were many animals unknown in the dominions of Nebuchadnezzar and Ramses. In the country between the Elburz mountains and the Caspian the tiger has his haunts. He is also found on the borders of the Sea of Aral and in the valley of the Indus. In the latter locality elephants were not infrequent objects of wonder to Western travelers. The water of the Indus and the jungles along the banks were the native abode of the alligator and the crocodile. The hippopotamus was found only in Egypt. In Bactria was the home of the two-humped camel, that creature of prodigious strength and patient endurance, whose qualities made him almost a necessity of ancient civilization. The celebrated goat of Angora, with its heavy fleece of white, silk-like wool, should also be mentioned among the animals of the Empire. In Armenia and parts of Afghanistan the elk flourished and was reckoned among the most royal beasts of the chase.

Around the peaks of the Taurus circled the great vulture. In the Delta of the Indus ibises were abundant. The ostrich ranged the sandy regions of Mesopotamia, but was not found on the Persian plateau. The other birds were either those which have been hitherto noticed in the Books on Babylonia and Egypt, or were such as are common in most parts of the north temperate zone. Some of the reptiles require particular mention.

Of these first the iguana. This creature is found in Syria and Egypt. It is from a foot to three feet in length, and is the color of an olive, streaked with black. This is the animal which is so cordially hated in Mohammedan countries. Its attitude is thought to be *in imitation of the followers of the Prophet when*

they go to prayer! Therefore it is mercilessly killed by the faithful.

Contrary to popular belief the Egyptian asp is a reptile of considerable size, sometimes growing to the length of six feet. It is an exceedingly poisonous serpent and is easily angered. It has the power of distending the skin of its neck to a wonderful degree, and this it does when its wrath is kindled. It feeds on mice, frogs, and other vermin, and is not considered an unmixed evil even by those who are exposed to its often fatal presence. In the desert districts of Syria is found the cerastes, or horned snake, whose bite is still more deadly than that of the asp. The creature lies buried in the sand, from which it differs but little in color. Unnoticed it springs out like the rattlesnake, and a sudden twinge in its victim's foot or hand is the signal of doom.

In the same countries with the cerastes and the asp is found the chameleon—that strange creature which assimilates the color of its surroundings. It has a most oddly shaped body, a long prehensile tail like that of an opossum, and a protruding eye of unusual brilliancy. Its motions are contradictory and ludicrous. Its pace is that of a snail, and the creature could never "make a living" but for the precision and lightning-like rapidity with which its long, round tongue is darted forth to seize its prey. Whatever is thus taken is gulped like a flash, and then the odd beast is as sober and devout as ever. The chameleon is the *bête noir* of the bugs of the Orient.

CHAPTER XXVIII.—PEOPLE AND CITIES.

CCORDING to the best ethnological views of modern times the great Aryan race, now distributed through Europe and America, had its origin within the Persian Empire. The province of Bactria has generally been selected as the geographical source of this widespread and aggressive family of mankind. From their native seat the primitive Aryans seem to have moved southward. The oldest division migrated into the Punjab, and passed thence down the various valleys to the confluence of the rivers in the Indus—and thence to the sea. Thus was established the Indic branch of the human family. A second division spread over the Great Plateau of Iran, constituting the Iranic stock, of which the Persian race became the central and principal development. The Medes, of whom an account has already been given, were a collateral branch of the same stock, and were thus allied by blood with the people who subverted them. These two races, very properly combined in the one ethnic title of Medo-Persian, were the principal and only noteworthy developments of the Iranian stock.

The time of the early tribal migrations here referred to is lost in prehistoric shadows. It was not until about the eighth century B. C. that the Medo-Persians assume an important part in the affairs of nations. But Berosus gives to the Medes an influence over surrounding tribes as early as B. C. 2400. If such a date be allowed, it would make the Iranians as old a people as the Chaldæans themselves. It will be remembered that tradition assigns to Chaldæa a "Median" dynasty among the first that ruled that country. An inscription of Tiglath-Pileser about B. C. 1100, mentions the "country of the Medes," and the same reference occurs on one of the black obelisks belonging to the ninth century.

The early Iranic race, with its semi-nomadic habits, divided into many branches, ramifying into distant provinces. People of this race mixed with the Susianians on the south and spread westward into Armenia and to the shores of the Ægean. But, as already said, the home and principal seats of this people were and ever remained in Media and the

plateau of Persia. They constituted the vigor and soul of those vast populations, which were bound together for a season by the genius of Cambyses and Cyrus. Bearing this fact in mind, it is appropriate to consider the ethnic character of some of the provincial peoples of the Empire.

Beginning at the south-east with the vast region now divided between Afghanistan and Beloochistan, we find the country appropriated by many tribes, some of which are comparatively unknown in history. Here dwelt the Sagartians, the Cossæans, the Parthians, the Gandarians, the Sattagydians, and the Gedrosians. The native seats of the Sagartians and the Cossæans were in the western portion of Afghanistan. The former people were much more powerful and widely distributed than the latter. They were scattered in different parts of the country from the Elburz to the borders of Persia, and were a hardy, warlike people. The Cossæans were concentrated about the mountains of Siah-Koh.

Perhaps the most important of the races above mentioned were the Parthians—a people whose courage gave them fame as far west as Rome. Their territory lay south-east of the Caspian, embracing what is now the northern portion of Khorassan. In early times they were nomadic, having no large cities. Their valor in war gave them, in the time of the Empire, a certain preëminence over the surrounding nations. The Parthians were thought to be of Scythic origin. They armed themselves in the same fashion with that barbaric race, and were regarded as the equals of the Scythians in those extraordinary feats of horsemanship and archery for which the latter were so celebrated. The Parthian language also indicated the race-affinity between this people and the Scyths.

The original abode of the Gandarians was Kabul, and the region on both sides of the river of that name. They spread out eastward to the upper tributaries of the Indus, and held all that mountainous district which constitutes the north-eastern corner of the great plateau. The Sattagydians lived south of the country of the Gandarians, in the district between the valley of the Indus and the desert. Both of these wild races were brave and hardy, but were less populous and daring than the Parthians. The Sattagydians occupied that part of Afghanistan not held by the Sagartians, that is, the region between the Ghuzni river and the Indus valley. They were a tribe of about the same numbers and character as the Sattagydians, though the territory occupied by the latter was much superior to that of the former.

Below the country of the last named nation, in the south-eastern corner of the great plateau, dwelt the Gedrosians. They held the larger part of the modern Beloochistan, a region of few rivers and many mountains. The Gedrosians were regarded by the Persian and Macedonian kings as a people of considerable importance, and the Roman historians and proconsuls frequently refer to them in respectful terms.

Such were the principal half-civilized nations belonging to the eastern portion of the Empire of Darius. It only remains to notice the tribe of the Mysians, who occupied the western part of the Hot region bordering on the sea, and the Persian Scythians, whose bad fame has been more than once referred to in the preceding pages. Their seat was the great plain of Chinese Tartary. On the west lay Sogdiana and Bactria; on the north were the mountains of Tien-chan, and on the east the desert of Cobi. These barbarians were called by Homer the "cheese-eating, mare-milking Scythians." Herodotus describes them as savages skilled in archery and horsemanship. By Hippocrates they are referred to as gross, flabby, loose-jointed beasts, covered with scattering hair. It was their custom to drink the blood of the first enemy whom they slew in fight. The body of the dead foe was scalped and skinned *à la mode*, and the delicate trophies thus obtained were preserved as souvenirs of the pleasant days of war. When their kings died a great many men and beasts were sacrificed in their honor, while soothsayers and magicians attended to the black arts of the occasion. It was these refined moralists who gave the Persians some of their hottest work, and slew in battle their most illustrious king.

In the plateau of Asia Minor, west of Armenia, lived the Cappadocians. They were called by the Greek historians the "White Syrians." They were a people of the Semitic race, hardy and vigorous, but their character was marred by the foolish superstitions to which they abandoned themselves. They built many temples, the most famous being that of Comana, dedicated to the goddess Ma, the Bellona of the Romans. The high-priest of the nation was a dignitary second only in honor to the king, whom he greatly influenced in affairs of state.

On the other side of the river Halys dwelt the Phrygians, one of the most ancient nations of Asia Minor. They are thought to have been of an Iranian origin, and thus to have been allied by blood with the Medes and Persians. Their ancient king was the mythical Midas, who turned whatever he touched into gold. In the time of the Persian Empire the Phrygians were regarded as one of the most progressive and cultured peoples in the western dominions of the great kings. Before this time they had been subdued by the Lydians, and when in their turn they were overthrown by the Persians, the kingdom of Phrygia went to the new master from beyond the Tigris.

Of the cities of the Empire many have already been described in the preceding Books. Among those which have not yet received any extended notice, the greatest was PERSEPOLIS. This was the capital of Persia Proper in the times when under the Achæmenian kings that country held the leadership of Western Asia. The city was situated thirty-five miles north of the modern Shiraz, in the plain of Merdasht, near the confluence of the rivers Medus and Araxes. This spot, surrounded by lofty mountains, is one of the most beautiful situations in the world. The plain is well-watered by the two rivers Bendamir and Pulwar, and is fruitful to luxuriance. After the removal of the government from PASARGADÆ, the ancient capital, in the time of Darius Hystaspis, Persepolis became the seat of the Empire until conquest and ambition carried the great kings to Susa and Babylon.

In modern times all that remains of Persepolis is a ruin, but from it has been gathered a fair idea of the magnificence of the ancient city. Over a considerable portion of the plain the broken columns and crumbling architraves of the once splendid capital lie scattered. On every hand is the evidence of the massiveness and solidity and grandeur which characterized the buildings of the Persians. Near one of the mountain spurs, projecting somewhat into the plain, are the ruins of the great palace of Xerxes. The basement is still intact. The platform is one thousand five hundred feet in length and nine hundred and thirty-six feet wide. Three of the sides are supported by walls of great strength, and the fourth abuts against the hill. The basement is composed of three elevations or terraces, the middle one being over forty feet in height. The details of this great palace will be hereafter noticed in connection with the Architecture of the Persians.

In the hillside near the ruins of the city are the celebrated rock tombs of the kings. One of them still bears the inscription of Darius Hystaspis. About two miles north of this interesting locality are the remains of one of the fortified gates of the city, grand and massive. In wealth and population Persepolis was, next after Susa, the greatest city of Western Asia east of the Tigris. It was destroyed in the time of Alexander of Macedon, and after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes is no longer mentioned among the towns of Persia.

SUSA, the capital of Susiana, was called the "Lily."[1] It was the lily of the Empire, one of the residences of the kings, and the chief treasury of the kingdom. It was situated between the Choaspes and the Coprates rivers in one of the most beautiful spots in the Persian dominions. The city was walled after the manner of Babylon, and had a circumference of twenty miles. It was founded by Tithonus, the father of Memnon, and became noted at an early day for its splendor and wealth. Here it was, in B. C. 325, that Alexander the Great celebrated his marriage with Parysatis, using the treasures of the city with a liberal hand in honor of his nuptials.

[1] The Hebrew word *shushan*, from which Susa is derived, means *a lily*.

It is only in recent times that antiquaries have succeeded in establishing beyond question the site of the ancient capital.

The most important cities of Asia Minor were EPHESUS, SARDIS, and MILETUS. The last named was the capital of the province of Caria, and was, in the times of the Hellenic ascendency, a member of the Ionian confederacy. The town was situated on a headland or promontory opposite Mycale, and commanded the bay, into which flowed the river Meander. The builders of the city were Carians and Cretans. The leader of the latter was named Miletus, and from him the town took its appellation. At a later date numbers of Greek traders and colonists settled in the place and gave it its commercial importance. Perhaps no other city on the shores of the Ægean carried its trade and settlements so far or prospered so greatly as did Miletus. It became the envy of surrounding nations. The Lydians twice made unsuccessful war upon this maritime metropolis, and not until Crœsus led his army against it did the stronghold succumb. Then for a brief space the city was a Lydian trophy, until Cyrus came into the West and swept all within his grasp.

MILETUS.

The city of SARDIS, capital of Lydia, was situated on the river Pactolus, near the confluence of that stream and the Hermus, about forty-five miles east from Smyrna. It was one of the most ancient cities of Western Asia. The name is mythological, and is thought to have been given in honor of the Syrian Sun-god. The city was already famous at the time of the composition of the Homeric poems, in which there are many references to the Lydians and their capital. The site was specially favorable to the foundation of a city. Here, from the hills of Mount Tmolus and Mount Sipylus, the river brings down its sands of gold. From no other place in all Asia could the precious dust be so easily and plentifully gathered. In the time of Crœsus, Sardis was regarded as one of the richest cities in the world, and her fame has been coëxtensive with history. The site is marked at the present day only by a few ruins, of which the most important are the still-standing walls of the ancient acropolis and the remains of a great amphitheater, cut partly in the side of a hill.

EPHESUS, like Miletus, was a member of the Ionian confederacy. It was situated near the mouth of the river Cayster, and was said to have been founded by the Amazons. From a very early date it was a place of great prosperity. In the way of fame it claimed to be the birthplace of Homer. More substantial was the distinction of the Ephesians in claiming Heraclitus, Hermodorus, and Parrhasius, all of whom were born in this city. The tutelary divinity of the place was Diana, whose great temple was one of the Seven Wonders of the World. It was enlarged and restored on seven different occasions, the expense being met by contributions from all Asia. On the night of the birth of Alexander the Great a certain slave, named Erostratus, in order to immortalize himself by perpetrating a capricious crime, set fire to the magnificent structure, and it was burned to the ground. When Alexander was grown to years he offered to rebuild the temple on condition of receiving its name, but this was refused, and the Ephesians themselves undertook the task of restoration, which was not completed for two hundred and twenty years.

The temple of Diana was the chief glory of the city. The style was Grecian. The length of the ground-plan was four hundred and twenty-five feet and the breadth two hundred and twenty feet. The structure was thus four times as large as the Parthenon at Athens. The statue of the goddess was one of the finest works of art ever produced. It was wrought of ivory and gold, and was a marvel of costliness and beauty. The temple was decorated with sculptures by Praxiteles and one of the masterpieces of Apelles. A representation of the temple was stamped on the coins and medals of the city. Next among the wonders of Ephesus was the great theater, of which a good portion has been exhumed, and is still well preserved. It was a vast circle of stone rising seat on seat, until the capacity was sufficient to accommodate fifty thousand persons.

TEMPLE OF DIANA AT EPHESUS, RESTORED.

In the course of the preceding Histories of Egypt, Chaldæa, Assyria, Media, Babylonia, and in the present Book on Persia, a pretty full delineation of the race-character of the peoples of Western Asia and the northern parts of Africa has been attempted. Sketches of considerable length have also been presented of those fundamental facts in geography and climate upon which the dispositions and genius of nations are so largely based. A summary of the prevalent animals and plants and fruits of the various countries has been given to the end that a just estimate may be made of the means of subsistence and the manner of life in those ancient times when the relations of man with the animal kingdom were so much more important than they are to-day. Descriptions also have been presented — some brief, some more ample — of the leading cities of antiquity, those vast aggregations of humanity which, in the absence of a vigorous and intelligent country populace, really constituted the ancient state. It will not, therefore, be necessary hereafter to refer so often or so extensively to the above-mentioned primary facts in civilization, but rather to give a larger relative importance to the actual movements of human society, taking it for granted that the ethnic, geographical, and climatic conditions and surroundings of the people under review are sufficiently understood. In entering upon the history of the Greeks and Romans it will again be desirable to note the external conditions by which these peoples and the other races of Europe have been affected in habits, manners, and deeds.

CHAPTER XXIX.—ARTS AND SCIENCES.

AMONG the peoples of Western Asia, the Persians, after the Babylonians and the Ninevites, stand first in architectural skill. For a long time their merits remained unnoticed or unacknowledged. The remote geographical position of Persia, lying beyond the Zagros, prevented the Greek traders and historians from obtaining personal information respecting the artistic achievements of the subjects of Cyrus and Cambyses. Nor, is it unlikely that at a later date, when in the times of Alexander a better knowledge of the architecture and sculpture of the Persians became diffused in the West, there was a twinge of jealousy in the Greek writers when they came to speak of works that might rival those of their own country. Neither Herodotus nor Xenophon ever visited Persia, and the references to architecture made by Ctesias, who dwelt for seventeen years at the court of Susa, are few and meager. At the time of the overthrow of the Empire by the Macedonians, the wrath of Alexander was loosed against the palaces and cities of his foes, and the pride of the land was in a great measure extinguished by the fagot. Nevertheless, the ruins that were left behind and the occasional accounts of the Greek authors have furnished sufficient data from which to derive a tolerable notion of Persian art at the epoch of the Achæmenians. Indeed, in modern times more attention has been given by travelers and antiquarians to the remains of Persepolis than to those of Babylon and Nineveh.

As in most of the ancient kingdoms, so in Persia, the grandest display of architectural skill was in the construction and decoration of royal palaces. Owing to the purer and simpler religious doctrines of the Persians, their temples were relatively less grand and less numerous than those of the Mesopotamian nations and the Egyptians. After the palaces, the most striking works of the Empire were the tombs which the great kings, with feelings, no doubt, akin to those of the Pharaohs, built for their final abodes. It is, then, to the houses of the kings—living and dead—that we must turn for our knowledge of the style and character of the building arts of the Persians.

There are in Persia Proper the remains of two great palaces. One stood within the walls of Persepolis, and the other in the immediate vicinity of the city. The latter, which was the great edifice to which the torch was applied by the orders of Alexander, is the best preserved ruin in the country, and is in its present state sufficient, under careful examination, to give a fair idea of the original edifice. It is built on a raised platform, after the manner prevalent in Assyria and Babylonia. The exact philosophy of such a method has never been ascertained. Perhaps the ideal consideration was merely the elevation of the king's house to a level from which the monarch might look down on his people. There were also certain physical advantages to be gained from the high situation. In those countries where the summer heats were excessive, the king's halls would have a cooler breeze than in the plain. The elevated position was also more defensible. In some countries, as in Babylonia, there were many ills and pests which were avoided in a measure on the high platform where stood the house of the king. Here the miasm of the lowlands was not felt. Here the insects and vermin which plagued the people of less favored situations were kept at bay by the perpendicular—sometimes jutting—walls and solid masonry of the basement.

The platform of the great palace just outside of Persepolis was built of massive blocks of hewn stone. These were held together by strong clamps of iron. The blocks were purposely cut of different shapes and sizes, and were fitted together according to a plan which

contemplated strength and solidity. The outside of the wall, which was in the lowest part twenty feet in height, was smooth and perpendicular. The ground plan was a rectangle, the dimensions of which have been given in the preceding chapter.[1] On the north side, however, the native rock of the mountain spur, against which the platform abuts, was used as a part of the substructure, and this end of the wall is set at an angle to the other sides of eighty degrees instead of the right angle, which measures the remaining corners. The surface of the wall is purposely broken at intervals with certain angular projections and recesses, after the same style noticed in the basement stories of the palaces at Babylon and Nineveh.

The platform consists of a series of terraces, three of which are still seen. The lowest of these is on the south side. It has an elevation of twenty feet, is eight hundred feet in length and one hundred and eighty feet wide. The northern terrace has much greater dimensions, being thirty-five feet high, and having a breadth of about five hundred and fifty feet. The central terrace is still more grand, being forty-five feet in height. The length and breadth, however, are no greater than that of the northern elevation, being respectively seven hundred and seventy and four hundred feet. It was upon this central terrace that the palace proper was reared.

The ascent to the great platform was made by a system of staircases so massive and grand as to excite just wonder, even at the present. The broadest and noblest of these ascents is on the west side of the elevation near its northern end. The stairs composing the flight are of solid stone. They are of two sets, and are built at right-angles to the wall of the platform. At the first landing they diverge to the right and left, and then converge to a common landing on the upper level. The steps are very broad and low, being no more than three or four inches in height. Modern travelers ride up and down them without difficulty, the breadth of the flight being sufficient to allow of ten horsemen abreast. The ancient world has bequeathed to the modern no other example of a stairway so massive, so simple, so grand, so enduring.

The second ascent is on the north front of the second terrace leading to the summit. It consists of four flights of steps, two of them being central, and the other two distant about sixty feet on either side. The width of this second flight is sixteen feet, and the entire length of the staircase two hundred and twelve feet. The ascent is as gentle as in the flight on the western front of the lower platform described above, the elevation being at the rate of thirty-one steps in ten feet, or a little less than four inches to the step.

The chief difference between the two staircases is that the lower one on the west is perfectly plain, being composed of broad slabs of hewn stone laid with a solidity of adjustment which time has been unable to disturb. The faces of the second stairway, however, are covered with sculptures, the most interesting of any found among the relics of Persian greatness. One of the chief of these works is a relief of a lion devouring a bull, the figures being executed with great spirit. At the observer's left as he ascends the steps are eight colossal Persian guards, who stand sentry over the approach to their royal master. They are armed with spear and sword and shield, and are executed in a style worthy of the chisels of Greece. Another row of smaller figures, carrying the bow and quiver, stand in another part of the ascent, and though less striking are equally artistic. Further on, the wall was divided into three horizontal bands, each of which was occupied with an array of figures. Those in the upper band are nearly destroyed, but in the lower two divisions the sense of the work can be easily made out. In the middle band a large number of subject peoples are bringing (by their representatives) their tribute to the great king; while in the lower band the courtiers and officers of the monarch, arranged in rank according to their several dignities, are conducting the ceremonial of the court. In three different parts of the stairway slabs are left for the evident purpose of receiving inscriptions, and on one of these, written in Old Persian, are the following memorable words:

[1] See Book Sixth, p. 316.

"XERXES, THE GREAT KING, THE KING OF KINGS, THE SON OF KING DARIUS, THE ACHÆMENIAN." Thus is removed all doubt as to whose royal halls opened at the landing of these stairs, or under whose auspices the great palace was reared.

On the top of the terraces are the ruins of what were once the most splendid edifices in all Persia. It appears from the remains that the summit was not occupied by one continuous palace of great proportions, like the Louvre, but that no fewer than *ten* separate and distinct buildings were erected on the platform. One-half of these were structures of large dimensions, and the remaining five of but moderate size and importance. Four of the larger buildings were upon the summit of the central terrace, while the fifth of the first class stood at some distance between that elevation and the foot of the hill. Of the four structures on the central platform three were palaces consisting of sets of chambers and apartments suitable for the royal residence, but the fourth was an open Hall of Pillars of great extent and beauty, designed, as is believed by antiquarians, for the Audience Hall of the kings. The three palaces were the abodes of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes-Ochus, by whose architects they were no doubt respectively built. The House of Darius stood near the western edge of the elevation, between the Hall of Audience and the House of Artaxerxes. The ground-plan measured one hundred and thirty-five feet in length and about one hundred feet in breadth. It was the most elevated of all the buildings on the terrace, having the foundation fifteen feet higher than the level of the platform and five feet higher than the floor of the House of Xerxes. This difference in elevation, however, was perhaps more than compensated by the greater height of the buildings bearing the names of the later kings. The House of Darius is believed to have been but one story high, and to have measured in altitude no more than twenty-five feet. The whole building was comparatively simple, suggesting in design and execution the severe work of the early architects of Greece. The sculptured stairway was the most ornamental part of the edifice, the other parts being nearly devoid of decorations. By comparison the palace was of much less dimensions than those built by the kings of Nineveh: it was the chaste solidity and classic execution of the work rather than the size of the structure that gave fame to the edifice in which Darius planned the subjugation of the Greeks.

The remaining two palaces, those of Xerxes and Axtaxerxes-Ochus, were larger and more elaborate. The latter is a complete ruin, insomuch that no adequate idea of its style and details can be obtained. The former is still preserved in outline, from which it is known to have been a reproduction of the architecture of the palace of Darius. The great hall in this edifice was eighty feet square. In the portico were two rows of pillars, six in a row. Around the hall were the royal apartments in which the king and his household and officers had their abodes. These apartments were—unlike those of the Babylonian palaces—roofed over, the roofs being supported by rows of columns. The whole structure was thrown back to the rear edge of the terrace, so that the open space, instead of being distributed around the building, as in the case of the palace of Darius, was all thrown to the front. In the matter of ornamentation, as determined from the sculptures of the stairways, there is a marked change in taste from the style of the older buildings. In the halls and passages of the House of Xerxes the figures, instead of representing heroic combats, in which bulls and lions and the king himself are seen struggling for the mastery, depict the attendants of the monarch bearing viands and passing to and fro in such service as clearly belonged to a luxurious and sensual court.

In addition to the main buildings which crowned the great platform, it supported four gateways, which covered the approaches to the various palaces. It appears that these were a kind of guard stations, where sentries were posted to hold at bay any who might unduly come into the presence of the king. The largest one of these gateways stood opposite the center of the landing-place before the main stairway which led to the summit of the

platform. The structure was a great square, measuring eighty-two feet on each side. The walls were of enormous thickness, the roof supported by columns sixty feet in height. There were two portals through which passage must be sought to the space beyond, and these were thirty-five feet high and twelve feet in breadth. The portals were guarded without by colossal bulls, some of them having the heads of men and the wings of eagles, after the style prevalent in Assyria. The massive pillars of masonry in which these marvelous effigies are carved are still in a tolerable state of preservation, and the mythological monsters look out in solemn silence over the ruins of former glory.

It remains to notice briefly the two great pillared halls, which have been pronounced by competent judges to be the most marvelous pieces of architecture ever wrought by artists of the Aryan race in Asia. The first, known as the Hall of a Hundred Columns, was situated about the center of the great platform, rather nearer to the eastern than to the western edge. Here a grand square, two hundred and twenty-seven feet on each side, was laid off and inclosed with a tremendous wall of the uniform thickness of ten and a half feet. The whole space was covered over, the roof being supported by a hundred columns set in ten rows of ten columns each. Each of the four walls was pierced with two grand doorways, which stood facing the corresponding openings on the opposite side, the passage through leading between rows of columns on the right and left. In front of the main structure was a portico one hundred and eighty-three feet long by fifty-two feet in depth, the roof being supported by sixteen pillars, thirty-five feet in height. Between the portico and the main hall were three windows, and in the remaining three sides of the square the walls contained niches, finished above with a peculiar style of fluted ornamentation.

It is evident that the Hall of a Hundred Columns was a place of public ceremonies. All of the sculptures and decorations are of a sort to warrant this conclusion. It was not a place for couches and banquets and for the idle displays of courtiers, but for the formal dispatch of the important affairs of the Empire. The Achæmenian kings were not merely oriental figure-heads, but energetic rulers, who gave their first hours to business and the rest to relaxation, perhaps to luxury. The representations on the walls of the great hall show the monarch in a victorious struggle against some monster, real or fabulous, or else sitting in state, dispensing orders or receiving ambassadors from foreign lands. In such scenes he occupies the throne, over which is spread a canopy. He wears the crown, and in his right hand bears the golden scepter. Five dignitaries of the Empire stand near by, and on a lower level at a distance are fifty armed guardsmen, standing in files of ten, bearing swords and bows and quivers. On another portal a throne still more elaborate is represented. It is on a raised dais of three stages, the successive platforms being supported by a series of sculptured figures. These apparently represent the natives of the various provinces under the dominion of the Persians. The various costumes are as widely different as the person and features of the wearers. Doubtless these throne scenes, looking down silently from the doors and panels of the great hall, were an actual transcript of what was witnessed almost constantly in the great pillared rectangle, where the Majesty of Persia sat and dispensed his edicts to the nations.

On a different part of the great platform are the ruins of another edifice, still more wonderful than the Hall of a Hundred Columns. This was the structure known as the *Chehl Minar*, or Great Hall of Audience. The space covered by this building was three hundred and fifty feet in length and two hundred and forty-six feet in breadth. Like the Hall of a Hundred Columns, it was a structure the vast roof of which was supported by a system of pillars, which in grandeur and beauty surpassed any thing in the ancient world, excepting only the columnar wonders of Egypt and Greece. The main square in the Hall of Audience consisted of a space of twenty thousand square feet, occupied by thirty-six pillars, arranged in rows of six. On

three of the sides of this principal space were magnificent porticoes, each being one hundred and forty-two feet long by thirty feet in breadth. The structure of these was also columnar, each porch being supported by twelve pillars, placed in rows of six, to correspond with those of the main edifice. The seventy-two columns, thirty-six of which stood in the principal square and the remainder in the porticoes, were all *sixty-four feet in height.* Many of them are still erect, and, with the exception of displaced capitals, present, after the dilapidations of twenty-two hundred years, almost the original appearance. The capitals are of two varieties. The first style consists of two half-griffins facing in opposite directions, or of two bull's heads arranged in the same manner. The other style is more complex, consisting of three parts. The first, which rests on the head of the column, is a lotus-bud; the second, a system of volutes, set perpendicularly; and the third the bull's-head cap already described. The bases of the pillars are bell-shaped, and are for beauty unsurpassed by any in the world. The ornamentation consists of a system of lotus-leaves depending. The columns themselves taper gently to the top, and are fluted through their entire length, the number of flutings being forty-eight or fifty-two in each pillar. The entablature and the grand roof overhead have fallen into indistinguishable ruin.—Such were the magnificent structures which once crowned the summit of the great platform of Persepolis.

The other palaces, to which reference has already been made, were found at Pasargadæ, the ancient capital, at the city of Istakr, and at Susa. Pasargadæ was the city of Cyrus the Great, and nearly all the ruins discovered at that place (now the town of Murgab) perpetuate in some way his name and deeds. The monuments found here are the most ancient in all Persia, and represent the beginnings of that style of palatial structure which gained its full development at Persepolis. The largest single ruin at Pasargadæ presents a ground plan one hundred and forty-seven feet in length and one hundred and sixteen feet in width. This space was surrounded by a massive wall, in the four sides of which were huge stone doors. On the facing of each portal is this legend: "I AM CYRUS, THE KING, THE ACHÆMENIAN." The building within the inclosure was columnar, though all of the pillars, except a single one, have fallen. This remaining shaft has a height of thirty-six feet. It is a column perfectly plain, with a diameter of three feet and four inches at the base. The stumps of seven of the other pillars remain on the pavement, and these are arranged in rows so as to indicate an oblong structure. In a smaller building of similar style, found at no great distance, the bases of twelve columns have been found as they were originally placed. Besides these ruins the remains of a square tower have been found at Murgab. The structure is of hewn stone, built with great solidity, having projecting corners and a height of forty-two feet. Not far distant is a fourth and last foundation, composed of solid stone carefully dressed and laid immovably in horizontal courses. Some of the facing stones are as much as ten feet in length, and are put into place with artistic exactness. The structure is said by antiquarians to bear a remarkable resemblance to the basement of the Jewish temple at Jerusalem.

At the town of Istakr have been discovered the remains of a ruined palace, dating back to the times of the Achæmenians. The ground plan of the edifice has not been determined. One standing column and the bases of eight others have been found in their original places. Parts of the walls have also been traced by the curious and certain features of the building made out with sufficient clearness to show that the palace was in its architecture of a later date than the edifices of Pasargadæ. The fluted columns, massive portals, and thick walls are more like those of Persepolis than those of the ancient capital.

The great palace at Susa, one of the residences of the Persian kings, was built by Darius Hystaspis and afterwards restored by Artaxerxes Longimanus. The site selected was the old rectangular platform of unburnt bricks, which from the earliest times had supported the royal abodes of the kings of Susiana. The view from this summit was one of the most beautiful to be had in the Empire.

The palace front was to the north-west, looking to the distant mountains of Luristan. The royal edifice erected here by Darius was, so far as has been determined by the few remains and by the references of the Greek historians, almost an exact duplicate of the palace of Persepolis: a description of the one will answer for the other.

As already said, the architectural works of the Persians which, next after their palaces, have been considered most worthy of note were the tombs of the kings. Eight of these royal sepulchers have been examined. They are found to be of two kinds; the one being a structure built in an open space, and the other an ornamented chamber carved in the native rock of the hillside. By far the most conspicuous work of the first class is the celebrated tomb of Cyrus. It is situated near Pasargadæ in a rectangular area now covered with broken pillars, of which there were originally twenty-four. The tomb proper consists of a basement of marble in the form of a pyramid. The lower layer of slabs measures on one side forty-seven and on the other forty-three feet. The pyramid rises to the summit in seven contracted squares, the upper area measuring over twenty feet on each side. Upon the platform thus formed was reared a marble chamber almost exactly the shape of a common house of to-day, having a double sloping roof of marble slabs. The door was in the middle of the end. The inner cell or tomb was eleven feet in length by seven feet in each of its other dimensions. There is little doubt that within this marble crypt, in a coffin of gold, the founder of the Persian Empire was laid in his last resting-place.

TOMB OF CYRUS.

The rock-tombs—those carved in the hillsides—are more elaborate by far than the one just described. Four of this kind have been discovered in the face of the mountains skirting the valley of the Pulwar, and three have been found in the vicinity of Persepolis. The hill-front selected by the builders was first hewn to a smooth surface. This was then divided into three horizontal sections, the central one being much broader than the lower and upper ones. The lower section remained without ornamentation, being simply hewn plain with definite outlines. The middle section, corresponding to the transverse arm of a Greek cross, contained the tomb proper. The front of this section was adorned with a row of columns, between which the stone was cut away, forming chambers in the hill. In the center a deeper recess was carved, intended to receive the body of the dead. The upper section was highly ornamented, being a kind of architrave covered with allegorical figures, and generally representing in its upper part the king himself in the act of worshiping Ormazd. Such is the character of the great tomb of Darius Hystaspis, near Persepolis.

A short distance from this royal burying-ground stood an edifice the meaning of which has not been determined. This is a square tower, built of blocks of marble. The height of the building is thirty-six feet. The ground-plan is a square, measuring twenty-four feet on each side. The corners were ornamented with pilasters, and the faces with niches. In the middle of the north side was a doorway looking towards the tombs. The door leads into a square chamber, which reaches from the level of the entrance to the top of the tower, and is covered with a roof.

Taken all in all, the architecture of the Persians was simple and grand. There appear to have been great regularity of struc-

ture and harmony of design. The general effect was heightened by the elevation which was attained by means of the basement platforms. The columnar feature of the great buildings added a beauty hardly surpassed by the temples of Greece. On the other hand, the Persian buildings—though the fault was not as conspicuous as in those of Babylonia—were little improved in appearance by openings in the walls, or by any device by which surfaces are broken and their monotony relieved. In the way of analogy, the sculptures and other decorations of buildings were like those of Assyria rather than those of Egypt and Greece, though traces of similarity may be seen to the works of the latter countries. But for the reckless fury of Alexander and his followers, much of the architectural glory of the Persians which now lies in heaps of ruin would still bear witness to the ambition and genius of the vigorous people by whom that glory was achieved.

In the matter of Persian sculpture, nearly every thing that may be presented has already been said incidentally in connection with their architecture. The work of this sort consists of figures carved in relief on slabs of stone. Sometimes, as in the case of the tomb of Darius, described above, the artist has displayed his skill on the face of the natural rock. In every case, however, the figures are upon the surface of the material of which they are composed. No separate piece of Persian statuary has been discovered. The colossal bulls and other effigies of the sort which stand guard at the entrances to the palaces are but partially developed figures, only the front of the image being raised from the pillars in which the body is imbedded. Neither clay models nor metallic castings have been found. No specimen of Persian pottery, no carving in ivory or wood, has rewarded the curiosity of the antiquary. Of stamped coins, however, great numbers are in existence, and of engraved gems not a few have been discovered. The colossal bulls, some copied from nature and some mythological monsters having men's heads and eagles' wings, are of a high order of artistic merit. The figures are grand and imposing. Indeed, there is about them a certain sphinx-like majesty suggestive of the great effigies of Egypt. There is in these works the sublimity of repose combined with the beauty of strength.

After the winged bulls the next class of figures requiring notice are those of a man, generally the king, contesting with beasts. Sometimes the antagonist of the royal person is a wild bull; sometimes, a lion; sometimes, a monster of mythology. These scenes are represented with great spirit and truthfulness, the artist always being careful to give the anticipation of victory to his master, the king. The third series of sculptures are those representing processions of human figures, somewhat like those upon the architraves of Grecian temples. The persons depicted are the courtiers of the king, a retinue of guards, a file of attendants, or an embassy of foreigners bringing tribute and homage to the great king. The fourth kind of sculptures represent the monarch himself, either engaged in some public duty of the government or in devotions to his god. The fifth and last group are those representing animal figures—notably lions and bulls—either singly or engaged in combat. In scenes of the latter sort nature is followed; for the lion kills the bull.

The Persian coins are of great interest. The designs are of many varieties and subjects. Sometimes the impression is a simple medallion of the king, armed and crowned. On one side of some of the coins the figures are raised, and on the other indented. The design in some cases is a galley; in others, the king driving his chariot; in others, a city.

Of the household utensils of the Persians not much is known. The sculptures represent nothing in this line except a few pieces of royal furniture. On the walls of the palace at Persepolis several censers are depicted. The form of a basket is also given, shaped somewhat like a reticule. Goblets and covered dishes are also seen in the hands of servants attending on the banquets. Those who bring tribute-money present the same in a kind of bowl or basin, though these articles were probably brought with the tribute from some distant province.

In the matter of personal decorations the

Persians seem to have had the simple tastes peculiar to the Aryan race. The articles were nearly all plain bands of gold. Such were the ear-rings, finger-rings, and bracelets. Collars were sometimes formed by twisting together several bands of the precious metal, but the work displays not much artistic skill. The hilts of swords were made plain, and adapted merely to service, though the shafts of spears were sometimes ornamented with a knob representing an apple or pomegranate.

In the social and economic arts the Persians were not celebrated. In the production of fabrics they were greatly surpassed by the Babylonians and the Phœnicians. Nor was it necessary that the people of the original kingdom should devote themselves to those industrial pursuits which were so assiduously followed in the subject countries of the Empire. The leadership of Western Asia was won by the swords of the Persian kings at a time when Babylon, Tyre, Sardis, Borsippa, Damascus, and the cities of India were already famous for their manufacturing industries. These, becoming tributary, were glad to avert the onsets of Persian armies by pouring their treasures into Persepolis and Ecbatana. The soldiers of a warlike country were not very likely to emulate the skill and industry of weavers when they could take for nothing the product of their looms and work-benches. So the manufactures of the Persians never won distinction. Their home fabrics attained a fair degree of excellence; but it does not appear that their goods were ever in demand in foreign markets. The country thus remained dependent for its finer fabrics upon the factories of Babylonia and Kashmeer and Egypt.

In scientific attainments the Persians were still less distinguished. The advance of science in any country depends in a great measure upon the regularity of the recurrence of the phenomena of nature. In regions where nature is capricious and variable the apparent confusion and lawlessness of things perplex the understanding, and mythology, by ascribing a transcendental origin to things, better satisfies the mind than natural science, which insists on regularity. Astronomy, for instance, will never flourish in a land of hills and forests under a foggy atmosphere and a cloudy sky. In these natural conditions can be easily discovered the reason why ancient star-lore flourished in Egypt and Chaldæa and lagged in Media and Persia. To this must be added another cause found in a difference of race. The Semitic and Cushite families of men were both by nature and locality contemplative in their habits of thought. The Aryans, on the other hand, were aggressive and restless, prone to excessive activity by day and profound sleep by night. The determination of causes and relations—the essence of science—requires observation, reflection, experiment—conditions foreign to the nature and environment of the Persians. They neither patronized schools nor esteemed intellectual greatness. While learning flourished in many of the provinces of the Empire, while the schools of Borsippa and Miletus were hives of mental activity, Persia Proper neither founded institutions nor appreciated their importance.

ANCIENT SUSA.

CHAPTER XXX.—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

WHAT kind of people the Persians were can be easily determined from their sculptures. In these the national physiognomy and person are so clearly delineated as to leave no doubt. The figures are sufficiently numerous and varied to satisfy all curiosity respecting the personal appearance and bearing of the subjects of the Achæmenians. The Persian face and general type differ so markedly from the representations of the human form and countenance as delineated in the sculptures of Assyria and Egypt, as to be unmistakable even by amateurs in ethnic peculiarities. The remains of Persepolis also present us with many figures of foreigners done by native artists, and the truthfulness of such work furnishes good ground for belief that they were equally—perhaps more—faithful in carving the features and form of their own countrymen.

In stature the Persians were rather tall. They differed not much in form from the typical European. They were not so heavy and strong-muscled as the Assyrians, but surpassed them in agility and freedom. Their features were striking and regular. The expression was mild, vivacious, benignant—in no case coarse or brutal. The head was high and oval, and (if we may credit Herodotus) the skull was much thinner than that of other peoples.[1]

As far as it is possible to generalize on such a subject, it may be averred that the Persians were witty and vivacious. They seem to have had neither the sedateness of Egyptians nor the meditative habits of the Babylonians. Their sculptures and architecture show that they had the artistic fancy, though in a less degree than the Greeks. It was, however, in state-craft and war that the intellectual superiority of the people was best illustrated. In these respects the Persian genius was conspicuous. The ability of the Achæmenian kings in conducting the affairs of a great Empire which they had conquered—an Empire composed of heterogeneous populations widely scattered and speaking diverse languages—can in no way be questioned; and their warlike spirit was such as to give them for a considerable period an unequivocal ascendency over all Western Asia. Even in their great combats with the Greeks it was discipline rather than courage that gave to the latter their victories.

What were the literary—especially the poetical—abilities of the ancient Persians we have no means of knowing. It is not likely that in this manner their imagination found much relief or pleasure. It is true that the Persian poet Firdusi, who flourished in the latter half of the tenth century, has *ascribed* to his countrymen of ancient times the possession of sentiments and passions kindled with poetic fire. But this perhaps is like the ascription of epic enthusiasm to the Gaël in McPherson's *Ossian*—to be taken with many grains of allowance.

In the heroic virtues the Persians were hardly inferior to the Greeks and Romans. They believed that destiny pointed to them as the conquerors of the world. Under this inspiration, they went to battle with the rash courage of crusaders and met death with the indifference of the Moslems. It was believed by the great kings that they *ought* to go to war. It was the precedent of the Empire to conquer, and when opportunity was wanting, when the energies of the people seemed to be turned to pursuits less daring and dangerous, the monarchs felt that the Achæmenian star was waning in the heavens. The valor of the Persian soldiery will be amply illustrated in the chapter on the military and civil history of the nation.

[1] The Father of History accounts for this fact on the theory that the Persian skull was protected by a head-dress.

Of moral qualities the most conspicuous virtue of the Persians was—as it is of any people who possess it—their love of truth. This trait in the national character was so noted as to become proverbial in both Asia and Europe. The praises of the Greek historians—themselves the literary exemplars of a people who too frequently in their conduct hovered along the bogs of falsehood, not to say the abysses of perfidy—are not stinted with respect to the sterling character of Persian truthfulness. Herodotus declares that the three principal precepts of Persian education were, "to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth." The last injunction was incorporated in the national religion. Ahura-Mazdâo was known and worshiped as "the Father of Truth." In the best parts of the Zendavesta the practice of truth is inculcated as the basis of all conduct acceptable to the immortal gods.

This element of character was all the more conspicuous in the Persian race when contrasted with the lying and treacherous habits which were shamelessly illustrated in the career of most of the oriental nations. It was only in the later times of the Empire, when the effects of luxury had told disastrously on the moral character of the race, that the Persians imbibed the habit of intrigue and treachery, and even then, perhaps, only as employing the same weapons used by their enemies. In the early times a rigid adherence to truth was practiced in the affairs of life, from the dealings of peasants and masons to the treaties of the king. Even a promise obtained on false information or under false pledges was faithfully observed.

It is said that the Persian love of truth was so marked as to lead the people to the avoidance of debt. It was conceived that the debtor was frequently placed in such relations of dependence as to encourage in him the practice of equivocation and falsehood. Therefore it was better to avoid the obligation. Therefore, in the market-place, it was better to use few words and plain. Therefore it was better, in all manner of communication, to be straightforward in speech, so that human conduct might be easily and sincerely fathomed to its bottom motives and impulses. It may be safely averred that in respect of this high species of morality the earlier Persians gave a fairer example than any other people of the ancient world.

Combined with these high traits of character were others of a different sort. Like most strong races, the people of Persia were given to self-indulgence. Great strength and great hunger are concomitants in human character. If the possessor have not learned the lesson of restraint, strength will display itself in violence, and hunger in excessive gratification. The hunter and the soldier are not likely to be reserved in the banqueting hall. The Persian, moreover, bore his nature on the surface. What he was he was. He spoke out and acted. If he was angered he raged. If he was pleased he laughed. Instead of that exterior calmness so noticeable in the demeanor of the Babylonians, the inner feelings and passions of the Persian flashed out in word and gesture, and his purposes were known to all observers.

Another element in the national character was its servility as it respected the king and the court. This amounted to a kind of abasement in the presence of power quite inconsistent with the otherwise erect attitude of the people. The paradox thus presented of a union in the same race of qualities so opposite as dignified self-assertion and crouching servility can only be explained in the light of the age and the then political condition of the world. At a time when the state was a necessity and the king was the state; in an epoch when those political institutions by which in modern times the will of the people finds so easy an utterance had no existence and could have none, the conditions of despotism, with its correlative, a servile spirit, were natural and perhaps inevitable. Every age is to be judged by its own criteria, and not in accordance with principles whose reign has not yet been ushered in. The government of Persia was absolute, and the governed patiently bowed to the political necessities of the age. The citizen became the sycophant. The king acted without limitation. Whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he slew.

Turning to the outward usages and manners of the Persian people, and beginning with their customs in war, we find them to be in close affinity with the Medes. Like the latter, the Persians placed their chief reliance on the infantry and cavalry wings of the army, and paid little attention to chariots of war.[1] The foot soldier was clothed in a close-fitting leathern tunic, reaching to the knees and the wrists. The legs were tightly encased in trousers, also of leather. The feet were covered with high shoes, which joined the leggins at the ankles. The head was protected by a round felt cap, projecting in the front and rising above the scalp. The waist was bound with a double girdle, from which, on the right side, hung the short Persian sword. The other weapons were a spear and a bow and quiver. The spear-shaft was about six feet in length, and the head was flat, with a ridge on each side down the middle. The bow was about four feet long, and was swung perpendicularly in front of the left shoulder, the cord being up and down the back. The quiver was worn on the same shoulder, and was filled with arrows made of reeds, feathered, and tipped with metal points. Another weapon in use by footmen was the battle-axe, but this is rarely shown in the sculptures. The sling also is occasionally seen, besides being mentioned by Strabo and Xenophon as a part of the Persian weaponry. The missiles shot from slings were pebbles.

The defensive armor of a common foot soldier was a shield of wicker-work. It was in shape a sort of half-cylinder, as long as the soldier's body, and set or carried upright before him in battle. From behind this protection he discharged his arrows. Both Herodotus and Xenophon mention the coat-of-mail as a part of the defensive armor of Persian infantry. It was composed sometimes of metallic scales or plates arranged like those of the shell of an armadillo, and sometimes of a quilted linen corselet after the style of those worn by the soldiers of Egypt.

In the times of the founding of the monarchy the weapons offensive and defensive of horsemen were almost identical with those of the foot. In the later tactics of the Empire, however, a new style was adopted. The cavalryman was armed with a javelin, and this became his principal weapon of attack. It was a short, strong shaft of wood, barbed with a point of iron. Each soldier carried two of these darts, one of which he discharged in the onset and retained the other for the encounter. The cavalry were also armed with knives and short swords like those worn in the other branch of the service. In the way of defensive armor the horsemen were clad in coats-of-mail and helmets and greaves, and were thus protected at every point. The shield was for obvious reasons dispensed with, being a useless and cumbrous impediment.

Not only the soldier himself, but, as only second in importance, the horse which he rode was protected with armor. The mail was of the same description as that worn by the rider. The horse's head was guarded by a frontlet, and his neck and breast by metallic plates. Even the legs were defended against the missiles of the foe, so that the whole animal was as thoroughly encased as his master. Besides the dragoons, who constituted the main branch of the cavalry service, there was a light-horse wing to the Persian military organization, the business of which was to skirmish with an approaching enemy or to hang upon the flanks and annoy a retreating army. Taken all in all, the constitution and discipline of the forces were such as to secure rapidity of movement and adroitness of manœuver rather than that forceful and resistless execution which was secured by the phalanx of the Macedonians.

On two great occasions in Persian history, namely, in the battles of Cunaxa and Arbela, the scythe-bearing war-chariots were effectively employed, though, as a general rule, these formidable engines were more terrible to the imagination than to the other senses of an army. The long curving blades, which projected from the hubs of the chariot wheels,

[1] Sooner or later every nation adapts its weaponry to the field of service. The war-chariots of antiquity could never have been thought of in a country of hills and gorges. Only in the Mesopotamian plains, the Syrian deserts, and the flat-lands of the Egyptian Delta could such ponderous implements have come into use.

were sufficiently dangerous when they could be got against the enemy, but there was the rub; for what with frightened or wounded horses, and what with a chasm in the ground or a slain charioteer, not much was to be apprehended from those military mowing-machines of the ancients. If the battles of antiquity had always been appointed to take place in the Babylonian brick-yards, and if the soldiers had been rooted like wheat stalks to the earth, then perhaps the execution of the scythe-bearing chariots would have been equal to the expectancy.

It appears, however, that the chariot was put to a very rational and important use in the movements of the Persian army. In such vehicles the king (if he commanded, as was generally the case) and the princes of the Empire had their station in battle. The generals and leaders of the army were thus made conspicuous. A sudden impulse was no doubt given to the onset by the apparition of royalty rumbling by and shouting his commands from the chariot of Ormazd.

The general idea of a Persian battle was to keep the best in front. In the later times of the Empire, when war-chariots were introduced, it was customary to place them in advance of the rest of the forces. First of all, it was the plan to send this alarming enginery against the foe. In the rear of the chariots, and occupying the center of the field, was the main army of infantry. This was arranged in squares, so placed as to support each other. The front lines were held by the picked troops of Persia, they being considered most valiant. The supports were the less reliable soldiery of the provinces, foreigners, auxiliaries. The cavalry was arranged on the two wings, and was generally intended to operate on the flanks of the enemy. In the beginning of an engagement, the squares advanced to within striking distance of the adverse lines. Here there was a halt, the Persians planted their shields on the ground and began a discharge of arrows upon the foe. In the rear the other troops shot clouds of darts and other missiles over the heads of the front ranks. If the enemy's lines were broken, the cavalry bore down on the wings and completed the discomfiture. If, however, he stood courageously and came to a conflict hand to hand, then the Persians drew their swords, and in a short time either scattered their antagonists or were themselves put to flight. When the lines broke there was generally a rout. There was little thought of regaining by valor or strategy a lost battle. There seems to have been but a sorry notion of that kind of courage which recovers itself and snatches victory from defeat.

The Persian kings depended mainly for success upon superior numbers. They augmented their forces to the greatest possible extent. In the battle-field the squares were arranged one behind the other to a great depth, so that the lines in front might feel the double impulse of support and of actual pressure forward. Besides this strength of the mass the great numbers of the Persians enabled them to spread beyond the wings of any ordinary army that might oppose them, and to surround and close in upon the flanks of the enemy. When victory inclined towards the standard of the king then the cavalry became especially formidable. The dextrous Persian horsemen, skilled in every species of maneuver, hovered in clouds around the retreating army, swooping down in perpetual onsets, until the enemy was completely worn out and scattered.

In the matter of stratagem the Persian commanders exhibited some skill. As early as the founding of the Empire, we find Cyrus the Great, in his war with the Lydians, employing an array of camels merely to terrify. In the front of the plain of Arbela, Darius Codomanus had the ground sown with the tribulus, or three-spiked iron ball, as a means of preventing or defeating the charge of the Greek cavalry. Nor were the usual ruses and military devices for deceiving an enemy unknown or unpracticed by the great kings and their subjects. In this respect, perfidy excepted, the Persians were like the other nations of the East.

It does not appear that generalship was a thing highly esteemed, or could be, under the Achæmenians. In an absolutism of the kind presented by the government of Cyrus and

his successors it was not possible for great generals to flourish. They would have stood in the way of the king. He must himself command. He must have the glory of victory. Still there was in the Persian army a great array of officers, and these were arranged as superiors and subordinates, from the king, who was the commander-in-chief, and who was nearly always at the head of his army in the field, to the humblest captains of the line.

Ranking next to the monarch in authority were a few high officers, eight or ten in number, corresponding to the major-generals of a modern army. After these the highest rank was held by the satraps or provincial governors, who generally came at the heads of their respective levies of soldiers. The organization of the ranks was after the decimal fashion. The lowest officer commanded ten men. Ten of these squads constituted a company under a higher officer; and ten of these, what may be called a legion; and ten of these, a division. Several divisions were thrown together and commanded by a general or satrap, so that in all, counting from the king, there were six ranks of subordinate commanders.

Such was the scheme under which the largest armies ever seen on the fields of the world were organized. In times of war every nation in the Empire was expected to furnish its own contingent of troops. These came each with the peculiar uniform and accouterments of his own country. Albeit, the appearance of a Persian army, marshaled in squares ready for the fight, clad in the various military habits of several scores of nations, and bearing weapons equally varied in character, must have been a scene at once picturesque and imposing. Here were arranged nearly every variety of human kind, from the black Ethiopians of the Upper Nile and the savage Scyths of the North to the fair and well-formed soldiers of Media and Persia.

The campaigns of the Empire were generally planned for the spring and summer. As far as practicable, the winter was avoided as unsuitable for military operations. When the army was in the field, the means of subsistence were carefully attended to. The advance was made with the baggage and commissary in front. Between this and the first division a space intervened. The main army came afterwards, preceded by a guard of a thousand horse and a thousand foot and the sun-car of Ormazd, drawn by the sacred horses, and having in it the fire kindled from heaven. The emblems of the national faith were thus visibly present to the soldiery, and were as well calculated as any superstitious symbols could be to fire the hearts and nerve the arms of the host. Next came the king himself, in a car second only in splendor to that of the sun. Around him were his relatives. Then followed another guard like that which went in advance, and after this a body of ten thousand picked Persians, known as the "Immortals." These were infantry, and were succeeded by a like number of horse. Between this division and the great columns composing the mass of the army a space was left of four hundred yards. Then came the great squares of Persians, Medes, and provincials, gathered from all parts of Western Asia. The army thus constituted was able to march about twenty-five miles per day. As the advance continued, requisitions were made upon the inhabitants of the provinces and towns through which the route lay, and many a district was completely exhausted under the enormous drain. Such was the effectiveness of the means employed to provision the army that the rash invasion of Ethiopia by Cambyses furnishes the only example in the history of the Empire in which disaster was precipitated by a failure of supplies.

In the conduct of battle the Persians were more humane than most of the oriental peoples. The beaten enemy was granted quarter, and prisoners were treated with a fair degree of consideration. When conquests were made the rulers of the conquered provinces were frequently retained as provincial governors, or in lieu of their own countries were granted other territories as an appanage. Sometimes captive princes were received into favor at the Persian court, where they were given residence and freedom. Of course, all these favors were contingent upon the submission of the recipients and their loyalty to the new

order of things. In case of rebellion, severe punishments were meted out to the insurrectionists. The leaders were generally put to death in some ignominious and cruel way. The chief aiders and abettors of revolt were likely to share the fate of the principal instigators. It was not often, however, that the wrath of the Persian kings burned so fiercely as to involve the common people of a rebellious province in destruction. In one case, it is said that three thousand Babylonian rebels suffered a wholesale crucifixion at the hands of Darius. To crucify or impale alive was the usual penalty meted out to traitors and rebel chiefs. The people of a country engaged in revolt were frequently punished by transportation into Persia, where they were reduced to the condition of slaves.

The geographical position of Persia was not such as to suggest dominion over the seas. When conquest, however, had given her supremacy over several maritime states, and had taught her the vast importance of ruling by sea as well as by land, an appreciation of nautical skill was produced, which exercised a large influence on the subsequent history of the Empire. It was perceived that Phœnicia, Cyprus, and the islands of the Grecian archipelago, owed their importance to the conquest of the sea. After the Persians acquired control of the Mediterranean, it was but natural that they should concern themselves more than hitherto with the means of maintaining their dominion. To this end the great kings became the builders of docks and the patrons of sailors. The yards of Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Egypt became quickened under this influence. Large fleets were built and equipped, and the seamen of Persia became as skillful as any of that age.

Inasmuch as naval warfare was a conspicuous feature of the contests of several of the great states of antiquity, notably of the Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Carthaginians, a sketch of the war-vessels employed by them will be of interest. The standard ship of all the nations just mentioned was the trireme, or three-oared boat, by which is meant three banks of oars. Several attempts were made by the ancients, but without marked success, to extend the number of benches and the consequent capacity of the galley; but the quadriremes of the Carthaginians and the quinqueremes of the Syracusans were too unwieldy for naked human strength, and were abandoned in favor of the trireme. The latter was a ship of considerable size, requiring a regular crew of two hundred men. Besides these the vessel was capable of accommodating thirty marines. Of the crew one hundred and eighty sailors manned the oars, and the remaining twenty attended to the other service of the galley. Each oarsman sat on a small seat fixed in the side of the ship, opposite the port of his oar. The oars in each superior tier were arranged obliquely above and behind those of the inferior bank, and each was fastened in the port with a thong of leather. In addition to the propelling force of the oars each galley was, as a rule, provided with a mast and at least one sail. The twenty members of the crew not oarsmen included the captain, or *gubernator*, and his subordinate officers and assistants. The steering was accomplished by means of a rudder at the stern. The vessel in its central part was overlaid with a deck, level with the bulwarks, and on this deck the marines stood and fought.

The trireme was expected to do service not only by bringing a company of armed men against a like company of the enemy, but also as a ram to split and run down the opposing galleys. Each ship was armed with a strong beak, called the *embolus*, projecting straight in front, sometimes above and sometimes below the water-line, and mailed with a shoe of iron or bronze. The beak was finished above in the likeness of the head of some animal real or mythological. The point of superiority in the naval tactics of the times was to drive this beak into the sides of the enemy's galleys, and send them and their crew together down to Neptune. Besides the triremes, which constituted the body of the Persian naval armament, several other varieties of ships, designed for some special feature of the service were employed, but the general plan of them all was that of a galley propelled by oars.

An important use to which the vessels of

the Persians were sometimes put was that of forming pontoons across rivers and arms of the sea. The plan of these boat-bridges was simple. A number of galleys were arranged side by side, the heads up stream. A short space was left between each vessel and the next. Each ship was securely anchored, and then a transverse platform of timbers was laid from bank to bank. Thus was constructed a floating bridge over which the heaviest armies could be transported. The prime importance of structures of this sort will fully appear in the invasion of Greece by the Persians.

The fleets of the Empire were furnished and manned almost exclusively by the subject nations. Each state sent its contingent of ships. The oarsmen were a part of the equipment. The fighting sailors who manned the decks were either Medes or Persians, but they to whom was assigned the less glorious task of toiling at the oars were Phœnicians, Egyptians, Cypriots, Cilicians, Pamphylians, Carians, or Greeks, according to the nationality of the respective vessels.

Passing, then, from the military and naval life of the Persian people to their customs in peace, let us begin with his majesty the king. The ruler of the nation was, under the existing theory of human government, an absolute dictator. His absoluteness was not shorn. Being the representative of Ormazd in the earth, his dignity had a celestial flavor. His right to be king might not be questioned. To look askance at royalty was to be guilty of both treason and impiety. The king's wrath was but a reflex of the anger of heaven and his smile was the sunshine of the world. Every thing pertaining to the person and life of the sovereign must, therefore, be on a scale of magnificence proportionate to his exaltation.

So the king's dress was ample and gorgeous. The richest and most brilliant silk was the material. The royal garment was a robe with ample folds and hanging sleeves. The color was purple and the embroidery of gold. Around the waist was a girdle, and the skirts fell to the ankles. Under this robe was a tunic, also purple in color, but striped with white. On the monarch's feet were high, yellow shoes, buttoned at the front and tapering towards the toe. It was the head-dress, however, which specially distinguished the king from any, even the most exalted, of his subjects. This consisted of a tiara or miter, tall and cylindrical, swelling at the top and ending in a circle broader than the diameter of the cap. This was the monarch's badge by which alike by army and court and people he was denoted and recognized. Around the king's brow and at the base of the miter was the royal circlet, called the diadem. Besides the tiara the monarch was also distinguished by the golden scepter and the parasol, the latter being carried either by himself or an attendant. The scepter was a tapering rod about five feet in length and finished at the smaller end with a bulb in the shape of an apple or pomegranate. When the king appeared in public he bore the scepter in his right hand, perpendicularly in front of his person.

HEAD OF A PERSIAN KING.
From a bas-relief.

In common with other princes and noblemen the sovereign wore gold ornaments and jewels. His earrings were bands of gold set with gems. His wrists were adorned with bracelets, and his neck with a twisted collar. Besides these decorations he wore a sword of the usual short pattern, not very elaborate in workmanship, but incased in a costly sheath of jasper or lapis-lazuli.

The officers, civil and military, who stood next to the royal person were his charioteer, and five attendants, whose respective duty it was to bear the king's bow, his quiver, his stool, his parasol, and his fan and napkin. The charioteer wore no armor. He merely managed the steeds. The bow-bearer stood behind the monarch, holding the bow in his left hand, ready to be delivered to his royal master. Next to him stood the bearer of the

quiver. The stool-bearer's duty was to assist the monarch as he mounted to his seat in the chariot or dismounted therefrom. Last in the list of attendants were the bearers of the parasol and the fan, who were unarmed and had their stations behind their sovereign, the one to ward off the sun's rays and the other to cool his brow with artificial breezes or to wave away intruding flies from too great familiarity with the majesty of Persia.

Like the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Persians delighted in ointments and perfumes. Frankincense, myrrh, cinnamon, spikenard, cassia, and various gums were used in abundance to regale the senses of the kings and princes. Even on the way to battle the monarch failed not to take with him an alabaster box filled with fragrant oils and extracts. Fiery Mars was thus made the bedfellow of Adonis.

Apart from the personal staff of the king, the principal officers of the court were the steward of the household, the master of the horse, the chief eunuch, the king's "eyes" and "ears—a kind of honorable spies, whose duty it was to find out and report to their sovereign all matters of importance—and the royal secretaries and heralds. A retinue of less dignity included the ushers of the palace, the tasters of the king's food (forsooth it might be poisoned), the cupbearers, the chamberlains, and the musicians. Then came the guards, doorkeepers, huntsmen, cooks, and common servants. Besides this extensive array of officers and attendants there were nearly always resident at the Persian court a large number of foreign ambassadors and visiting princes, together with the king's relatives, favorite nobles, and captives of high rank who had been received into the friendship and trust of the monarch. It is said that as many as fifteen thousand persons were sometimes entertained at the court, and if we may credit Herodotus, the daily expense of the royal tables was four hundred talents of silver. A thousand beasts—sheep, goats, oxen, stags, asses, horses, and camels—were each day slaughtered to furnish forth the feast, and besides these the feathered tribes of half the world were brought under contribution to satisfy the appetite of the monarch and his banqueters.

As a general rule the king himself ate and drank apart from the guests of the palace. On ordinary occasions he was served in his own chambers, but sometimes a favored few were permitted to feast with him. At the banquet the monarch reclined on a gold-embroidered couch, and was served with the richest food and rarest wines. The guests were generally seated on the floor—after the manner of the times—and were served with less costly viands. People of a lower rank were served in an adjacent chamber, between which and the king's apartments a curtain was drawn, concealing him from view. On a few state days and great festivals the sovereign presided publicly at the banquet of his nobles and officers, and on these rare occasions even vulgar eyes might catch a glimpse of the sovereign of Persia.

After the manner of the East the Achæmenian kings adopted the harem as a part of their domestic economy. In the hardy days of Cyrus and Cambyses the institution was not so fully developed as in later times. With the early kings a seraglio of three or four wives and a moderate retinue of concubines was deemed sufficient. Of these wives one only held the supreme place, and in contradistinction to the rest was called the Queen. She only was permitted to wear the crown, and before her all the rest stood abashed or actually prostrated themselves as to royalty. It appears that even down to the overthrow of the Empire by the Macedonians this redeeming feature of one woman supreme over her rivals, and perhaps so in the affections of the king, was preserved in the social system of the Persian court—the natural and inevitable protest of love over lust. It is not improbable that such queens as Atossa, Amestris, and Statira retained through life an honorable preëminence in the esteem of their lords, and that in their presence and companionship such kings as Hystaspis, Xerxes, and Codomanus may have realized the essential badness of the system which they had inherited. The Persian queen, however, never shared her husband's authority: she had *influence*, but no

power. The other wives—who must always be selected from noble families—had the title of consort, and were thus in some measure superior to the miserable group of concubines below them. It was, however, a sad and dubious preëminence, which in its nature could bring neither honor nor happiness to those who possessed it.

One important feature of the government, as related to the social system of the Persians, was the influence of the Queen-Mother—should there be one—in the affairs of state. In cases where the queen outlived her lord she did not, to be sure, after his death inherit the crown. That went to her son. But, instead of being retired to a position less honorable than that which she had held during the king's life, she was raised in dignity and influence. She was given charge of the Gynæceum or establishment for the women, and in this important office wielded an authority over the queen, her daughter-in-law. Her son, the king, was as yet, in all likelihood, a youth, and was by no means from under the natural influence of his mother; so that to secure her interest and favor was one of the most vital points in the diplomacy of courtiers and ambassadors. It is not impossible that this ascendency of the Queen-Mother in the affairs of state and over that native hot-bed of discontent—the Gynæceum—was specially conservative and salutary.

The common service of the harem was committed to the eunuchs. Of these there were great numbers about the court. The king's attendants were largely of this class. They were multiplied as the government became elaborate. From some reason quite inconceivable in modern times, their influence increased. They became a directing power in the state. Many of them were the king's trusted counselors, and were held in high honor. They had in charge the education of the princes of the Empire, and several of them are said by Ctesias to have distinguished themselves as generals in the field. They are represented, however, as being of an intriguing and ambitious disposition, and to have been at the bottom of many court broils and assassinations. In spite of the influence and distinction attained by this despicable class of beings, it appears that in one respect they were publicly dishonored: in the sculptures of Persepolis not a single figure of a eunuch occurs. Neither they nor any woman—not even the queen—was deemed worthy of the immortality of art.

The Persians recognized seven royal—or at least princely—houses. The members of these constituted the nobility of the Empire. The first of these great houses was the Achæmenian, to which belonged the great kings. This family was, of course, preëminent over all the rest. Each of the princely houses had its own head or chief, and the seven together constituted the body known as the "Seven Counselors" of the king. They had much independent influence. Their right to advise was in virtue of their birth. They might seek the presence of the monarch at any time and in any place except the Gynæceum. At public festivals they sat by right next to the sovereign, and in important business of state they shared in some measure the responsibility of the king's edicts and proclamations—not, however, to the extent of touching upon his absolute and inalienable prerogatives.

The ceremonial of the Persian court was formal and elaborate. He who would have audience with the sovereign must be introduced by the usher of the royal household and must prostrate himself before the king. He who came unannounced was subject to death. The carpet which was laid for the monarch's feet might not be touched by any other. To sit down even unwittingly on the throne was a capital crime. Robes which the king had worn might never be put on by another. In short, every circumstance by which the artificial dignity and elevation of the sovereign might be heightened and maintained was attended to with scrupulous care.

On his part, the monarch was equally burdened with etiquette. He must, for the most part, live and eat alone. He must not be seen. He must not walk beyond the walls of the palace. He must be infallibly consistent, even in inconsistency; for no edict once issued might ever be revoked. The laws of the Medes and Persians were unchangeable.

Fortunate was it for the king that the rigor of precedent was sometimes relaxed in his favor. Royal etiquette permitted him to hunt and to play at games. To the former he gave himself with enthusiasm. It was the pride of the great Achæmenians to be distinguished in the chase. To combat with a lion was a sport worthy of the king. To be victorious over the fiercest and strongest creatures of the desert and mountain was an act worthy to be engraved in stone and in the royal signet with which the edicts of authority were signed. The favorite theme of Persian art is the monarch in his chariot, letting fly his unerring arrows into the vitals of the king of beasts.

Tired of the hunt, the sovereign amused himself at dice. Not for the game only, but for the wager, were the blocks thrown on the royal board. Plutarch is authority for the statement that sometimes as much as a thousand darics were staked on a single throw. Favorite slaves, eunuchs, and women were raffled for and lost and won in the reckless excitements of the kingly gaming-table.

Persian royalty had no literary taste whatever. It is doubtful whether the monarch was an expert reader. His secretary, however, had the duty of reading to him of the current affairs of the kingdom and the history of the past. The examples and fame of preceding sovereigns were thus rehearsed out of a work called the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Persia and Media," from which the reigning prince was expected to learn the lessons of emulation and wisdom.[1]

The annals of the common life of the Persian people are meager and unsatisfactory. The state was every thing, and the king was the state. The full light which played upon the throne was rarely turned to the common lot. The sculptures are almost wholly devoted to the illustration of royalty and its attendant circumstances. Something, however, can be made out respecting the manners and customs of the men who composed the armies and built the cities of the great kings.

[1] Rehearsals of the deeds of the dead were given almost daily by the Egyptian priests in the presence of the Pharaoh, for whose benefit the story was recited.

The Persian people were divided into ten tribes, of which three appear to have been land-owners, three agriculturists, and four nomads or shepherds. Of the land-owning class the principal tribe was the Pasargadæ. The agricultural tribes were the Panthialæi, Derusiæi, and the Carmanians. The nomadic classes were the Daï, the Mardi, the Dropici, and the Sagartii. The lines between these various classes were not fixed, as in Egypt, by a distinction of caste, but the various tribes held to a given method of life after the manner of the clan.

The dress of the Persian common people was a cotton tunic and trousers of leather. The head was covered with a felt cap and the waist was belted. High shoes, laced at the front with strings, protected the feet. The richer class wore long robes with hanging sleeves, after the style of the Medes. The caps of the opulent were raised into a tiara, their hands were incased in gloves, and their clothing was embroidered. Nobles generally wore chains and collars of gold—bracelets, ear-rings, and jewels.

The social life of the commons was, like that of the noble and royal ranks, disfigured by the practice of polygamy. There was no actual restriction as to the number of wives. To have a numerous retinue was considered honorable. Especially was it a point of distinction to have large families of sons, and he who could display the greatest number sometimes received a premium from the king. As if the wives were not enough, nearly all men had as a part of their households a train of concubines, and these were generally foreigners, Greek girls being preferred.

The boys of the Persians were educated—if such a word as education may be properly used of the training systems of antiquity—with great care. For the first five years the child was left with the mother and her woman attendants. From that time forth his discipline began. Before dawn he must arise and present himself in a certain place before his master. Here the lad was exercised for a certain number of hours in running and jumping, in shooting with the bow, in slinging stones and hurling the javelin. After two

years of this preparatory work he was promoted to the horse. Him he must mount and ride. On his back he must go to the hills and join in the hunt. He must jump on and off while his steed is running. He must discharge his arrows and darts while galloping at full speed. He must heed nor heat nor cold. He must sleep outdoors at night. He must appease the insatiable stomach of boyhood with one meal in two days. Sometimes he must go to the woods and fill himself as best he may with acorns and wild pears. All stimulating and luxurious food was withheld. Whatever conduced to hardihood, to bodily vigor, to endurance, was sedulously inculcated. In the way of ornamental branches he was taught to read. His teachers also gave him a modicum of morals; for he must hear recited some old poems recounting the character and exploits of certain gods and heroes, whom he must revere and imitate. Thus for fifteen years the lad was put through the discipline appointed to youth, and then graduated a horseman and soldier. For such was the aim of life. Indeed, for five years before his graduation the Persian stripling had already been enrolled in the army and was liable to the call of the king.

The subjects of the Achæmenians seem to have looked with as much contempt on commercial pursuits as did the feudal lords of the Middle Ages on common industry. They would none of it. Such pursuits tended to effeminate the mind. Artisans and traders were of no reputation. Shops and stores were driven from the respectable parts of towns and cities. Merchants were regarded as intriguers and liars. Manufacturers had no character. True men—valorous and daring—did not degrade themselves by toiling at those miserable crafts by the practice of which the servile tribes enriched themselves at the expense of their manhood.—Such were the dogmas of industrial morality.

In the later times of the Empire, luxury came in like a flood—and folly came also. Personal vanity learned to display itself in the immemorial way. The lower eyelids must be stained, so that the eyes should appear large and lustrous. Eunuchs must wear false beards and mustaches, and the hair of the dead must supplement the scanty work of nature on the vainglorious skulls of fools. It was high time for the appearance of the Macedonian phalanx.

The penal code of the Persians was on a par with the statutes of many modern countries—the dominant idea being to kill. The fangs of barbarism have their last roots in the law-books of the world. They are the only thing never reformed except by revolution. The theory of the barbaric age is that the cure for crime is punishment. The theory of civilization is that penal measures are among the smallest and least salutary of all the influences to be employed in the eradication of criminal passions and practices. In Persia the penalty of death was recklessly inflicted. Great crimes and small misdemeanors and mere accidents of conduct were all indiscriminately visited with the extreme penalty. To this was added cruelty of execution. Sometimes the head of the criminal was laid on a flat stone and crushed with another. Sometimes crucifixion was employed. Sometimes the condemned was buried alive. The soul of the age was cruelty, and the heart of justice a stone.

CHAPTER XXXI.—LANGUAGE AND RELIGION.

THE language of ancient Persia was one of the oldest forms of Aryan speech. It was so nearly identical with that of the Medes as to be regarded as the same tongue with merely dialectical differences. After Sanskrit, Persian presents the most primitive type of that great group of languages beginning in the songs of the Vedas and ending in the English book of yesterday. It is thus closely allied with Latin and Greek, Mœso-Gothic, and Anglo-Saxon. Accordingly we find that the known words in Old Persian are nearly always found with but little variation in the speech of the Greeks and Romans, and perhaps in the English of to-day. Thus the Persian *brâtar* is *bhrâtar* in Sanskrit, *frater* in Latin, *bruder* in German, and *brother* in English. The Persian *duvarâ* is *dvara* in Sanskrit, *thyra* in Greek, *thüre* in German, and *door* in English. The Persian *matar* is *mâtar* in Sanskrit, *mētēr* in Greek, *mater* in Latin, *mutter* in German, and *mother* in English. The Persian *pathi* is *panthan* in Sanskrit, *patos* in Greek, *pfad* in German, and *path* in English. The list might be extended to many scores of words illustrating with certainty the identity of all the Aryan tongues and the true place of Persian as a member of that group.

In the declension of Persian nouns six cases were employed: the nominative, the genitive, the accusative, the vocative, the ablative, and the locative. The following declension of the noun *Mada*, meaning "a Mede," may serve to show the usual case endings and forms of the noun:

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
N. Mada, ...	a Mede.	Madâ, ...	Medes.
G. Madahyâ, . .	of a Mede.	Madânâm, ...	of Medes.
Ac. Madam, . . .	a Mede.	Madâ, ...	Medes.
V. Madâ.	O Mede.	Madâ.	O Medes.
Abl. Madâ, . .	by a Mede.	Madaibish, . . .	by Medes.
Loc. Madaiya, .	with a Mede.	Madaishuva, . .	with Medes.

There were several varieties of declension, but the above forms are typical of the case structure of the language. Adjectives followed the nominal forms in all particulars. The comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives were formed by adding respectively the syllables *tara* and *tama* to the stem of the positive. In rare cases, however, the superlative was formed by adding *ista* to the positive stem—another instance of the radical identity of Persian and English, the *ista* being the same as the English *est*. In counting, the decimal system was employed, though the value of the digit did not depend on its place, as in Arabic numeration, but was absolute, as in the Roman method. The personal pronouns were *âdam* (I), *manâ* (my), *mâm* (me), *ma* (with me); in the plural *vayam* (we), *amâkham* (our), accusative and ablative unknown. In the second person the forms were *tuvam* (thou), *taiya* (thine), *tuvam* (thee), *tuvam* (O, thou), the plural forms being unknown. In the third person, *hauva* (he), *ava hya* (his), *avam* (him), *shaiya* (with him).

Persian verbs had three voices: the active, the middle, and the passive. The middle voice was very nearly identical in its forms with the passive. The verbal moods were the indicative, subjunctive, potential, imperative, and infinitive. The tenses were the present, the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect, the place of a future tense being supplied by the use of the present subjunctive. The verb *to be* had in the present tense the following forms: *amiya* (I am), *ahya* (thou art), *astiya* (he is); plural, *amahya* (we are),—(ye are), *hatiya* (they are). *I was*, was *aham*, and *he was*, *aha*. The scheme of the other parts of speech—adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions—was made out according to the analogies of the other Aryan languages, and the general rules of syntax were almost identical with those of Latin and Greek.[1]

The Persian alphabet contained twenty-

[1] The absence of the dative case in Persian and other like peculiarities necessitated departures not a few from the principles of Latin and Greek.

three phonetic elements, represented by thirty-six characters. The system of writing was the cuneiform, of which some notices have already been given in the history of Chaldæa. Persia was—and is—the native land of the cuneiform inscriptions. It appears that this style of writing, with characters made up of wedges, was born out of necessity, and the necessity existed in the *materials* chosen in certain countries to contain the records of their deeds and learning. The peculiarity of the cuneiform elements is their rectilinear character. They contain no curves. In those countries in which clay tablets and stone were the materials on which writing was executed, curved lines would naturally be avoided, and even in the primitive stages of the art the writer would reduce his system to right-line strokes. Those nations, on the other hand, that chose papyrus and parchment, and that laid on the characters with a pigment, would prefer the curve as more beautiful, and perhaps more easy of execution. Thus arose in Assyria, Media, Babylonia, and Persia the cuneiform system, and in Greece and Rome the oval style of letters.

All of the extant specimens of Persian writing are done in stone. The rock inscriptions of the times of the Achæmenians are among the most famous in the world. The most noted of these is that executed on the face of the great cliff at Behistun. Here, at the height of three hundred feet above the ground, the surface of the precipice was smoothed over a great space. Pieces of stone were fitted in in those parts where there were breaks and flaws until the whole was reduced to a perfect surface. Then the inscriptions were cut in the face of the rock. The whole was finally covered with a silicious coating to protect the work from the action of the elements. The inscriptions are contained in five great columns, the first four having over ninety lines each, and the fifth thirty-five. The story recorded is the genealogy of Darius Hystaspis and the annals of his reign—what were the provinces of the Empire; how the king put down rebellions and triumphed over his enemies. An effigy of the monarch himself is given in relief. He is armed with a bow, and his foot is planted on the prostrate form of an adversary. Next in importance to the inscription here described is that on the tomb of Darius near Persepolis. The third in extent is that containing the further history of Darius and Xerxes, on the face of a cliff at the foot of Mount Elwend, near Hamadan. Finally, may be mentioned a second inscription of Xerxes, found near the Persian town of Van.

The characters used in the cuneiform writing are from one-sixth of an inch to two inches in length. They are all chiseled in the surface of stone. The Persians seem not to have adopted the expedient of clay tablets to be first impressed with characters and afterwards burned to hardness. The work of the inscriptions is all executed from left to right, after the manner of all the Aryan nations.

The history of what may be called cuneiform learning is full of interest. The attention of modern Europe was first called to the inscriptions in the year 1618, when Garcia de Sylva Figueroa, ambassador of Philip III., of Spain, copied from the ruins of Persepolis a section of cuneiform writing. He even ventured the expression of his belief that the work was actual writing, perhaps in some dead language. The next traveler to call attention to the inscriptions was Pietro della Valle, an Italian, who in 1622 sent to the antiquarian Kircher a brick inscribed with cuneiform characters. After this it became fashionable to bring or send into Europe specimens of this curious work of the East. More than a century elapsed, however, before any serious attempt to *translate* the Persic inscriptions was made. In 1767, the elder Niebuhr, father of the historian, transcribed from the ruins of Persepolis and brought home to Denmark a considerable portion of an inscription. The extract was published, and the scholars of Europe began to exercise their skill in attempts at translation.

Many, however, still denied that the inscriptions were writing at all. Thomas Hyde, an eminent scholar, declared them to be mere idle fancies of the Persian masons and architects. Professor Witte, of Rostock, thought that they were *the work of worms!* Some de-

cided that the cuneiform characters were talismanic signs, or perhaps a kind of symbolism understood by the priests. Others, in turn, admitting that the work was actual writing, pronounced it Chinese, Cufic, Hebrew, Samaritan, and even Greek.

Meanwhile, the more expert and patient scholars were steadily pursuing the line of investigation marked out at the first by Figueroa and afterwards by Niebuhr. It was not, however, until September of 1802 that Professor Grotefend, then but twenty-seven years of age, presented before the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen the first actual translation of the cuneiform inscriptions. The accuracy of his work was demonstrated both then and afterwards, and a branch of university learning was founded on the great discovery. A review of the patient and ingenious steps in the process by which at last Grotefend succeeded in unraveling the mystery is here forbidden for want of space. His work will be commemorated as long as the Achæmenian kings are known in history.

As it respects the religious system of the Persians, much said in the History of Media might here be repeated. The two peoples were of close relationship in race, and almost identical in language and religion. As already said, the original faith of the country was the nature worship of India, but this did not extend into the period of nationality. When the Medes rose to the ascendency of Western Asia, the doctrine of Magism, long acknowledged by the tribes whom they subjugated, gradually supplanted the purer beliefs of the people until, as we have seen, a chief cause of that struggle which substituted the Persian for the Median ascendency was the hostility of Cyrus and his people against the apostasy of the Medes from the faith of their fathers. That faith was the system of reformed religion taught and established by the great apostle of the Medo-Persic race.

Zoroaster, the founder of this reformed faith, was a native of Bactria. Concerning his career there is much that is still obscure. He was the son of Pourushaspa, who lived in the time of King Vistaspa, in whom the young Zoroaster and his doctrines found a patron and friend. Until recently the King Vistaspa, or Hystaspes, has been identified with Darius Hystaspes, which identification would place the birth of the Bactrian prophet in the sixth century B. C. An examination of the Zendavesta, however, proves beyond a doubt that the epoch of Zoroaster must be referred to a period much more remote. The archaic language of the bible just referred to could never have belonged to the times of the Achæmenian kings. So the supposed identity of Vistaspa and Hystaspes had to be abandoned.[1]

Meanwhile, closer historical investigations have shown that Vistaspa was the last of the line of native princes ruling in Bactria before the conquest of that country by the Assyrians in B. C. 1200. So the latter date may be taken as a minimum for the epoch of Zoroaster. Careful critics have placed him at a period considerably more remote. It is safe to say that he flourished under the Kaianian princes of Bactria, *before* the Assyrian conquest.

Zoroaster came without supernatural claims, but his ministry was such as soon to give him the reputation of being a supernatural personage. His life was above reproach, devoted to the great work of introducing a truer and purer faith among his countrymen. His reform was in the nature of a protest against the sensuous doctrines and idolatrous ceremonial of the prevailing system. His teachings are contained in the Zendavesta—the bible of the Iranian nations. The general effect of his work was to substitute the essence for the outer shell of religion and to elevate spirit in the place of form. Ahura-Mazdâo was a spirit, and they who worshiped him must do so in spirit and in truth. So taught the prophet of Bactria.

It was among the hills of Persia that the doctrines of Zoroaster found their safest refuge. At a time when Media under Astyages was going rapidly down into the bogs of idolatry, the hardy race of Persians, still uncorrupted by luxury and by pageants appealing

[1] This for the same reason that the works of Chaucer are sufficient proof that their author did not flourish in the age of Queen Anne.

to the senses, sustained the simple faith with earnestness and zeal. Monotheism was accepted. One God, over and above nature, was believed in and worshiped. To him was ascribed such titles as the "Lord of Heaven," the "Maker of Heaven and Earth." The religious idea was dominant. Even in affairs of state there was a strict and outspoken recognition of Ahura-Mazdâo as the supreme ruler of the world. The great kings prayed to him as the giver of life and victory.

Still, the lesser powers of nature were recognized as divine. It was beyond the genius even of Zoroaster to grasp the idea of the absolute unity of the universe. It was admitted that there was a pantheon of minor deities. These might properly be prayed to, or appeased with sacrifices, or adored in worship. The unequivocal supremacy of Ahura-Mazdâo was the essential principle. That being granted, it was not impious to cry out to the lesser gods.

It is impossible to say at what precise period in Persian history the doctrines of dualism began to gain a foothold. Certain it is that they were not of the original system. Their introduction marks the beginning of that degeneration which has characterized every religion in the world under the refinements of theology. As already said in the History of Media, the Zoroastrian priests came by and by to discriminate the evil powers of nature from the good, and unable to realize the existence of a higher law which includes in its beneficence the presence of evil as a necessary element in the problem of the world, they adopted the expedient of personification and set up a catalogue of devils. It was one of the bad evolutions of depraved ingenuity.

As in the case of the early Medes, the worship of the Persians consisted in prayers to Ahura-Mazdâo and the good spirits who assisted him in the government of mankind. Another part of the ceremony was the chanting of solemn gâthâs, or hymns, in praise of the deity. Sacrifices were offered both to please and to appease the majesty of heaven, and Soma was worshiped as the best gift of the gods. In yielding religiously to intoxication man entered into the divine moods and spirit.

Of the Persian temples not very much is known. It is possible that the square towers, already described in the chapter on the architecture of the Achæmenians, may have been edifices for the worship of the deities.[1] The form of the altars before which Ahura-Mazdâo was approached in prayer is determined from the sculptures on the tombs. They had in general the shape of a mushroom. The bottom consisted of three diminishing squares. On these was set a stone cube with openings through the center, and this was surmounted with a hemispherical dome. The height of the whole was four or five feet.

Of living sacrifices the horse, as the noblest creature, was preferred. Cattle, sheep, and goats were also offered, and it is too apparent that human beings sometimes bled before the altars. Such sacrifices, however, are said to have been rare, as they were certainly against the nature and spirit of the Zoroastrian faith.

Of idols properly so-called the Persians had none. The Zendavesta everywhere denounces idolatry as contrary to true religion. Symbols, however, were permitted. The most popular emblem was that of Ahura-Mazdâo, the same being a winged circle, sometimes bearing a human figure in the center. This famous symbol is thought to have been copied from the Assyrians, with whom it stood for Asshur. The sign is seen occupying a prominent place in nearly all the Persian sculptures, especially on the face of the rock tombs where the kings were buried. At a later date, when the worship of Mithra, the sun-god, was introduced from the system of India, that deity was honored with a symbol of the great orb over which he presided, the same being in the Persian sculptures a plain disk and not a four-rayed circle like that seen on the monuments of the Ninevites.

In the account given in Book Fourth of the beliefs of the Medes, mention has been made of the spirits of good and evil—the *ahuras* and the *devas* of Iranic mythology. On one of the old pillars at Pasargadæ, thought to have been erected by Cyrus the Great, is

[1] See Book Sixth, p. 324.

a colossal figure representing the Good Genius of the Persian faith, the great angel Sraosha, one of the most benign conceptions found in the records of paganism. The figure is that of a man with four wings outspread at the shoulders, his hands lifted before a calm, pure face, as if in the act of conferring blessings from the treasury of heaven.[1] Upon his head rise the two spreading horns of power, and between these on either side stands a small misshapen figure of a human being. In the center of the outspread horns is a complex triple ornament, evidently symbolical, but the sense not easily perceived. In many of the sculptures quaint diabolical figures are seen representing the *devas* or mischievous imps whose business it was to torment human life with vexations and spleen.

The belief in one supreme God and the detestation of the practices of idolatry were the elements in the Persian faith upon which the strong religious sympathy heretofore referred to as existing between the subjects of the Achæmenians and the Jews was founded. In these respects the two peoples ran in the same channels of thought and practice, and the favor shown the Jewish nation by Cyrus and Darius was evidently traceable to community of belief.

By and by, in the latter days of the monarchy, when vice and luxury had sapped the heroic virtues of the first age of Persian greatness, corruptions came in, and defiled the primitive faith of the people. It was the story of Median apostasy repeated. The old Scythic tribes inhabiting the country before the conquest by the Persians had been Magians. This system had prevailed among the barbarous tribes of the Great Plateau before the days of Zoroaster, so that the doctrines introduced by that reformer were superimposed on a basis of belief that was ever ready to rise up from the beds of human nature and reässert its supremacy. Perhaps this substratum of religious belief, combined with the general social degeneration in the times of the later monarchy, made the purer doctrines of Zoroastrianism fall an easy prey to the more showy but less substantial system of the Magians. This change in faith, however, was rather a union or amalgamation of the two systems than a conquest of one by the other. Henceforth, till the coming of Alexander, the leading doctrines and practices of both Zoroastrianism and Magism were retained in the agglomerated faith of the Persians.

One of the features of this religious degeneration was the introduction of the worship of Mithra, the god of the sun, and his elevation to a rank equal, if not superior, to that of Ahura-Mazdâo himself. This innovation took place in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and from that date forth the Persians may be said to have been worshipers of the sun. The change in the national faith was marked, as already said, by the presence of the sun-symbol along with that of Ahura-Mazdâo in the sculptures of Persepolis.

The general effect of the modifications here mentioned was to cause an approximation of Zoroastrianism to the other forms of religious faith prevailing in Western Asia. The ceremonials of Media and Persia were no longer distinct in method or purpose. The essential integrity and elevation of the primitive belief were allowed to fall into desuetude, and the religion of show took the place of the spiritual doctrines inculcated by him of Bactria. Until this date Persia had been a land without temples. Now building in honor of the gods began to be a passion, but before time enough had elapsed for the country to be covered with great temples like those of Egypt and Babylonia, the Macedonian conqueror stood at the door and knocked. Before the day of Arbela, the simple faith of the ancient people had been replaced with a system of vainglorious idolatry.

[1] See Book Fourth, p. 219.

CHAPTER XXXII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY ANNALS.

REFERENCES to the Persian race are found in the Assyrian inscriptions as early as the reign of Shalmaneser II., about the middle of the ninth century B. C. These people were then located in the south-western parts of Armenia, and had a tribal government under chieftains who were their leaders in war. The inscriptions mention twenty-five of such clans who were obliged to pay tribute to the Assyrians. For three reigns this relation of dependency to the Ninevite kings was maintained. The tribes were even at this early date closely associated with the Medes, who were regarded as their kinsmen and confederates. Nearly a century then elapsed before the Persians are again mentioned. In the reign of Sennacherib, however, they are a second time heard of in a situation which implied a migration from their old haunts in Armenia. It was in the district north-east of Susiana, on the very borders of Persia Proper, that the tribes next appear. From this locality they easily spread into the country where their real historical development began.

It was not far from the date of the capture of Nineveh by Cyaxares that the Persians grew into a monarchy. About the close of the seventh century B. C., they were sufficiently consolidated to attract the attention of their neighbors as an independent power. It was at this date, as nearly as may be determined, that ACHÆMENES, founder of the great line of sovereigns bearing his name, ascended the throne of Persia. The scattered tribes were united under one government, and royalty was recognized as the foundation of the state. Of the deeds of Achæmenes very little is known. He is celebrated in the inscriptions of Behistun and elsewhere rather as the father of great monarchs and the founder of the kingdom than for any actual accomplishments of peace or war. As a general rule, however, a famous character is not born of nothing, and we may safely conclude that the builder of the primitive Persian monarchy was one of those barbaric geniuses without whose agency the ancient world could hardly have been lifted from the quagmires.

Achæmenes was succeeded on the throne by his son TEÏSPES, of whom our information is still more limited. His importance, like that of most of the kings of the world, seems to have been derived from his father and his descendants. Of the next two rulers the names even have not been certainly ascertained, but it is believed that one of them was called CAMBYSES. It appears that in his reign one event of some importance occurred, the same being an intermarriage between his daughter Atossa and the king of Cappadocia. This would imply that considerable state-craft had been developed at the Persian court, and that the kingdom had grown to such importance as to make a marriage with one of its princesses desirable to foreign rulers.

Meanwhile, the kingdom of the Medes on the north had become especially powerful in Western Asia. According to Herodotus, the Persians were subordinated to their kinsmen by conquest as early as 634 B. C., and in this condition they remained, subject to the exactions of a galling dependency until the relations of the two countries were reversed by the strong arm of Cyrus. The authority of the native inscriptions, however, indicates no such conquest, and it is probably true that the tributary relations of Persia to the sister kingdom arose rather out of juniority and kinship than out of conditions imposed by the sword. Certain it is, however, that there was a dependency of the younger kingdom upon the elder, and that Persia down to the time of Cyrus should be regarded rather as a fief of Media than as an independent state. No doubt the kings of this period were restive under their subordination, and awaited the day when their political condition should be revo-

lutionized. Their resentment, moreover, was constantly whetted by the enforced residence of the heir apparent of the Persian crown at the court of the Median king. For it was one of the conditions of the dependency that the crown prince of Persia should be retained during his minority at the Median capital.

Such was the condition of affairs when CAMBYSES, the father of Cyrus the Great, occupied the throne. It was the daydawn of Persian ascendency. Astyages was now king of Media. That power had run a rapid course up to greatness and down to effeminacy. Friendly relations were maintained between the two kingdoms of the Medes and Persians. Mandané, the daughter of Astyages, was the wife of Cambyses and mother of the young prince Cyrus, who, in accordance with the custom, was obliged to reside at the court of his grandfather. Here, being a young man of genius and ambition, he became a close student of the political condition. He saw that Media was in no condition to extend her power or even defend herself against aggression. He saw that the vices of Magism had sapped the national faith, and that, as compared with his father's hardy and virtuous government, there was no longer any necessity or even fitness for the subjection of his country to the king of the Medes. He revolved these things in his mind, and was already well advanced in the concept of rebellion when those fortuitous circumstances arose by which the crisis was precipitated. The escape of Cyrus from the court of his grandfather; the efforts of the latter to retake him; the insurrection of the Persians in behalf of their prince; the invasion of the country by Astyages; the fierce battles which were fought; the final stand of the Persian army on the hills around Pasargadæ; the discomfiture and rout of the Medes; the death of Cambyses, and the undisputed mastery of the whole situation by the victorious Cyrus,—all this has been recounted in the preceding pages.[1]

It will be remembered that, long before this revolution, Assyria had succumbed to Cyaxares, who, with Nabopolassar of Babylon and the king of Lydia, took Western Asia for an inheritance. By this sudden reversal of the relations between Media and Persia—by which the former, with very little resistance from the Medes themselves, was brought to acknowledge the supremacy of the latter—the Persian prince found himself suddenly in possession of the leadership of the better part of Asia. The kingdom became an empire. The Aryan race obtained the mastery of the great Semitic nations of Mesopotamia and the West. A solidarity was thus accomplished of all the Iranian peoples of the wide regions beyond the Zagros. The conditions for the sudden development of a great political power, perhaps the greatest which the annals of the world had yet presented, were all existent, and nothing was lacking which genius could supply in the ambitious and warlike prince under whom that power was to burst into luxuriant leafage and blossom.

CYRUS, the son of Cambyses, and founder of the Persian Empire, was born about the year B. C. 580. His birthplace is thought to have been Ecbatana. Before he was born his grandfather, Astyages, had ominous dreams, and gave orders that the child should be put to death as soon as born. A certain Harpagus, however, an officer in the royal court and a believer in fate, gave the babe to a herdsman, who reared him as his son.

Of course, the lad, being a prince incognito, ruled all his playfellows. So much for natural selection. He gave orders that a certain Mede should be scourged, and when this brought on difficulty Cyrus was taken into his grandfather's presence, and by him was recognized. It was now too late to kill the royal scion, but the son of Harpagus was put to death as a proper punishment for his father's disobedience. After this, Cyrus remained at the court, and before his escape from Ecbatana was instructed by Harpagus in the rudiments of rebellion and the best means of subverting the kingdom of the Medes. The result has already been narrated. The subsequent history of the great king is a part of the history of his times, and will be presented in the following narrative.

The conquest of Ecbatana by Cyrus was

[1] See Book Fourth, pp. 234–236.

accepted by the Medes as a matter of course. The young prince was already a favorite with a majority of the Median nobles. They who in matters of religion longed for a return to the simple faith of the fathers, hailed him as a deliverer from national apostasy. He was, moreover, a grandson of the recent king, and might, therefore, be regarded almost as the rightful heir to the throne. Every circumstance favored the peaceable assumption by him of all the rights and prerogatives hitherto belonging to the kings of Media. Such was the ready acquiescence in the new order of the peoples beyond the Zagros.

To the Assyrians the change was only a change of masters. To them it imported nothing that a Persian rather than a Mede should inherit whatever was left of the glory of Nineveh and Calah. So they accepted the substitution of one dynasty for another without any effort on their part to regain their lost independence. In looking around the horizon, Cyrus could discover but one quarter from which to anticipate the coming of danger. This was in the extreme North-west. In this connection, the tripartite division of Western Asia by Cyaxares, Nabopolassar, and the king of Lydia will be readily recalled. After the accession of Cyrus, it was this kingdom of Lydia which appeared to him the only power of which he had occasion to be apprehensive. It was, therefore, to this remote country between the Halys and the Ægean to which the Persian king first turned his attention. At this time the Lydian monarch was Crœsus, who, as we have already seen—in order to anticipate the movements of his foe—hastily sent an embassy to the king of Babylonia, inviting his coöperation against the Persian. How that invitation was accepted and became the ground for the subsequent invasion of Lower Mesopotamia and the overthrow of Babylon, has already been narrated.[1] In this place we have to do only with the conquest of Lydia by the Persians.

Crœsus was not averse to the war. His father had for a long time withstood the assaults of the Medes led by Cyaxares, and had finally, after the skies were so ominously veiled at the Battle of the Eclipse, secured an honorable and advantageous alliance by intermarriage between his own house and that of Ecbatana. Crœsus had as little cause as his father to dread disaster in a contest with the Iranians from beyond the mountains. And so, without waiting to receive active aid or even assurances of aid from the Babylonians, he flung himself into a war with Cyrus.

The Lydian king made great preparations for the conflict. In addition to the resources of his own kingdom—then by far the most powerful and opulent in Asia Minor—he secured an alliance with Pharaoh Amasis of Egypt, and also with the oligarchy of Sparta. Thus fortified with enormous wealth and with the support of several of the most powerful states of the West, to say nothing of expected aid from Nabonadius of Babylon, he felt himself strong enough to confront even the conqueror of the Medes.

Cyrus began his work by diplomacy. Knowing that Lydia had but recently subdued many of the small states between the Halys and the Ægean, and learning that a large per cent of the people of those states were of Greek descent and therefore of dispositions exceeding averse to despotic rule, he sent emissaries among them to test their loyalty to the Lydian king, and, if possible, to foment insurrections. At this time, however, the Ionian Greeks, who were engaged in commerce by land and sea, were not especially galled by the rule of the easy-going Crœsus, and perceiving that war meant ruin to merchants, thought it not wise to break their allegiance; and so the agents of Cyrus returned to their master with no results.

The Persian was not discouraged. Throwing aside all expedients, he put himself at the head of his army and advanced rapidly to the west. Taking the circuitous route from Mesopotamia, he came by way of Erzerum into that part of Northern Cappadocia known afterwards as the Kingdom of Pontus, and soon found himself on the borders of his adversary's country. Crœsus, meanwhile, had advanced to meet his antagonist. Several Cappadocian towns were taken by the Lydians, and the two armies came together in a

[1] See Book Fifth, p. 299.

district called PTERIA. Here a hard battle was fought, but night came on without decisive results. On the morrow the Persians did not renew the fight; and Crœsus, seeing that with an inferior force he had held his own in a whole day's battle against the renowned warrior of the East, drew the false conclusion that the Persian was overrated, that he durst not renew the conflict, and that no further hostilities need be expected until the following spring. For it was already well advanced towards winter. Acting on these erroneous deductions, the Lydian monarch fell back across the Halys and proceeded, at his own capital of Sardis, to disband a large part of his troops, trusting to re-collect them in the spring in time to foil any attempts of his adversary.

Cyrus, it appears, had foreseen precisely the course which the Lydian would take. For himself he had no thought of allowing the invasion to lag. So, as soon as he was informed of the policy of the king of the Lydians, he pressed forward, crossed the Halys, and came with great rapidity into the immediate vicinity of Sardis. Crœsus, though surprised, was not dismayed. He gathered the remnant of his army, mostly native Lydians, and went out to give the Persians battle. Cyrus had respect enough for his antagonist to act with extreme circumspection.

The Lydian cavalry was at this time regarded as the best in Western Asia; so, in the beginning of the battle, which was fought in the valley of the Hermus, but a few miles from the capital, the Persian king ordered a line of camels to be arranged in that part of the field where they would be opposed to the Lydian horse. The latter were frightened into a stampede, but the cavalrymen dismounted and fought on foot, and the whole battle on the side of the Lydians was pressed with the greatest courage. The Persians, however, gained ground in every part, and after a very hard conflict the Lydians were driven within the walls of Sardis. Here Crœsus determined to defend himself to the last extreme.

Cyrus at once began a siege; for the city was walled. The Lydians suffered no great alarm, deeming the capital impregnable. Their courage was increased by an unsuccessful assault made by the Persians. Crœsus sent messengers to the provincial states of his kingdom and to Egypt and Babylonia to urge forward contingents and supplies to the end that the Persian king might be overwhelmed. After his attack on the ramparts Cyrus invested the city, and the siege was progressing slowly when an accident brought about what valor had been unable to accomplish. The citadel, which occupied a part of the defenses, was built on the native rock, from which in a single place a slope led down with a comparatively easy descent to the plain outside. A Persian soldier, happening to see a Lydian whose helmet had fallen over the battlement, descend this slope and return without difficulty, perceived that he and his companions could do the same, and making a rush up the slope, gained the citadel, cut down the guards, and laid the city at the mercy of Cyrus. Sardis fell. Pillage followed. Crœsus, about to be slain, was recognized and taken into the presence of the Persian king. The latter at the first treated his fallen foe with some severity, but afterwards received him into favor. The captive monarch was taken to Ecbatana, where he was given a provincial government, or, at any rate, the revenues of a province for his support. Here, and afterwards at Babylon, he continued to reside for thirty years, a friend of his conqueror and of his successor, Cambyses. Such was the usage of the early Persian kings, whose conduct on the score of humanity may be set in happy contrast with the ferocious bloodthirstiness of contemporary oriental monarchs.

As to the kingdom of Lydia, thus subverted, it was at once annexed to the Persian dominions. With the capture of the king and capital all resistance ceased, as was usually the case in Eastern conquests. Cyrus had no cause of spite against any except those Ionian Greeks who had refused at the suggestion of his ambassadors to break their allegiance to Crœsus.[1] But the punishment of these petty

[1] These circumstances are worthy of special note as being the first in a long train of events involving the relations of the Greek cities of Asia

Greek towns was not considered a work of sufficient importance to detain the king of Persia in the West; so, after a delay of a few weeks in Sardis, he set out for his own capital, having extended the borders of his Empire in a single campaign to the shores of the Ægean sea.

On his departure from the Lydian capital Cyrus committed the government of the country to a certain Tabalus. Another Lydian, named Pactyas, was intrusted with the important duty of transferring the almost fabulous treasures accumulated by Crœsus and his predecessors to Ecbatana. The work also involved the transfer of some of the more wealthy and influential Lydian nobles to the capital of the conqueror. Scarcely, however, had this work begun when an insurrection broke out headed by Pactyas himself, who broke with the governor and drove him into the citadel. A large part of the native population, together with the Greek merchants and traders of the city, joined with Pactyas, who was able with the treasures in his possession to employ a large mercenary force against Tabalus. Cyrus, now *en route* for Ecbatana, heard of the insurrection, and detaching a strong body of troops put them under command of Mazares, a Median general, with directions to suppress the revolt and restore order in the lately conquered kingdom. Mazares returned to Sardis, but before he reached the city Pactyas had concluded that discretion was the better part of valor, especially in a rebel, had given up the attempt against Tabalus and fled from Sardis.

The insurrectionists were disarmed and order restored without difficulty. Some of the Greek towns whose citizens had espoused the cause of Pactyas were taken and the people sold as slaves. The rebel leader was hunted down in the island of Chios. He was surrendered under command of Mazares, who soon afterwards died, and was succeeded in the government of Lydia by another Median general, named Harpagus.

By him a policy less severe was adopted towards the Ionian towns of Asia Minor. He proceeded to reduce them to submission, but in many instances the inhabitants were permitted to escape, and in others the terms exacted were so easy that the example of submission spread from city to city, until not only they but the adjacent Greek islands—with the exception of Samos—voluntarily surrendered, and became tributary to the Persians.

In this general establishment of the authority of the Great King along the shores of the Ægean, one or two circumstances are worthy of special note. Policy began to take the place of brute force. This was illustrated in the conduct of Cyrus towards Miletus. This city had for a long time held out against the Lydians. It had finally yielded to Crœsus only a short time before he himself was overthrown by a greater. Cyrus was quick to recognize this course of Miletus, and the city was therefore excepted when the orders were given to Harpagus to reduce all the Asiatic Greeks to submission. The greatest of the cities of these people was thus made a conspicuous example of the favor which was likely to follow in all cases to those who stood against the enemies of Persia. Another circumstance is the appearance at this time of wise statesmanship—at least by suggestion—among the Greeks of the Ionian towns—such statesmanship as, if adopted, might possibly have saved them, and perhaps even their countrymen beyond the Ægean from the Persian scourge. It was at this time that Thales, a philosopher of Miletus, proposed that a Greek Congress, to be constituted of representatives from all the coast towns of Asia Minor and the littoral islands, should assemble at Teos and form a confederacy, with a view to securing the independence of each and all. It was nothing less than a rational measure looking to the establishment of Greek nationality; but the spirit of localism, which, in some shape or other, was the bane of the Greeks in all their subsequent history, was already too strong to be overcome, and the suggestion of Thales was of little practical effect.

Minor with the Persian Empire, and leading ultimately to those wars of world-wide fame in which "all Asia" was precipitated upon the small but heroic states of Greece.

In the meantime Harpagus continued his conquests. Forming a large force of mercenaries, composed chiefly of the Ionians and Æolians, he marched into Caria and easily overran the country. The Greeks also of the Dorian towns on the coast gave up without a struggle and became tributary to the Persian king. The Lycians, however, in alliance with the Caunians, made a stubborn resistance. The story of their defense is one of tragic heroism. Overpowered by the superior forces of Harpagus, they retreated into their two towns, Caunus and Xanthus, and when these could be defended no longer, they applied the torch to their own homes, burned their wives and children, and then rushing forth fell upon their enemies and fought till the last man perished.

On reaching his own capital, after the conquest of Lydia, Cyrus immediately turned his attention to the countries on his eastern borders. Of these the most important was Bactria. Inhabited, like Media and Persia, by people of the Iranic race, having its own traditions and history, famous as the home of Zoroaster, this land had an affinity in language, customs, and population with the best parts of the Empire. During the time of the Median ascendency Bactria had been nominally dependent upon that power, but no actual reduction of the people to the extent of incorporating them with the other nations subjugated by Cyaxares had taken place. The Bactrians were brave and warlike, but less skillful in tactics and discipline than their invaders. Cyrus, however, in his campaign against them, found them a formidable foe; and it was his superiority in numbers and equipment, combined with the impetus of victory which his army had now acquired, rather than naked valor, which led to his success. The Bactrians were subdued, made their submission, and were incorporated in the Empire.

The next campaign—following immediately after the Bactrian—was directed against the great nation of the Sacæ. These multitudinous barbarians were excellent soldiers, fighting desperately both on foot and on horseback, wielding the bow and the battle-axe with terrible effect, wheeling and whirling in battle like swift clouds driven by angry winds. Men and women fought side by side in the ranks, and there was little difference in the effectiveness of their blows or courage. They came into the field a half-million strong to resist the coming of Cyrus. In one terrible battle they had some advantage. Their king—Amorges—was taken by the Persians, but the queen—Sparethra—took his place at the head of the battle, which was fought with such desperation that several Persian officers of distinction fell into the hands of the Sacæ and enabled them to get back their king by an exchange of prisoners. Nevertheless the prowess of the Persians proved too much for the undisciplined rage of the barbarians, and they were overcome. Like the other tribes, they submitted to the Persian yoke and became tributary to the conqueror.

After this success Cyrus rapidly overran the territories of nearly all those nations which have been described in a preceding chapter as provincial dependencies of the Empire. Hyrcania, Parthia, Chorasmia, Sogdiana, Arya, Sattagydia, and Gandaria, each in turn fell before the resistless arms of Persia. As far north as the Jaxartes—on whose banks a town named Cyropolis for generations bore witness to the presence of the conqueror—and as far east as Afghanistan, and southward to Seistan, the Persian king continued his triumphant march, repeating in each province the drama of victory. At the close of the great campaign the whole vast region bounded on the north by the Jaxartes, on the east by the valley of the Indus, on the south by the deserts of Khorassan, and on the west by the Caspian sea, had been reduced to submission and added to the Persian dominions.

According to the Greek historian, Arrian, who was Roman prefect of Cappadocia in the second century of our era, the next campaign of Cyrus was into Gedrosia. But of this expedition we have no details, and the fact of the conquest has been called in question. The country of the Gedrosians, however, was, in the times of Darius Hystaspis, a province of the Empire, and it must therefore have been added by himself or some of his predecessors, most likely Cyrus. Be this as it may, the

conquest was effected at some time between the reign of the latter and that of Darius.

The period assigned to these Eastern campaigns of Cyrus is thirteen or fourteen years. Perhaps during these long-continued wars and marches he returned at intervals to his own capital. It is probable that the monarch spent many of his winters either at Ecbatana or Pasargadæ, and thence with the opening of spring renewed his military operations after the prevalent manner of the times. Thus, for a long period, by the constant occupations of Cyrus in the East, did Nabonadius, king of Babylon, secure exemption from the punishment which he had provoked by his alliance with Crœsus in former years. It does not often happen, however, that an Eastern king allows his wrath to cool in the case of one who has entered a league against him, and so the vengeance of the Persian was procrastinated rather than extinguished. When his Eastern wars were ended he was already sixty years of age, but his ardor was not cooled, and he now found time to inflict on the Babylonians the chastisement long due for their defection and disloyalty to old traditions of friendship.

It was in the year B. C. 539 that the Persian monarch found himself in readiness to proceed against Babylon. It will be remembered that he was delayed one winter in Susiana, as it has been alleged, by the drowning of the sacred horses. Here it was, at any rate, either by design or accident, that his soldiers became expert in the use of the spade and learned how to change the channels of great rivers. In the spring of the next year he resumed his march into the Babylonian plain, and in the course of that memorable summer succeeded in the complete demolition of the Empire of the Babylonians. How the great city fell; how Nabonadius was cooped up in Borsippa; how, foreseeing the inevitable, he surrendered himself and his people to the conqueror, has already been fully narrated in the preceding pages.[1] With the capture of Babylon there was an immediate recognition of the new order of things throughout Mesopotamia. Susiana had been already subdued. Syria and Palestine passed as a matter of course to the conqueror. His Empire was suddenly enlarged by territories whose aggregate area was not less than a quarter of a million of square miles. From the Indus to the Mediterranean there was no longer left a single state able to throw serious resistance or even an interesting impediment in the way of the Great King. Up to this time in the history of the world no other had ruled such vast dominions. It was the sudden ascendency of a new family of mankind. For fifteen hundred years the Semites and Cushites had dominated the best parts of Western Asia and Africa. It was now the turn of the Aryans to introduce their world-wide supremacy by the establishment of their first great Empire. This collapse of the political power of the Semitic race involved a great change in the opinions and usages of mankind. It was a crisis which marked the downfall of an old system of religious faith which, variously inflected, had prevailed among the Mesopotamian nations and in various countries whose people were in race-affinity with the Chaldæans and Assyrians. For all this there was substituted a new set of doctrines and beliefs, in spirituality greatly superior to the old, in philosophy much more accordant with right reason. The ancient religious beliefs of Babylon and Nineveh were impaled on the sword of Cyrus the Great and held up for a spectacle; and the gods of the Babylonian plain did a sudden and everlasting obeisance to the spirit of Zoroaster.

Inside of the borders of the Empire established by the Persian king there was little left to engage his energies. On the extreme south-west the little state of Phœnicia neglected or refused to acknowledge the new order by sending tokens of submission. It does not appear, however, that the mind of Cyrus was seriously disturbed by this act, which at the worst could occasion but little trouble. He had been so long accustomed to combating with enemies of larger growth that he gave little attention to the hostile attitude assumed by the Phœnicians. It was Egypt,

[1] For an account of the capture of Babylon and the establishment of Persian supremacy in Mesopotamia, see Book Fifth, p. 300.

rather than Phœnicia, to which he looked as the next field worthy of his talents and ambition, and with a view to aiding his interests and plans in this direction he adopted a measure which, to say the least, was as much one of statecraft as of religious preference.

This was the restoration to their own country of the captive Jews of Babylon. For seventy years these exiles had toiled at the public works in and about the great city. In the latter part of this period the rigor of the Babylonians had relaxed, and the servile race had found some favor in the eyes of their masters. It will be remembered that the later Babylonian kings had more than once contemplated restoring the Jews to their own land. This idea was adopted—though for different reasons—by Cyrus, who perceived that such an act would assure the establishment of a friendly nation on the immediate borders of Egypt, and in the direct line of march which he must take in case of an invasion of that country. All but a few of the generation who seventy years before had come out from Jewry were now dead, but the enthusiasm and gratitude of their children were easily awaked at the prospect of a return to the abandoned altars of their fathers; and the edict of emancipation issued by Cyrus was hailed with delight by the people, who, under the leadership of Ezra and Nehemiah, returned to Palestine and began the work of rebuilding Jerusalem.

While the invasion of Egypt was still postponed by Cyrus, his attention was called by the turbulence of certain barbarian nations to the other extreme of his empire. It is not impossible that there was that in the disposition of the king which led him to prefer campaigns against the half-savage races of the Great Plateau rather than war with the luxurious peoples of Asia Minor and the South-west. At any rate, instead of engaging in a war with Egypt, he began a march to the north-east for the purpose of chastising the wild tribes of that region, who had grown insolent by immunity. The particular people to be punished were, according to Herodotus,

THE REBUILDING OF JERUSALEM.

the Massagetæ, who had their haunts beyond the Jaxartes; but according to Ctesias, the race against which the campaign was directed was a nation called the Derbices, dwelling next to India. The stories of the results of the war that ensued are also contradictory. The account of Herodotus is, that in a great battle with the Massagetæ Cyrus was at first victorious, but that afterwards he was defeated and slain, his body falling into the hands of the barbarians, by whom it was treated with shameful indignity. The story told by Ctesias is that the Derbices were assisted by the Indians, who furnished them with soldiers and elephants. In a hard fought battle Cyrus was defeated and mortally wounded. In a second engagement, however, the Persians rallied, and, with the help of the Sacæ, overcame the enemy and compelled them to submit. All accounts agree that Cyrus lost his life. As to his body, that certainly was recovered from the foe, even if it ever fell into their hands; for the tomb of the great conqueror remains at Pasargadæ unto the present day. His reign lasted for twenty-nine years, his death occurring in the year B. C. 529. His exit from power and from the world is wrapped in that strange obscurity which has veiled the final passage of so many of the celebrities of history.

The reign of Cyrus the Great marked an epoch in the history of the ancient world. The transformation from pure orientalism to half-rational methods of government began from this time, and was in some degree traceable to the character of Cyrus. He was a man of genius, essentially warlike, little satisfied with the vocations of peace. In courage and energy he was without a rival among the monarchs of the age he lived in. His judgment was unerring, his foresight equal to any emergency, his humanity far above the spirit of his times. His conduct was frequently marked by charitable features, for which we should look in vain in many modern heroes. Whether in himself, considered as general and king, or in his surroundings, which, as always happens, were determined in their moral tone by his own example, he rises in character far above any other monarch of his own epoch, perhaps above any *Asiatic* king who ever sat on a throne. The epithet of "Great" which he fairly won may be defended and reäffirmed before the bar of history.

One of the chief influences shed forth from the reign of Cyrus was the birth of Persian art. The simple but massive structures at Pasargadæ were among the best fruits of that strength and energy which diffused itself on every hand. It was the Doric era in Persian architecture. The added glories of the great palaces of the successors of Cyrus at Persepolis were but the natural growth and development of what was begun at Pasargadæ.

Like a prudent king, Cyrus settled the succession in the monarchy. It was ordained that the crown should descend to CAMBYSES, the eldest son of the king. In this respect Cyrus was less embarrassed than his successors, for he had eschewed polygamy and limited himself to but one wife. By her he had five children, two sons and three daughters. The second son was named Smerdis, and to him the king assigned the independent government of several provinces. In this circumstance was laid the foundation of the civil and social broils that ensued, and of the revolution which finally cost his family the throne of the Empire.

For no sooner was Cyrus dead and Cambyses established in authority than the latter became jealous of his brother Smerdis to the extent of issuing a secret order that he should be put to death. The bloody edict was fulfilled, but all knowledge of the fact was carefully concealed. Only the king and a few confederates knew of the crime that had been committed.

Having thus freed himself from the dangers of rivalry, and taken Nemesis into his confidence, Cambyses was ready to undertake what his father had contemplated—the conquest of Egypt. It was now a quarter of a century since Pharaoh Amasis, by his alliance with Crœsus, had given mortal offense to Cyrus. But the Lydian king was now resident at the capital of the Empire, and was held in favor with Cambyses himself; so it seemed malapropos to dig up a difficulty on the score of an extinct quarrel between Persia and Lydia.

The king, therefore, sought some new occasion. He sent an embassy to Egypt and made demands that Amasis should give him his daughter for a wife. The demand was complied with, and for a while Cambyses thought himself in possession of an Egyptian princess; but he soon learned that he had been made the victim of a vile fraud, for the girl, after the manner of human nature, told him that she was only a princess by proxy, not being the daughter of Amasis at all. That crafty ruler had sent an Egyptian damsel named Nitetis to personate his daughter in the Persian palace.

Cambyses, however, was not displeased at the "outrage," for the transaction gave him the very opportunity which he sought to settle old scores and new grievances together. He accordingly began elaborate preparations for the invasion of Egypt. In order to secure a safe passage through the Syrian deserts he made treaties with the Arab chiefs and secured their friendship. He saw that in a war with the Egyptians a naval armament would be indispensable, and to secure this in the distant Mediterranean was a work of the greatest difficulty. The king, however, opened negotiations with the Phœnicians, whom by alternate threats and bribes he induced to furnish fleets for the desired purpose. The island of Cyprus was also seduced from her loyalty to Egypt, and led into a contribution of ships and sailors. The Greek cities of Asia Minor, both Ionian and Æolian, entered the league, and placed a large naval force at the disposal of the Persian king. So, after four years of preparation, in B. C. 525, Cambyses began his invasion. Advancing by way of the Mediterranean coast, he came to Pelusium, where the Egyptians had come out to confront him. Here a decisive battle, in which fifty thousand are said to have fallen, was fought, and the Persians were completely victorious. The Egyptians beat a hurried retreat to Memphis, and shut themselves within the fortifications.

Meanwhile, the combined fleets of Phœnicia, Cyprus, and the Greek cities had dispersed the Egyptian armament, so that by the time Cambyses appeared before Memphis the allied fleet had taken possession of the Nile, and Psametik, who at this juncture succeeded his father, Amasis, on the throne, was rigorously blockaded both by land and water. Nevertheless the resistance was stubborn. The Greek mercenaries in the pay of the Egyptians long and stoutly defended the city; but Persian persistence triumphed in the end, and the capital of the Pharaohs fell into the hands of Cambyses. The captive Psametik was treated with the usual consideration shown to princely prisoners, and was not, for the time, wholly deprived of power.[1]

As soon as the downfall of Egypt was known, the petty states bordering on the Nile valley at once sent in their submission. Thus did the tribes inhabiting the Libyan desert and the more distant colonies of Barca and Cyrenaica. In all the regions immediately adjoining the scene of his recent conquests there was none to furnish Cambyses with occasion for further war. But the passion which he had inherited from his father could not be satiated, and he began to scan the horizon for new fields in which to display his powers. There were in Africa at this time three countries besides those already subjugated, which appeared to the Persian worthy of his arms. These were Carthage in the west, the Oasis of Amun in the distant desert, and Ethiopia in the south. If these were reduced to submission, then all Africa would be under the sway of Persia, as much as Western and Central Asia. What his father had done with the wild tribes between the Jaxartes and Khorassan, Cambyses would do with the nations of the unknown southwest. Three great campaigns were accordingly planned by the conqueror; one against Carthage, one against the Oasis of Amun, and the third against Ethiopia. In the prosecution of the first he was thwarted at the very outset by an unexpected difficulty. The Phœnicians refused to participate in the Carthaginian expedition on the grounds that Carthage was a Phœnician colony, and that they

[1] For a further account of the capture of Memphis by the Persians and the conversion of Egypt into a province of the Empire, see Book First, p. 71.

could not be expected to make war upon their own kinsmen and friends. Without the coöperation of the fleet the campaign was an impossibility, for no march to such a distance with the desert on the left and the sea on the right, could be conducted without a constant resort to ships for necessary supplies. So the attack on Carthage had to be postponed or wholly given up. But the expedition against Amun was immediately undertaken. It will be remembered that this oasis was the seat of the worship of the god Amun, held in such high esteem by the Thebans, and, indeed, by all the hierarchy of Egypt. To overthrow this shrine and altar, and to substitute therefor the rites and ceremonies of Zoroastrianism, seemed to Cambyses a necessary part of the work by which Persia and Persian institutions should become predominant in all the world. So an army of fifty thousand men was organized at Memphis and dispatched against Amun. But Amun was regardful of his ancient rights. The Libyan sands were blown up in a terrific storm, and the whole army was buried alive. Not a man was left to carry the news to Cambyses how nature had fought for Africa.

These checks and disasters angered rather than dismayed the Persian monarch. With the residue of his forces, he now undertook in person the subjugation of Ethiopia. The march lay across the Nubian desert. It was more serious business than the crossing of those Syrian wastes with which the kings of Western Asia were all familiar. The Persian had not advanced far until he began to be distressed by failure of provisions. The farther he went the more straitened became his condition. To go forward was irretrievable ruin; to return was humiliation and disgrace. Necessity turned the scale in favor of retreat. Without striking a blow Cambyses staggered back across the desert, and was glad to find himself again in Egypt with the survivors of his ill-advised expeditions.

The Egyptians—especially the priests—were quick to see what they regarded as the omens of hope in these disasters of their oppressor. To the people the haggard king and his hungry forces seemed now but an army of shreds and patches. The gods of Africa were evidently in a revival. Wherefore the priests proceeded to declare a new incarnation of Apis, and the people, in accordance with immemorial usage on such occasions, broke forth in a jubilee. Meanwhile, political sedition was at work. Psametik himself, who until now had retained the government—of course, under direction of his conqueror—was detected in treasonable intrigues. The Egyptian princes were mostly engaged in the same dangerous business, and the priests were eager to set fire to the insurrection. But the Persian lion, who had come back half-starved from the Nubian desert, was still a lion, and he soon taught them the folly of supposing him an ass. He seized Psametik and put him to death. The nobles who had conspired with him were also slain. The priests were scourged until their sacred backs were bloody. The new Apis, in all his royal calfhood, was ordered to be brought into the presence of Cambyses, who ran him through with his sword. The festival of the incarnation was abolished by an edict. Every tradition of the hierarchy was openly insulted. The king tore open the sacred sarcophagi, and handled the royal mummies with as much contempt as if they had been pieces of decayed wood. He went into the holy places in the temples of Memphis, and made faces at the image of Phtha. His insulted godship was then taken down and burned. The Egyptians quailed before the angry monarch, whose vehement character they had underestimated, and all symptoms of rebellion immediately disappeared. There is little doubt, however, that the wrath of the king was in the long run an impolitic as well as an un-Persian display of passion, and that the subsequent disquietude and disloyal spirit of the Egyptians was in some degree traceable to the severity with which their first foolish defection was visited. For a series of years, however, all spirit of resistance disappeared, and Egypt, without complaint, assumed a provincial position in the great Empire.

As soon as quiet was completely restored on the Nile, Cambyses, in the year B. C. 522, set out on his return to Persia. He had pro-

ceeded as far as Syria when the most startling news reached him from his own capital. A herald suddenly dashed into the camp and made open proclamation that Cambyses was dethroned, and demanded submission of all loyal Persians to Smerdis, the king, the son of Cyrus. For the moment Cambyses was utterly confounded, not knowing whether his brother was really alive or whether another had assumed his character. It happened, however, that Prexaspes, the Persian nobleman to whom the assassination of Smerdis had been intrusted years before, was with the army, and by him the king was reässured that the perfidious deed had really been accomplished. He who now impersonated Smerdis must be an impostor; but he could not be denounced as such without betraying the crime of the king. Even should Cambyses now proclaim the truth, he would not be believed; for his assertion would be accepted as the fiction and lie of a falling coward. It was suggested by Prexaspes that the impostor was a certain Gomates, a Magus, to whose brother Cambyses, in departing for Egypt, had committed the government of his palace—and this conjecture proved to be correct; but it availed the king nothing who or what he was who had seized his throne. In the sore distress and desperation of the case, the Persian king, with the rash impetuosity of his nature, determined to put himself beyond the reach

CAMBYSES KILLS THE APIS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

of conspirators. He drew his sword and plunged it into his side. The wound was mortal, and in a few days he expired. The silent Nemesis had settled her account.

The character of Cambyses is strongly contrasted with that of his father. The latter preserved to his death the confidence of his army and country. The former was never entirely secure with either. His unsuccessful campaigns in Africa tarnished his reputation as a general, and the loyalty of his troops in the hour of the great crisis may well be doubted. He was subject to extremes of passion, and when aroused was capable of any cruelty. In his private life he is represented to have been of a cold and haughty temper, little conducive of personal esteem. His name, moreover, is stained with the practice of revolting vices and the perpetration of dark crimes. Under the influence of a vile passion he married his own sister, and he procured his brother's assassination. In the Persian inscriptions he is described by epithets indicating the low esteem in which he was held by his countrymen. Nor were the Greek historians more careful of his memory. He remained true to the national religion, and it is believed that an element in his despair was the belief that both his army and his countrymen at large were infected with the vices of Magism to the extent of making hopeless any struggle which he might make to dethrone the usurper Gomates.

To the impostor the death of the king was so far all that could be desired. That event freed himself from the greatest, but not the only, peril which confronted him. He still had a difficult and dangerous part to play. There was the liability to detection. There were his mutilated ears; for Cyrus the Great had cut off those members for the perpetration of a crime. There was the religious imbroglio; for he was the tool of the Magians, who through him hoped to secure in Persia, as they had done in Media, the establishment of a system in which there was some chance for a priesthood to display itself. This feature of the usurpation had to be kept well in the background, both by the managers and the beneficiary; for it was not safe for either to do more than chuckle in private over the prospect of a religious revolution.

Under conditions such as these, conspirators generally adopt the ruse of advancing some popular measure which shall distract attention from the real purposes to be promoted. Gomates and his Magian counselors accordingly began their government by issuing edicts for the remission of all tributes and military service for the space of three years. These were measures calculated to give great satisfaction, especially in the provinces, where the danger of insurrection was to be most apprehended. As a second step in the direction of allaying discontent, the PSEUDO-SMERDIS—for by that name is he generally known—took to wife all the widows of Cambyses. This was a popular but dangerous proceeding, for some of these ex-wives of the late king—certainly Atossa—were acquainted with the real Smerdis, and might therefore be expected to reveal the imposture. To prevent this a new rule was adopted for the harem by which the inmates, who had hitherto associated freely within the Gynæceum, were now isolated, each being strictly ordered to remain in her own apartments. All communication, both within and without, was, as to the women of the seraglio, positively interdicted. By these measures the conspirators hoped to trammel up the consequences of the audacious business which they had in hand.

It is, however, in the nature of crime to betray itself. Brief immunity gives a longer rein. Gomates, encouraged by temporary success and instigated by the impatient Magians, soon set about the work of the religious revolution. He ordered the temples of the Zoroastrians to be destroyed and their rites to be discontinued. Everywhere the Magi appeared as the representatives of religion. The adherents of the old system were for the time overawed. In Media the change was, of course, accepted with favor, and in the provinces with indifference. What to them was a change from Ahura-Mazdâo to the gods of Sun, Earth, Water, and Air? As for them their own local altars and petty deities had been abolished long ago; so the war of the great gods worshiped by conquerors con-

cerned them not at all. Only in Persia was there danger of insurrection against the measures which Gomates advanced with ever-increasing boldness.

Meanwhile suspicions began to be blown abroad. There were many who recalled the dying declarations of Cambyses to the effect that the self-asserting Smerdis was an impostor. The sudden change in the management of the seraglio, and more particularly the seclusion of the king himself, who neither went beyond the palace walls or permitted himself to be seen within them, added to the growing belief that all was not well with the state. In the minds of all those who were faithful to Zoroastrianism there was still greater cause for suspicion in the religious treason of the secreted monarch, which was such as no true Achæmenian ever could have been guilty of. Still the unseen beast might be a lion, and for a while rebellion smouldered.

After a season, however, rumor spread her wings. There were mutterings in various quarters portending an outbreak. At first these were suppressed, and a few leaders of discontent were put to death. Soon, however, the "Seven Princes" of the Empire took secret counsel regarding the condition of affairs, and it was resolved that the impostor in the palace should be overthrown at all hazards. As a leader of the daring business Darius, one of the Princes, son of Hystaspes, who was a Persian noble of lineal descent from Achæmenes, was chosen. He had himself—if we trust his great inscription on the rocks of Behistun—a clear, even indisputable title to the crown in case of the failure of the line of Cyrus. Even in the life-time of that king Darius had been recognized as of the blood royal, and had been under suspicion of entertaining designs on the crown. Now that Smerdis was killed and Cambyses had killed himself, there was an open road for a legitimate Achæmenian to the throne of the Empire.

On arriving at the capital Darius became the soul of the conspiracy. He and his fellows organized a select band, and were on the eve of assaulting the palace when Gomates took the alarm and fled. He was pursued to Sictachotes, in Media, where he had taken refuge in a fort. This was entered by Darius and his followers, and the impostor was surrounded and slain. A number of his adherents, who had sought refuge with him in the fort, shared his fate. The head of the usurper, with the indisputable proof of his pernicious career written in the stumps of his ears, was cut off and borne away by the insurgents, who exhibited it everywhere as at once the cause and the justification of their bloody deed. There was a general uprising, and each one felt warranted in cutting down the first Magus whom he met. Until nightfall there was a massacre, but the destruction of life was not renewed on the morrow. An edict was, however, issued that henceforth the anniversary of the death of Gomates should be observed as a solemn festival, during which none of the Magian caste should venture forth under penalty of losing his life.

Darius ascended the throne without opposition. He took care to claim the Achæmenian descent, and thus secured himself against any hostility on the part of zealous adherents of the house of Cyrus. In entering upon his reign some additional guarantees of good government were given, though these were merely concessions of privileges and prerogatives to the great princes who had recently helped him to the throne. Among these pledges was that which gave to each prince the unrestricted right to enter the palace and have interviews with the king. Another stipulation was that the royal wives should henceforth be chosen from the families of the Seven Princes, and from them only. In addition to these guarantees it was specially conceded to Otanes, one of the princes, that he and his successor at the head of his house should be exempt from kingly interference, and should be annually honored with a present from his sovereign.

The bottom principles in the recent civil broils in Persia had been essentially religious. To this subject the new monarch at once turned his attention. The Zoroastrian temples were rebuilt and the old rites reïnstituted. In proportion as favor was thus shown to the ancient faith the innovations of Magism were carefully eradicated. The general policy of Cyrus was

adopted in the government, and the impression was thus sought to be made that the revolution was really a restitution of the old *régime*.

During the reign of the Pseudo-Smerdis the Jews of the West had had trouble. The rebuilding of their ancient temple, which had been begun under the edict of Cyrus, had, on the petition of the Samaritans, been ordered to cease. After the accession of Darius the enemies of the Jewish people attempted to secure a continuance of the injunction, but the king not only renewed the concessions made by Cyrus but actually opened the royal store-houses to furnish the means for the completion of the work in Jewry.

The religious attitude of Darius was at once his strength and his weakness. In Persia Proper the actions of the king in suppressing Magism met with general favor, and the same was true in Bactria and the north-east. But in other parts of the Empire, especially in Media, the reverse was true. In countries where Magism had come to be preferred to the doctrines of Zoroaster, there was profound though silent hostility to the religious revolution. In this the seeds of discontent were plentiful. The circumstances, moreover, under which Darius had obtained the crown were such as to suggest the possibility of other successful conspiracies. In the distant parts of the Empire the full force of the imposture of Gomates, and the full justice of the Seven Princes in rebelling against him, would not be felt, and Darius would be regarded merely as an insurgent who had won the throne by audacity. The reïmposition of tribute and of military service by the new king—things necessary to an actual, but not necessary to a factitious, monarch—tended to disaffection.

All these reasons, and others, combined to launch Darius and his government on a sea of troubles. Almost immediately after the new *régime* was established a series of rebellions broke out, which rolled wave after wave through well-nigh the whole extent of the Empire, and involved in their suppression the persistent efforts of the king for a period of six years. Even the home government was shaken by a revolt, which was, however, easily quieted by force.

The most serious of the insurrections were in Susiana, Babylonia, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Parthia, Hyrcania, Margiana, Sagartia, and Sacia. In all of these countries rebellion followed rebellion like a succession of explosions, and at times much more than half of the entire Persian dominions were in revolt. If Darius had been a prince subject to alarms, or if he had been wanting in expedients backed by great persistence, he would, in all probability, have been overwhelmed. But he faced his insurgent provinces with true courage, and ultimately showed himself the master.

The rebellions in Susiana and Babylonia broke out at about the same time. Rightly judging the Babylonian insurrection to be the more important, the king at once proceeded to put down the rebels in that country. They were led by a certain Nebuchadnezzar, who showed himself as the son of Nabonadius, the last king of Babylon. Under the prestige of a great name, the insurgent hoped to throw off the Persian yoke and reëstablish the independence of his country. An army was organized under his lead and advanced to the Babylonian frontier on the Tigris. Here Darius found his rebellious subjects posted on the river bank, the stream defended by their boats. But the king crossed in their faces and drove them away in a rout. He pursued Nebuchadnezzar in the direction of Babylon. The latter made another stand on the Euphrates, but was again defeated and driven with the remnant of his forces into the capital. The city was soon surrendered and the rebellion ended. The specter who called himself Nebuchadnezzar was taken and put to death.

On his departure in person against the insurgent army in Babylonia, Darius had dispatched a part of his forces to suppress the revolt in Susiana. These had already achieved some successes before news came of the king's victories over the Babylonians. The Susianian rebellion had been instigated by an aspirant named Atrines, who also claimed royal honors and purposed the reëstablishment of the old monarchy. But this ambitious

leader was overthrown and captured by the troops sent against him. He was sent to Darius, now marching in person against the Susianians, and by him was put to death. A new rebel, however, took his place, with even more lofty pretensions. He called himself Martes, and had it given out that he was a descendant of the ancient kings. His pretensions were soon extinguished; for the king was now free from the peril of the Babylonian revolt, and Martes was seized by the Susianians, terrified at the approach of their sovereign, and by them was put to death before the king's arrival.

Meanwhile, in the North, the three great states of Media, Assyria, and Armenia had revolted, and were making common cause against Darius. At the head of the rebellion was Xathrites, a Mede, who was proclaimed king. He, like the other insurgents of his time, claimed royal descent, representing himself as a great-grandson of Cyaxares. His claim was recognized not only by the Medes, but also by the Assyrians and Armenians, who acknowledged him as their sovereign. Here, then, was an affair of the most alarming proportions.

Darius now established his court at Babylon. Thence he sent forth his generals to test the strength of his antagonist. The main army was put under the command of Hydarnes, one of the Princes who had helped Darius to the throne. He advanced into Media, while Dadarses, with another division, was sent against the Armenians, and Vomises against the Assyrians. All three armies had hard battles with the insurrectionists, and in some of the engagements the forces of the king were worsted, but the rebels were finally and completely subdued. Xathrites fled towards Parthia, but was taken and brought to Ecbatana, where Darius had him dreadfully mutilated and chained to the door-posts of the palace. After some days of suffering he was crucified. The whole North was speedily overrun by the king's armies and taught the bitter lesson of experience.

The revolts in Parthia, Hyrcania, and Sagartia were less important and were easily quelled. The terror excited by the Great King's successes and by the severe measures adopted by him against those who defied his authority, was borne on the wings of Rumor, and was of itself sufficient in most instances to deter the tempted from the rashness of rebellion. In one instance there was a domestic insurrection. While Darius was absent in Parthia, another impostor, a second Smerdis *redivivus*, appeared and claimed the throne. The remnant of the Magi were ready for any thing. A party of adherents gathered around the pretender, who took the field and endeavored to win by force as well as fraud. But he was soon overwhelmed by the Persian army, which could not be seduced from its loyalty, and was captured and crucified.

While these events were taking place in Persia, a second rebellion had broken out in Babylonia. A certain Aracus who, like the preceding impostor, styled himself "Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonadius," raised the standard of revolt, and gathered around him the malcontents of the kingdom. A force was sent against him by Darius, and he was soon taken and put to death. With his overthrow there seems to have been an end of turbulence, and the king found, for the first time since his accession, an opportunity to turn his attention to other matters, not, however, until he had compassed the killing of the governor of Sardis for some disloyal conduct, and procured the death of the Egyptian Pharaoh for daring to put his image on the coins of the Empire.

The monarch, as soon as quiet was everywhere restored, gave himself to grave questions of statecraft. The occurrence of rebellions and the heterogeneous character of the nations composing the Empire, led him to consider the feasibility of reconstructing the whole frame of government, to the end that tranquillity might henceforth be the rule and revolt the exception in the history of his country.

The first object proposed by Darius was the establishment of uniformity throughout the Empire by the institution of a government by satrapies. The satrapy was either a certain district specially organized as a provincial department, or one of the many petty

states over which the new order was extended. The governor, or satrap, with his attendant officers, was in every case to hold a like relation to his sovereign, but the people over whom he ruled were permitted to retain their local institutions of language, law, and custom. The satrap was in all cases appointed by the king, and was removable at his pleasure. He was charged with the collection of the taxes, the maintenance of order, and the administration of the laws. He was the representative of the sovereign, and might institute—indeed was expected to institute—a court similar to that of the Empire, but less elaborate. The satrap had his retinue of councilors, eunuchs, guards, and servants. He had his harem organized and managed after the example set by the king. He had his court ceremonial and edicts, all intended to do locally and on a small scale what the Great King did with pomp and pageantry. The office was one which in its very nature was subject to the grossest abuses. Since the chief duty of the satrap was to collect and forward to his master certain revenues and tributes, and since, that done, the king was not likely to look carefully into the matter of assessments and taxes, a vast opportunity was given for peculation, and most of the satraps availed themselves thereof to heap up enormous treasure. Neither the property nor the honor of the provincials had any guaranty against the rapacity of the local governors.

The hardships to which the people of the satrapies were subject were increased by the military system which was adopted. The army of the Empire was composed almost exclusively of Medes and Persians. The troops were quartered at various places in the satrapies, each fort and stronghold being thus occupied by a foreign soldiery, who cared nothing for the locality in which they were established. The number of satrapies into which the Empire was divided varied at different times from twenty to thirty. In a few instances, as in Cilicia, Paphlagonia, and Phœnicia, the native rulers of the country were retained as a kind of concession to the old system, or perhaps a necessary compromise with the spirit of the people.

As to Persia Proper, her condition was exceptional. Over her no governor was appointed. The home kingdom was under the immediate jurisdiction of the king. Nor were any regular taxes assessed against the people of Persia; they, on the contrary, making voluntary contributions when the king passed through the country.

One of the principal advantages derived from the new order was the substitution of a system of regular taxation for the method of special levies and contributions which had hitherto prevailed. The aggregate amount obtained under the new *régime* was, from the system introduced in the assessments and collections, much greater than the sums derived from the old manner of special levy. The annual amount assessed to each satrapy varied according to the wealth and the character of the productions of the province. The poorer satrapies paid an annual tribute of a little over two hundred thousand dollars. The better class were assessed to the extent of about a million and a-quarter dollars; while the richest—India—was obliged to pay as much as five million dollars annually! Sometimes the levy was made *in kind*. Egypt was assessed to be paid in corn; Media, in mules, sheep, and horses; and Babylonia was, at least in one instance, required to meet a levy of five hundred boy eunuchs!

The chief danger to which the satrapial government was exposed was, of course, the liability of treason and conspiracy on the part of the governor. The avoidance of this peril seems to have received a large share of the king's attention. The difficulty was met by the establishment of a system of checks among the royal officers. Of these there were three in each satrapy directly amenable to the king. These were the satrap himself, the military commandant of the district, and the secretary. The first was the administrative officer of the government; the second was responsible for his division of the army; and the duty of the third was to keep the monarch constantly informed of the state of affairs in the provinces. He was called the "King's Eye" and the "King's Ear," and it was not the smallest part of his work to see and hear

the first indications of disloyalty on the part of his fellow-officials, the governor and the commandant. It will readily be seen that officers thus checked and watched at every turn would have but a small margin of opportunity for plotting mischief against the state.

Besides this counterpoise and purposely-contrived jealousy of the provincial officers, the king sent annually into each satrapy a trusted legate of his own, armed with power and accompanied by a sufficient number of troops to revolutionize the local government should he detect therein any thing inimical to the king's majesty. In addition even to this safeguard, and as if to make assurance doubly sure, the satrapial officers, that is, the three principals in the government, were appointed, as far as practicable, from the king's own kinsmen, and were generally intermarried with the daughters of the princely houses of the Empire.

Another measure instituted by Darius, having direct reference to his scheme of government, was the establishment of post-houses and post-roads between the different parts of the Empire and the capital. The stations were founded at a distance from each other equal to the space which a horse was estimated to be able to travel at full gallop without breaking. At each post was placed a relay of couriers and swift steeds, by which a message could be transmitted, even from remote provinces, almost on the wings of the wind.

Mention should also be made of the system of coinage instituted by the Great King. His name of Darius has furnished to the vocabulary of the world the term *Daric*, given to the coins of the Empire. The gold daric weighed one hundred and twenty-four grains Troy, and the silver, two hundred and thirty grains. The value of the first, therefore, was a little over five dollars, and of the second about sixty cents. Thus was the second period in the reign of Darius devoted to the promotion of peace and stable government, as the first had been to the suppression of rebellion.

After nine years devoted thus to affairs of state, the king again, in B. C. 507, took up arms, this time for the enlargement of his territories. It will be remembered that Cyrus had extended by conquest the eastern borders of the Empire to the valley of the Indus. The ambition of Darius now contemplated the addition of both the Punjab and Sinde to his dominions. He accordingly undertook in person the reduction of the gorgeous East. The expedition was entirely successful, and a vast region, rivaling the valley of the Nile in fertility and the Sacramento in auriferous deposits, was added to the kingdoms won by his great predecessor. Having thus reached a natural barrier on the east, the frozen regions on the north, the sea on the south, there remained for the arms of Persia no other passage to fame than the gateway of the West.

There lay the Hellespont, across which the shores of Europe were easily discerned with the naked eye. All Asia Minor was now an integral part of the Empire. The Persian banner was thus advanced to the coast line of the Ægean. Now came, too, the episode of Democedes, the Greek physician, who, taken prisoner at Sardis, had been sent as a slave to Susa. There he attracted the attention of Darius, whose crippled foot he healed. Afterwards he cured the queen, Atossa, and by her intercession was permitted under a Persian escort to depart to his own country. Thus was brought back to Darius full accounts of the countries as far west as Italy. The king's mind was inflamed with the prospect, and he would have immediately set out for a European invasion but for the presence in the far North-west of that ancient scourge, the Scythians. He felt it necessary, or at any rate desirable, to overawe this savage race before undertaking a work so vast as that which he contemplated in the West. Accordingly he organized an expedition against the Scyths.

He crossed the Euxine; penetrated Thrace; passed the Danube; traversed a vast area of country; struck terror into the barbarians rather by numbers and display than by battle, and returned in safety to his capital. In returning, however, he left in Thrace a division of eighty thousand men under the command of Megabazus, with orders to subdue that country to the authority of Persia. The general was successful in the discharge of his

duty, and carried his conquest from the Propontis to the borders of Macedonia. An embassy was sent into the latter country to demand earth and water, the usual tokens of submission, and Amyntas, the king, acceding to the request, became a vassal of Persia. Alexander the Great will hereafter avenge the humiliation of his country.—Thus was gained an Asiatic foothold on the soil of Europe.

After his return to Susa, Darius dismissed for a while his designs of conquest in the West, and gave himself to the work of adorning his capital. While engaged in this work, however, news came of a revolt which was the immediate precursor of one of the most heroic episodes in the history of the world. The Greek towns of the Ionian and Æolian confederacies along the coasts of Asia Minor had, in common with the rest of the world, fallen under the domination of Persian governors. These rulers were generally despotic and odious to the people. They were regarded as foreign tyrants, and were associated in the public mind with Darius and his government: they were a part of it.

At this time the governor of Miletus was Histiæus, who had accompanied the king on his Scythian campaign. He it was who had guarded the bridge over the Danube unheeding the solicitations of treason, and had thus secured for his master those distant parts. With some of the Persian governors, however, he had quarreled, and, being wronged by them, took sides with the anti-Persian party in the city. His son-in-law, Aristagoras, also a prominent leader in Miletus, advanced the daring project of throwing off the Persian yoke. The Ionian and Æolian cities were induced to join in the enterprise. An embassy was sent to Athens as the mother city of Miletus, and she promised to her sorrow to furnish a contingent of twenty ships. Eretria was also solicited, and agreed to furnish five ships. Only the austere Sparta would promise nothing.

Aristagoras returned to Miletus, and in a short time it was determined to strike out boldly and attack Sardis, the capital of Asia Minor. With singular audacity the Greeks proceeded against the city and took it at the first onset. Artaphernes shut himself up in the citadel. The assailants began to plunder the accumulated treasures, especially those at the shrine of Apollo. A fire broke out, and the greater part of the city was laid in ashes. The news of the daring exploit spread everywhere, and a general uprising, which would have been impossible in any other than a community of Greeks, followed along the whole coast.

It was, however, a deed of rashness rather than bravery. Darius hurried his forces to the West, and the petty principalities gave way before vindictive leadership and weight of numbers. Cyprus, which had been gained by the Greeks, was retaken. The Carians were overcome after a brave resistance. One after another the Ionian and Æolian towns went down before the onslaughts of the Persians. Aristagoras took to flight. Miletus was the last, as she had been the first, of the rebel cities. She made a stubborn defense. The remnants of the Greek armaments assembled to her aid, but were defeated by the Persian fleet. The city fell. Her people were seized and carried away to the shores of the Persian Gulf. What might, under sagacious and unwavering leadership, have been a permanent recovery of independence by the Asiatic Greeks, had ended in smoke and vapor. Besides, there were the insults of Athens and Eretria still to be avenged by a king whose memory rarely failed him in such matters. For fear, however, that vengeance might slumber, a secretary was employed to repeat each morning in the monarch's ear, "Sire, remember Athens."

The king remembered Athens. Determining to proceed at once against that city, he appointed Mardonius, his son-in-law, commander of the expedition, which was to press forward by way of Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly into Greece. As a measure preparatory to the campaign, and designed to secure beyond all contingency the loyalty of the Greek towns on the Asiatic coast, Darius now granted to these that very freedom for which they had fought in the recent revolt, dismissed the tyrants which had oppressed them, and conceded to them the right of

democratic government. For the king knew well that such a measure would give employment to the factious temper of the Greek leaders in Ionia and Æolia, and distract their attention wholly from the affairs of their countrymen in the West.

As soon as this change in the government of the coast towns had been effected, Mardonius began his advance through Thrace. At first, opposition melted before him. Thasos, with its rich mines, was taken. Macedonia was obliged to acknowledge her tributary relation to the Empire. Every thing seemed to indicate the speedy reduction of the whole country to complete submission. But while the Persian fleet was rounding Mount Athos a violent storm arose and sent three hundred triremes and twenty thousand soldiers to the bottom. This disaster was immediately followed by a successful onset made by the Brygi, a tribe of Thracians dwelling between the Strymon and the Axius. These half-barbarians fell upon the Persian land forces by night, killing many and wounding the general. But the veteran Mardonius, by no means dismayed, followed his assailants and compelled them to submit. The injury done to the fleet, however, was so great that the main object of the expedition had to be abandoned: the Persians retreated into Thrace and thence into Asia Minor.

Still Darius remembered Athens. Within two years a second great army was organized and put under command of Datis and Artaphernes. In B. C. 490 they set out to accomplish what Mardonius had failed to do. Avoiding the dangerous route by way of the promontory of Athos, the expedition sailed directly across the Ægean, and passing through the Cyclades came at once upon the objects of its vengeance. Eretria was taken and leveled to the ground. Then came the turn of Athens. Meanwhile, Miltiades, governor of the Thracian Chersonesus, who had accompanied Darius on his expedition against the Scythians, and afterwards broken with the king by taking sides with the revolted Ionian cities, was chosen, with nine other polemarchs, to protect Athens against the Persians. With great skill he gained over his colleagues to agree to a battle. The plain of MARATHON was selected, and here where the mountains look on the sea was fought that first battle that gave freedom and immortality to the Greek race. The Persians, notwithstanding they outnumbered the Greeks ten to one, having two hundred thousand men, while their opponents could muster but twenty thousand, were disastrously beaten and hurled back in a broken rout upon Asia.[1]

Still Darius remembered Athens. He immediately began preparations on a gigantic scale for subjugation of the audacious Greeks. For three years the whole energies of the Empire were devoted to the organization and equipment of a force sufficiently great to overwhelm not only Greece but the whole of Europe. Never before in history had such stupendous measures been taken to secure the subjugation of a belligerent people. When, however, the preparations were nearly completed, a revolt broke out in Egypt, and the attention of the Persian king was thus for the time distracted by the necessities of a double field of war. His energies, however, rose with the emergency. He determined to lead one army in person, and send the other under trusted generals to put down all opposition. But on the eve of these great movements, the king, in the sixty-third year of his age and the thirty-sixth of his reign, fell sick and died; and the unfinished work of revenge and subjugation was left to Xerxes, his son and successor on the throne of the Empire. Thus ended the career of Darius Hyspastis, noted both in peace and war as one of the greatest sovereigns of the ancient world.

XERXES was not the king's eldest son, but Artabazanes, the eldest, was not "born in the purple,"[2] and so the crown descended to Xerxes, the son of Atossa, he being born

[1] It is deemed best to reserve the full account of the Græco-Persian wars for the following Book, devoted to the History of Greece. It is believed that the more plentiful sources of information accessible from the Greek side of the conflict, and indeed every circumstance would indicate that the fuller narrative of the great struggle should be recited from the Athenian point of view.

[2] "Born in the purple" signifies, in the civil polity of ancient Persia, that the prince to whom the phrase is applied was born *after* his father's accession to the throne.

after his father acceded to the throne. The new sovereign was not slow to take up and prosecute his father's unfinished work. His preference, however, was to punish Egypt rather than to conquer Greece. It is not impossible that, if left to himself, he would have abandoned the Grecian war altogether; but his advisers soon brought him to see that sheer political necessity and a decent respect for the honor of his country required him to subjugate the impudent states of Greece. So it was determined to carry forward with all dispatch the purposes of Darius.

In the mean time, however, in B. C. 485, a revolt broke out in the province of Babylonia, which had to be suppressed before even Egypt could be reduced to submission. Zopyrus, the Babylonian satrap, in attempting to maintain order, was overthrown and killed by the insurgent populace; but Megabyzus, his son, was soon restored to authority, and Babylon paid the penalty by suffering a sack and the plunder of her great temple. The king, as soon as this insurrection was disposed of, proceeded into Egypt and quickly overthrew his rebellious subjects, punishing the leaders and increasing the tribute of the country. This being accomplished, he at last found himself ready to proceed against the Greeks.

It required four years of preparation, however, before every thing was deemed in readiness for the invasion. The failures of the preceding expeditions had forewarned the Persian against the dangers that had precipitated them. It was seen that a sufficient force could not be conveyed directly across the Ægean. Xerxes must rely upon his army rather than his navy, and yet the latter would be necessary in full force. A land march around the long coast line of Thrace and Macedonia would be the only feasible method of pouring Persia upon Greece in overwhelming power. So this route was chosen. All the satraps of the Empire were ordered to prepare their contingents of men and ships, and were stimulated by promises of immense rewards to them who sent to the rendezvous the finest and best armed quotas of troops.

To the states on the coast was committed the work of equipping the navy, which was to consist of one thousand two hundred triremes and three thousand galleys of smaller size. Storehouses were established on the proposed line of march, and these were filled with untold supplies of corn. Still greater in magnitude was the work of cutting in twain with a ship-canal the isthmus which held Mount Athos to the mainland, which enterprise was deemed essential to the passage of the ships from the Strymonic into the Signitic gulf. Besides this, the Hellespont was to be again spanned with a bridge of boats, as it had been by Darius in his campaign against the Scyths. The bridge of Xerxes, however, was much greater than that built by his father. It was built double—that is, of two rows of boats, over which was laid the immense wooden structure of the bridge proper. The whole was covered with earth and brush-wood, forming a solid causeway from shore to shore, defended on each side by bulwarks. When the work was nearly completed a storm arose, broke the cables, and swept the structure away. For this piece of inefficiency on the part of the builders and of impudence on the part of the elements, the former were put to death and the latter, in their representative, the sea, were properly scourged.

At last, in the spring of 481 B. C., the march began. Forty-nine nations were marshaled under their respective banners. The army numbered eighteen hundred thousand men! Of these there were eighty thousand cavalry and twenty thousand charioteers and camel-riders.[1] Each contingent was armed and equipped after the fashion of the country whence it came. Each had its own commander and its own place in the advance. The whole army was broken into three great divisions. The front column consisted of about one-half of the contingents and the

[1] The method of counting the host, as given by Herodotus, is interesting and amusing. Ten thousand men were first counted and huddled closely together. Around this compact mass a wall was built to the height of a man's waist. The space was then emptied and successively filled until the whole army had been *measured*. It was found that the infantry filled the inclosure *a hundred and seventy times*.

baggage. The next division was composed exclusively of Persian soldiers, in the midst of whom the king had his place, with the sacred emblems of authority and religion. Next to the royal person was the famous cohort of ten thousand, called the "Immortals." The third column was made up of the other half of the contingents furnished by the provinces and states of the Empire.

The march was from Susa to Sardis, from Sardis to Abydos. At the latter place a throne was erected on an eminence, from which the king surveyed the country, the sea, and the army. It was such a sight as was never before, never afterwards, witnessed by any potentate of the earth. Herodotus relates that, as the pageant passed before the monarch, he remarked pathetically to Artabanes that in a few years not a man of the immense host would be alive. The lesson of mortality rushed over him, and he gave way to tears.

The Hellespont was crossed in safety, the passage requiring *seven days and nights*. The king, having first prayed and cast a golden goblet into the sea, went in advance, amid myrtle boughs and clouds of incense. Then came the "Immortals," and then the endless stream of soldiers. The march now lay through Thrace. For some distance the advance was through territories already subject to the king, and no opposition was met. The country for a great distance on either hand was eaten up. The first trouble was in the district between the Strymon and the Axius, where it is said that droves of lions came down out of the mountains and killed and ate many of the camels. At Pieria a halt was made, and the king sent ambassadors to all the states of Greece, except Sparta and Athens, demanding earth and water as tokens of submission. Nor was it believed that any would dare refuse.

The replies were favorable from a large number of the states, but others refused. The march was accordingly renewed, and continued without molestation to the PASS OF THERMOPYLÆ. Here, between Callidromus and the sea, was a long, narrow defile, which had been selected by the Greeks as affording them the most advantageous point of defense on the whole line of the Persian advance. Here were collected the forces of Sparta and Athens, and of a few other states that had determined to stand or fall with their countrymen. The whole body numbered nine thousand men. They were under the polemarch LEONIDAS, of Sparta. His own band numbered only three hundred men; but there were seven hundred Lacedemonians, one thousand Phocians, one thousand Locrians, seven hundred Thespians, and four hundred Thebans, all of whom were first-class soldiers, skilled in the best discipline of the Greeks. These took possession of the pass and awaited the onset.

After a four days' pause the Persians advanced. The vanguard was beaten back. The Medes and Cissians were sent into the defile and were repulsed. The Immortals were sent forward and were cut to pieces. For two days assault after assault was made upon the invincible Greeks, but to no avail. On the third night, however, the Persians discovered a path over the mountains, gained the lower end of the pass, hemmed in all of the heroes except those—the larger number—who, receiving the news, had preferred to save themselves by flight. The Spartans and some others remained. They attacked the enemy in front, but were pressed back into the narrowest part of the defile. Here they fought till the last man was killed. Twenty thousand of the enemy had fallen, and Xerxes had had a taste of the coming banquet.

As the invading army proceeded into Greece, the Persian fleet kept along the coast as far as the island of Eubœa. Here in three sea-fights, on three successive days, the Greeks, with an armament of only two hundred and seventy-one ships, held their own against their enemy. The Athenian fleet fell back to SALAMIS, where it took a position in the strait between that island and the shore. From this place it was proposed to retire, but the strategy of THEMISTOCLES prevailed, and the Persians having blockaded the strait above and below, that famous battle was fought of which an account will be given in a subsequent Book.[1] The enormous armament of the

[1] See Book Eighth, p. 550.

Persians was beaten and scattered to the winds. Five hundred ships were sunk. The sea for miles around was covered with broken galleys and fragments of the general ruin.

Xerxes, who had watched the battle, foresaw the end, and fled for Asia. His retreat was hastily made to the Hellespont, where he found his magnificent bridge swept away by a storm, and was glad to cross to Abydos in an open boat. Mardonius was left behind in Greece with two hundred and sixty thousand men to renew in the following spring the work of subjugation which thus far had wrought the other way.

In the following year, B. C. 480, Mardonius returned to the task. With the opening of spring he marched from Thessaly into Attica, and took possession of Athens. Here he tried diplomacy, and was about to succeed when Sparta, who had been disaffected, reappeared as the ally of the Athenians. Contingents rapidly poured in from the other states until the combined army of the Greeks numbered one hundred and eight thousand men. Mardonius had now three times that number. The two great forces met in a death struggle on the memorable field of PLATÆA, where the discomfiture of the Persians was so complete and overwhelming as to destroy at once and forever all thoughts of renewing the contest by the enemies of Greece.[1] The tremendous avalanche which had rolled with such crushing weight upon the devoted commonwealths of the Hellenes had melted into vapor, and the skies were as blue as before.

In a short time after the battle of Platæa, Thrace, Macedonia, and Pæonia recovered their independence, and the borders of the Persian Empire were contracted to the Ægean and the Hellespont. Not only did the Greeks beat back the invasion, but they followed up their advantage and recovered and restored to independence all the islands of the Propontis and the Ægean, which had hitherto belonged to Persia. They landed a force on the coast of Asia Minor, defeated sixty thousand Persians at Mycalé, and destroyed the remnants of the fleet which had escaped from Salamis.

[1] For full account of the battle of Platæa, see Book Eighth, pp. 553, 554.

Nor is it to be questioned that if the Greek states had stood together in the great cause of emancipation and had resolutely followed up with blow on blow the work they had begun, the whole of the Greek confederations on the shores of Asia Minor would have been liberated from foreign domination. Political dissensions, however, prevailed among the Grecian commonwealths, and the extension of freedom stopped with the Cyclades.

After the subsidence of his ill-fated wars, Xerxes abandoned himself to his court. It was a licentious turmoil, which ended presently in tragedy. The seraglio system had begun to bear its evil fruits in the destruction of virtue and the establishment of intrigue and blood-cruelty. Xerxes himself had been but once married; but instead of the lawful abandonment of the harem he entered into criminal relations with the princesses of his court, thus provoking the jealous rage of the queen, Amestris. A band of enemies thus arose around him, and finally a conspiracy was formed, whose leaders, Artabanes and Aspamitres, entered the king's chamber and murdered him. He had reigned for twenty years, and though the Empire under his dominion had suffered little positive reduction, yet great disasters had lowered the reputation of the Persian arms, and social and domestic broils, ending in assassination, had disgraced the annals of the nations.

Of the three sons of Xerxes, the eldest, Darius, was, at the instigation of Artabanes and on the false charge of having killed the late king, put to death by the youngest, Artaxerxes. The other son, Hystaspes, who held the office of satrap of Bactria, and was absent from the court, was unable to prevent either the crime of his brother's death or the usurpation of ARTAXERXES, who at once, B. C. 465, took the throne. Hystaspes, taking up arms to maintain his own right to the Empire, was overthrown in two battles by the forces of Artaxerxes.

Five years after the death of Xerxes another revolt broke out in Egypt. The leaders were a Libyan chief named Inarus and a native Egyptian named Amyrtacus. To their aid came an Athenian fleet of two hun-

dred vessels, and the Persians were defeated in several engagements. Memphis was taken by the insurgents and held until the arrival of a large Persian army under Megabyzus, who overwhelmed the rebels, retook Memphis, and destroyed the Athenian fleet. Inarus was crucified.

Athens, smarting under her reverse, equipped another fleet of two hundred sail and sent it under Cimon against Cyprus, a dependency of Persia. He began a siege of Citium, but died soon afterwards, and the siege was abandoned. The fleet then sailed to Salamis, and there falling in with a Phœnician squadron of three hundred ships, captured or dispersed the whole. Artaxerxes, alarmed at the condition of affairs, sought peace, and the same—known as the "Peace of Callias"—was agreed to on condition that Cyprus should remain to the king, but that all the Greek cities of Asia Minor should be granted their freedom. The Mediterranean was divided by a line running north and south through Phaselis. Persian war-ships should not pass to the west of that line, or Greek ships to the east. Thus after a struggle of fifty years (from B. C. 499 to 449) was ended the first great conflict between the Greeks and the Persians.

A short time after the conclusion of peace the tranquillity of the Empire was broken by a revolt in Syria. The leader was that same Megabyzus who had recently suppressed the insurrection in Egypt. Against his positive promise the rebel Inarus had been put to death by the king. Megabyzus was incensed and took up arms in his own satrapy, and the revolt was so successful that Artaxerxes was presently obliged to treat with the insurgents, and to grant them honorable terms of reconciliation. It was the first time since the days of Cyrus that the majesty of Persia had been successfully defied by a provincial governor—a fatal precedent for the future of the Empire.

In the years that followed the treaty of peace with the Greeks there were several petty rebellions, but none of them of a magnitude to endanger the general tranquillity. Samos took up arms in 440, on account of the bad faith of the satrap of Sardis, but was soon pacified. The provinces of Lycia and Caria, under the leadership of Zopyrus, raised the standard of insurrection, and some of the Greek states were on the eve of lending aid to the insurgents, but were prevented from doing so by local dissensions among themselves. Artaxerxes saw with satisfaction that the political broils of Greece were sufficient to prevent any formidable aggression from that quarter. The Lycians and Carians, left without support, were soon brought into submission.

Artaxerxes was without great strength of character. His mother, Amestris—she of the evil mind—and Amytis, his sister, exercised an undue influence in the affairs of government. The administration was thus in a good measure given up to spite and caprice. The king himself was of a gentle and unwarlike disposition, and was incapable of great actions either in the field or court. No conquests for the enlargement of the Empire were planned, no important expeditions undertaken, during his reign. He occupied the throne for twenty-four years, and dying in B. C. 425, left his crown to his only legitimate heir, XERXES II., son of the queen Dampasia.

There were, however, seventeen other sons of the late king, who had for their mothers various concubines belonging to the court. Some of these were ambitious, and one of them, named SOGDIANUS, taking advantage of the half-drunken condition of Xerxes at a feast, murdered him, only forty-five days after his accession. The assassin took the throne, but in a few months another half-brother, named Ochus, following the bloody method of Sogdianus, killed him and took the throne under the title of DARIUS NOTHUS. He had held the satrapy of Hyrcania during the life of Artaxerxes, and had married his aunt, Parysatis, a daughter of Xerxes the Great. By her he had a son, Arsaces, afterwards known as Artaxerxes II. The reign of Nothus lasted for nineteen years (B. C. 426–407), and was almost wholly occupied with rebellions in the satrapies and imbroglios with the Greeks. The first insurrection was raised by his brother, Arsites, and that same Mega-

byzus who had been previously at the head of the Syrian revolt. For a while the insurgents, aided by a large force of Greek mercenaries, were successful, and not until these foreign auxiliaries had been corrupted with Persian gold were the king's forces able to reduce the rest to submission. Terms were granted to Arsites, but the queen induced the king to break his word of faith, and the rebel brother was put to death.

The next insurrection broke out in Lydia. Pissuthnes, the satrap of that province, was a member of the royal family. With the reaccumulated wealth of Sardis, he hired a large contingent of Greeks, who were now known to be the best soldiers in the world—unconquerable save by bribery. This was the weapon now employed against them. Tissaphernes, the Persian general who was sent against them, used the gold of his master, and Lycon, the Greek commander, yielded to the temptation, went over with his men to the king, and left the rebellious satrap to the mercy of the winds. Again were terms of surrender granted, only to be violated when Pissuthnes was taken a prisoner to Susa, and executed in defiance of all honor. Soon afterwards, however, Amorges, a son of Pissuthnes, renewed the struggle, and was able to hold out against Tissaphernes for several years.

Meanwhile, the commonwealth of Athens had been engaged in her great and disastrous campaign against Sicily. In that island she had suffered an overthrow so complete as to leave her prostrate. When the knowledge of this ruin of the ancient rival of his country was borne to Darius he at once ordered the satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus to begin the exaction of tribute from the Greek cities of Asia Minor as of old. This edict was in direct violation of the Peace of Callias, but Persian faith was dead, and the action was regarded as a matter of course. To produce dissension among the Greeks themselves a tempting offer was made to Sparta, and by her accepted, to enter into an alliance with Persia. She who at Thermopylæ had cut down her thousands now leagued herself with the foes of liberty.

Thus a new war broke out between the Persians and the Greeks. But it was no longer necessary for Darius and his successors to bear down with immense armaments upon the West, since either Athens or Sparta—embittered by their own long continued internecine strife—could always be secured against the other by bribery. The court of Susa was able to gain and to maintain among the powers of Greece an ascendency which was not seriously impaired until the petty states of that distracted country went down before the ambition of Alexander. Such was the condition of affairs during the latter years of the reign of Darius Nothus. That monarch died in the year B. C. 407, and was succeeded by Arsaces with the title of Artaxerxes II. He had not been "born in the purple," and his right to the throne was to that extent endangered.

Before the death of the late king, the question of the succession had been raised by Parysatis, the queen, who preferred her younger son, Cyrus. This preference was intensified by the fact that this prince had been born after his father became king, and was, therefore, under the old precedent, the rightful heir. Nevertheless, Darius named ARTAXERXES for his successor and the latter became king, not, however, until his life had been attempted by Cyrus on the day of coronation.

The latter was arrested and was about to be put to death, but his mother interceded for him and he was sent away to his satrapy in Asia Minor, burning for revenge. He immediately began the organization of a body of Greek mercenaries, for the ostensible purpose of making war on the Pisidians of the Western Taurus, but with the real object of killing his brother, the king, and taking the throne of Persia.

By various maneuvers and subterfuges he succeeded in collecting eleven thousand Greek soldiers. He put himself at the head of this army, which was soon augmented by two thousand additional Greeks and nearly one hundred thousand provincials gathered from his satrapy, and began his advance from Sardis through Lydia and Phrygia. Tissaphernes, in the meantime, had carried the tidings to

Susa and given the alarm to the king, who readily perceived that he was the object of the expedition. It was not, however, until Cyrus had penetrated Cilicia that the mask was thrown off and his real intentions divulged to the soldiery.

The Greeks at first refused to proceed, but were gradually won over to the project. The advance was resumed, and after a twenty-nine days' march from Tarsus the army reached Thapsacus, on the Euphrates. The river was forded, but not until the Greeks had again recovered himself, and put his army in array of battle. Within three hours after the first sight of the Persian host was caught, the conflict began. The Greek auxiliaries were placed on the right center, and were the main dependence of Cyrus in the battle. The forces of Artaxerxes were so vast as to outflank the invaders on both wings, but Cyrus prevented this by resting his right against the river. The Greeks began the fight by singing a pæan to Zeus and then charging the foe. The Persians gave way before them. The

BATTLE OF CUNAXA.

been stimulated with a promise of additional pay. The course now lay down the left bank of the Euphrates, and after thirty-three days Cyrus came within one hundred and twenty miles of Babylon, where the first traces of the enemy were seen. After that the advance was made each day with slowness and caution.

In the meantime, Artaxerxes, fully aroused, had raised a force of nine hundred thousand men, and was advancing to the onset. At last the two armies came in sight on the famous field of CUNAXA. Cyrus had believed that his brother was fleeing before him, and came near being surprised; but he quickly scythe-bearing chariots were turned by their frightened horses upon their own ranks. For three miles the Greeks scattered all before them. In the center, meanwhile, Cyrus engaged his foe and gained some advantages. Finally a charge was made against the six thousand horsemen who composed the body-guard of the king, and they were put to flight. In the confused struggle in this part of the field Cyrus discerned at a distance the form of his brother, and shouting out, "TON ANDRA HORO" (I see the man), made a rash plunge in that direction to cut him down. But before he could reach Artaxerxes he was

himself struck with a javelin and slain. As the whole question was merely whether his life or that of the king should bleed on the altar of fraternal vengeance, the fight was virtually decided. The provincial forces that made up the body of Cyrus's army broke and fled. But the Greeks stood fast, and though their captains were soon inveigled into a conference and treacherously killed, they began to recede in good order, with the hope of reaching their own country.

Now it was that the famous "Retreat of the Ten Thousand" began, under the leadership of Xenophon. The hosts of the Persians hung upon their flanks and rear, but discipline and courage kept their myriads at bay, and after untold hardships and a march of many hundred miles through Mesopotamia and the mountainous regions of Armenia to Trapezus on the Euxine, the heroic Greeks at last came in safety, and by their exultant cry of "THE SEA! THE SEA!" gave proof to after times of the valor and fortitude of their race.[1]

The mercenaries who had thus aided Cyrus in his attempt on the throne were mostly Spartans. Their conduct gave grounds to the king for going to war with their country; for their country would not disavow what its soldiery had done. For six years (B. C. 399–394) a desultory conflict was carried on between the satraps of Lydia and Phrygia on the one side and Sparta on the other. In the year B. C. 393 a league was formed by Argos, Thebes, Athens, and Corinth, which compelled the Spartans to withdraw from foreign complications and defend themselves at home. In the straitened condition of their oligarchy they undertook and were finally able to secure the establishment of peace. The general proposal was that all of Asia should go to the Persians, and that all of the Greek islands and states should be free. For six years the negotiations were pending, but finally, in B. C. 387, the terms were acceded to by all the parties and the "Peace of Antalcidas" was established. In the mean time a revolt broke out in Cyprus, led by the Greek governor Evagoras, who beat off the forces sent against him and achieved a nominal independence. In the remaining years of the reign of Artaxerxes a series of rebellions occurred in the outlying provinces, the existence of which and the success of some indicated as clearly as daylight the moribund condition of the Empire.

After a long reign of forty-six years Artaxerxes died, and was succeeded by OCHUS, who, with the connivance and aid of Parysatis, had first cleared the field of claimants by the murder of all his brothers and rivals. The bloody road by which he went to the throne was not more bloody than the scepter which he wielded. As soon as he was king he instigated a series of murders by which nearly all the princes and a large number of princesses were destroyed. The next matter to which he turned his attention was the reconquest of Egypt, which now for about fifty years had held a nominal independence. At the head of a great army Ochus marched into the Nile valley, where he was met and signally defeated by the Pharaoh Nectanebo.

Immediately after this a revolt broke out in Phœnicia, and the ancient city of Sidon recovered her independence. But Ochus, in the midst of what seemed universal dismemberment, was undismayed. He reörganized an immense army, consisting of three hundred and thirty thousand men, and again advanced into Egypt. This time Nectanebo was routed in a series of battles, and was finally driven into Ethiopia. Sidon was also besieged. All who came out to ask for terms were put to death. Finally, in the wretchedness of despair, the remaining forty thousand people set fire to their own houses and perished in the flames. Ochus coolly sold the ashes of the city to a company of adventurers, who hoped to gather from the ruin the gold and ornaments of the people. Such was the vindictive energy and relentless severity of Ochus that the terror of his name spread throughout the Empire and raised the king to the pinnacle of autocratic power. Rebellions, for the time, became few and far between.

[1] There is little doubt that the exploit of these Ten Thousand Greeks in penetrating to the heart of the Persian Empire and then returning in safety, furnished Alexander with a precedent for his conquest.

THE RETURN OF THE TEN THOUSAND UNDER XENOPHON.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

It was at this epoch in the history of Persia that her attention was first directed to MACEDONIA. That State was rapidly rising to influence in the West, and the king directed his governors to take steps to check her progress. An army was sent into Thrace, in B. C. 340, to help to sustain the independence of that kingdom against the Macedonians, and succor was given to the people of Perinthus, then besieged by Philip. But the career of Ochus was near an end. In B. C. 338 he was poisoned by a conspirator named Bogôas, who set up ARSES, one of the king's sons, and slew all the rest—thus hoping to be virtually monarch himself. But very soon Arses began to show signs of restiveness and courage, and he and his children were all in turn assassinated. Bogôas, who thus acquired a kind of character of king-maker, next elevated CODOMANUS, a remote member of the royal house, to the throne. He took to himself the title of DARIUS. In this same year (B. C. 336), Philip of Macedon was assassinated by Pausanias, and the crown of that country descended to the youthful ALEXANDER. Thus, at the same time, in two distant countries, were established in power two foemen who should presently contend for the mastery of the world.

The story of the growth of the Macedonian power and the hurling of that power like a thunderbolt upon the effete kingdoms of Mesopotamia will be fully narrated in the Eighth Book.[1] For the present it may suffice to recount from the Persian side the tragic end of the great Empire of the Achæmenians. Personally considered, Darius Codomanus was one of the best of the whole line of kings who swayed the destinies of his country. His appearance on the stage, however, was at an epoch when fate was against him. At the very time of his accession a division of the Macedonian army had already been landed by Philip on the Asiatic coast. But for the death of the king of Macedonia the disasters of Persia must have sooner come, nor borne less heavily. The assassination of Philip gave a brief respite to Darius, who, however, little improved the interval with measures to repel the threatened invasion. It was doubted whether the youthful Alexander could even maintain himself in Europe, to say nothing of an Asiatic conquest. But when it was seen that a greater than Philip was come, then the king made such preparations as he could to stop the avalanche. A numerous fleet was manned and equipped. Large bodies of troops were sent from beyond the Euphrates to the frontiers of Asia Minor. Mercenaries were hired. Agents were dispatched into the Greek states to stir up revolts. The Hellespontine Greeks were organized in the pay of Persia,

DARIUS CODOMANUS IN THE BATTLE OF ISSUS.
After the Fresco in Pompeii.

and were put under the command of Memnon of Rhodes, an able general.

By these measures some brief advantages were gained on the Hellespont, nor, for the time, did the movements of Alexander excite serious apprehensions. So in the beginning of his expedition, in the spring of B. C. 334, his passage into Asia was not disputed. His force consisted of thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. With this small but compact and well-disciplined army he advanced to Mysia without opposition. The Persians were first arrayed in his pathway at the GRANICUS, a small stream between Abydos and Dascyleium. With forty thousand men advantageously posted on the opposite bank

[1] See Book Ninth, pp. 616-663.

VICTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT ON THE GRANICUS.
After the painting by Ch. Lebrun, Louvre, Paris.

they awaited the coming of the Macedonian, who gladly caught a first sight of his Asiatic adversaries, and immediately charged through the stream and up the bank in the face of the enemy. The battle was stubbornly contested, especially by the Greek mercenaries in the Persian army. But the Macedonians carried the field, slaying more than one-half of the whole opposing force. Alexander himself displayed an almost reckless daring, and was slightly wounded in the battle. The Macedonian dead numbered scarcely more than a hundred.

At the head of this force, in the spring of B. C. 333, the king set out from Babylon, advanced first to Sochi, and thence to Issus, on the gulf of the same name. He thus attained a position somewhat in Alexander's rear; for the latter had been sick at Tarsus, and was unable to act with celerity in the early season. Nevertheless, he immediately, on hearing the place of his adversary, turned about and advanced upon him.

Darius, in the mean time, had become impatient and set out from Issus to find the Macedonians; but he had only to advance a

THE BATTLE OF ISSUS.
From a Fresco in Pompeii.

All of Asia Minor now lay open to the conqueror. Lydia, Ionia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Phrygia were successively overrun, and all of the great cities from Miletus to Gordium fell into his hands. At the last named city he established his winter-quarters and awaited the coming of spring. A single campaign had laid Asia Minor at his feet.

Meanwhile, Memnon, the general upon whom Darius chiefly depended, died, and the king was driven to act merely on the defensive. He determined, however, to meet his antagonist well to the west, and organized a vast army of nearly a half-million of men.

short distance to find the objects of his search. In November the two armies met on the banks of the Pinarus, but the battle takes its name from Issus.

The conflict was begun by Alexander. From the beginning it was seen that the Persians feared the long spears of the Macedonians; but the cavalry of Darius fought with great bravery, as did also the Greek mercenaries in the right wing of the army. Alexander himself with the right and, the right center charged the Persian infantry in his front and routed them with great slaughter. The cavalry, seeing the defeat of the foot, also broke into flight, and the Greek auxilia-

ries were beaten down. The result was a complete and overwhelming victory for Alexander, who now grew confident of his ability to take the Persian Empire with a Macedonian phalanx. The losses of Darius in the battle of Issus have been placed as high as one hundred thousand men, while that of the Macedonians amounted to no more than nine hundred and fifty in killed and wounded! To this disparity must be added the loss of the king's mother, wife, and sister, who were captured by Alexander.

The contest, however, was not yet decided. The resources of the Empire were so vast as not to be exhausted by a single overthrow. It was, moreover, Alexander's plan, as soon as he had inflicted a signal defeat upon the main army of Persia, to turn about into Phœnicia and reduce that country and Egypt before proceeding to Babylon. He thus purposed, by bringing all the countries from Syria to Libya under his sway, to leave no disturbing elements behind him when he should continue his march to the East. The great conquests of the son of Philip in the countries skirting the Mediterranean, his triumphant progress to the south-west, his penetration to the Oasis of Amun, and his return into Asia Minor preparatory to his final struggle with Darius, will be properly considered in the History of the Macedonian ascendency.[1] These movements occupied a period of twenty months, so that the summer of B. C. 331 arrived before the conflict was renewed for the dominion of Asia.

In the mean time the Persian king made great preparations for the renewal of hostilities. First, however, he tried what negotiation could accomplish by sending two embassies to the conqueror. To the first, which requested peace and the surrender of the king's family, now held prisoners, Alexander replied haughtily, demanding either an abdication of Darius in his favor or else that the monarch would come forth and fight it out. To the other proposition which was made to the Macedonian while he was engaged in the siege of Tyre, and which embraced the giving of ten thousand talents for the restitution of the royal family, the surrender to Alexander of all the countries west of the Euphrates, and his reception of Statira, the king's daughter, in marriage, he answered still more contemptuously. The countries were his already. When he wanted the ten thousand talents he would take them. If he desired to marry the daughter of Darius he would do so as soon as he pleased. The Persian was a fool to offer him what he already possessed. So it only remained to fight and—be beaten.

The whole Empire was laid under contribution for the final conflict. Twenty-five nations furnished large contingents of troops. More than a million of men were gathered under the king's standards. For once a field of battle was deliberately selected. In the heart of ancient Assyria, about thirty miles from Nineveh, in a vast plain as level as the lowlands of Mesopotamia, in every way adapted for the advantageous operations of a great mass of men, and especially for the evolutions of the scythe-bearing war-chariots, Darius marshaled his hosts. The plain was improved with special respect to the battle. Every impediment was taken away. Finally, in all that quarter from which the Macedonian cavalry must make their charge, the ground was sown with spiked balls of iron to cripple the enemy's horses. Such was the field of ARBELA.

On came Alexander from his campaign in Egypt. He advanced through Syria, crossed the Euphrates, traversed Mesopotamia, and entered Assyria without resistance. It was now October of B. C. 331. Darius carefully occupied his chosen position. The scythe-bearing chariots were placed in front. Then came the Scythian, Bactrian, Armenian, and Cappadocian cavalry. After these were the great masses of infantry, arranged in two wings, and after all, the Babylonian reserve massed in the rear. The king took his post in the center and awaited the onset. About him were arranged body-guards of archers and cavalry, and a troop of elephants mounted and directed by their Indian masters.

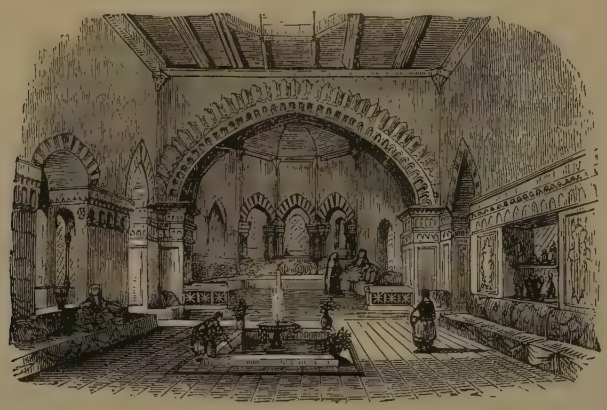
Alexander went into the conflict with great care. From deserters he learned the exact disposition of his enemy's forces. On the margin of the battle-field he paused over

[1] See Book Ninth, pp. 629–651.

ALEXANDER DISCOVERS THE BODY OF DARIUS.

night, counseling his generals, and reconnoitering the grounds occupied by Darius. His own forces consisted of forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse—these against a million! Light-armed troops were deployed by the Macedonian to operate against the Persian chariots. Then came the heavy lines of battle. Alexander commanded the right; Parmenio, the left. In beginning battle the conqueror charged diagonally across the field and greatly disconcerted the Persians. Darius ordered his chariots into battle; but the charioteers were soon brought down by the agile skirmishers, and the few vehicles which reached the battle-lines were allowed to pass through without harm only to be overthrown in the rear. Alexander, meanwhile, had reached the Persian flank, and discovering a gap in the left wing, he plunged into it like an avalanche. He soon fought his way into the immediate vicinity of Darius, and himself hurled a lance which brought down the king's charioteer. The cry at once spread that Darius was slain. Then came the rout. The lines broke. The banner of the Empire hung suspended for a moment; then fluttered; then fell never to rise. The king fled to Arbela.[1] The field was a turmoil of struggling, flying cohorts. The remnants of the Persian host rolled across the Zab; but before they reached safety on the other side, the Macedonians had destroyed three hundred thousand men! The victory was overwhelming, astounding, the very crack of doom to that great power which had so long overshadowed Western Asia. Darius was pursued to Arbela, thence through Rhagæ to the Elburz mountains, and thence to the deserts of Parthia. Here he was assassinated by Bessus, the satrap of Bactria. He was discovered by Alexander in a dying condition by the roadside. He asked for a cup of water, thanked the giver, and died. And with him died the Empire of the Persians. The body of the dead monarch was sent by Alexander to Persepolis, where it was honorably buried in the tombs of the kings.

[1] The great battle which takes the name of Arbela was fought on the other side of the river Zab, at the little village of Gaugamela, and should have been so named.



Book Seventh.

PARTHIA.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—THE COUNTRY.

BY the events recorded in the preceding Book the reader has been made fully aware, not only of the existence, but of the prowess and enterprise of the Hellenic race out of the West. The conflict which he has been considering, terminating in utter disaster to the Persian Empire at Arbela, was a crisis in the affairs of two great peoples having the same ethnic derivation. The Macedonians were one of the European developments of that same family whose fecundity on the plateau of Iran gave us the Persians. Having seen the result of the struggle between the two races, we might here at once transfer our station to the West, to follow the evolution of the Hellenic tribes into nationality, from nationality to conquest, and from conquest to decadence.

Thus far in the present volume we have pursued this suggestive method, tracing the course of one people until its conflict with another people has led us naturally to consider the history of the latter. Thus the conquest of Egypt by the Persians carried the reader's attention, first of all, from the valley of the Nile to the valley of the Euphrates. The conquest of ancient Chaldæa by the Assyrians next drew his interest from the south to the north, from Babylon to Nineveh. Then came the conquest of Assyria by the Medes, which carried the inquirer beyond the Zagros, and made him acquainted, for the first time, with the warlike representatives of the Aryan race. His attention was next recalled by the revival of the Babylonian Power until what time Persia forced her way across Mesopotamia, and subdued the larger part of Western Asia. The history of this Persian Empire we have just considered, and the suggestion of its close would carry us naturally in the wake of the conquerors to Macedonia and the Grecian Islands. This direction we shall indeed presently follow; but before the final transfer of our historical position from Asia to Europe—before descending from this Iranian plateau to view the astonishing development of the ancient Hellenic tribes in their archipelago and on the main-land of Greece—it remains to consider the peculiar history of an Empire which sprang up, and at length occupied the place of Persia on the highlands of Western Asia.

This Empire is PARTHIA. Its consideration in this connection is difficult. The Parthian

Power did not reach its climax until after the successors of Alexander the Great had quarreled and fought themselves into silence. The Empire then extended throughout the period which covered the entire decline and extinction of the Grecian commonwealths, and lay alongside in time with the development of the later Republic and Empire of Rome. Of the dominions of the latter, Parthia was destined to constitute the *thus-far* on the East. Against the Parthian arrows in the far East not even the Roman legions could prevail. The strong men, the wild warriors of Central Asia, held the legionaries at bay, or buried them by multiplied thousands in the desert. In *time*, therefore, the consideration of Parthia before the history of Greece and Rome is a derangement of historical relations; but in *place* the narrative must be given here. The reader will therefore retain his point of observation on the Great Plateau, and note the development of the Parthian Empire down to the beginning of the second century of our Era, before transferring his station to Macedonia and the Hellenic peninsula.

The relations of the Parthian Empire with Persia were remarkable, but not without precedent. We have seen Babylonia revived from the grave of ancient Chaldæa. We have seen the Persians themselves flourishing in the land of the Medes. We shall hereafter see many examples of the upspringing of a new national growth from the roots of the fallen tree of some old nationality. In the present instance Parthia may be said to have come forth from the ruins of Persia. The Parthians had long existed as a distinct people, subject to Persian authority. It was reserved for them, by their greater vitality, to survive the wreck of the other Iranian nations, to expand over the ruins of the Alexandrian conquests, to establish a true Empire, and to defend it through several revolutionary epochs, until the drama of Ancient History was closed, and that of Modern History begun. It might almost be said that the Parthian Power has never ceased until the present time, and that the Persian Shah is the living representative of Arsaces I.

At the beginning, then, it will be proper for us to consider briefly the *Country* of ancient Parthia and the territories subsequently included in the Empire. This will be followed by a view of the people and their civilization; after which the narrative of their civil and military career will be given to the beginning of the third century of our era. The distinction must be borne in mind between the Province of Parthia proper and the Imperial country ruled by the great kings during the last century of the ancient epoch. Parthia Proper may be said to have corresponded with tolerable exactitude to the modern province of Khorassan. The position and extent of the country can be noted by the reader by a simple reference to a map of the Persian Empire of the present time. The country now includes the districts of Damaghan, Sharud, Sebzawar, Nishapur, Meshed, Shebri-No, and Tershiz. The length from east to west is about three hundred miles, and the extreme width a hundred and twenty miles. The area is thirty-three thousand square miles, being a little greater than that of Ireland in Europe, or the State of Indiana in America.

The position of Parthia may be defined in general geographical terms as lying about midway between the south-eastern borders of the Caspian and the northern shore of the Arabian sea. The country had on its western side the province of Hyrcania, but the latter was generally included under the common name of Parthia. To the east and north lay Margiana, and to the south and west Sagartia and Sarangia. On the south-east the country was bounded by ancient Arya—a name significant to all the Indo-European peoples. The reader will already have noted that Parthia as here defined is not far removed from the primitive seats of those tribes out of whose fecund loins all the great races of Europe and America have been ultimately derived.

Of the general character of Parthia Proper, and of the surrounding regions, sufficient has already been said in the description of the same countries in connection with Media and Persia. The mountain region extending eastward in a chain from the southern extremity of the Caspian, branches out into many ranges in the Parthian territory; and from these

brooks and rivers descend into the plains, furnishing a fair supply of water. The soil is tolerably fertile, and the climate marked with those particular vicissitudes under which the energies of the human race are best developed. It is probable that the flora and fauna of modern Khorassan fairly represent the vegetable and animal life of the ancient country.

It is sufficient to note the great contrast between the region which we are considering and the deserts north and south. The man of antiquity may have well regarded Parthia with delight on his escape from the sandy waste on either hand. The primitive tribes, roaming at will through groves of pine, through sloping lands covered with walnut, ash, and poplar, by river banks lined with the willow and mulberry, may have well chosen this country in preference to any that they had found, and pledged their lives and barbarian resources to its defense. Nor could the winters, extending from October to April, severe in snow and freezing, prevail to destroy the preference of the first Parthians for the country of their choice.

The situation was favorable for the development of an ancient State, and the character of the people conduced strongly to that end. We have seen how primeval man at the first chose the alluvial valleys and lowlands about the estuaries of great rivers; but the second choice of position was those upland regions whose beauty of situation and abundant resources invited the first tribes to rest and settlement. In this respect Parthia may be regarded as most attractive. In addition to the general fruitfulness of the country—its production of the native cereals and berry fruits of the forest and river banks—the region might well be selected for the desert defenses on either side. Nature has provided for the races of men many natural bulwarks, but none superior to a waste of desert sand. It is, therefore, likely that for long ages before the first authentic annals, the country here described was peopled by adventurous and warlike tribes. That they did not multiply and develop at an early epoch into a great State must be attributed to the fact that agriculture was not suggested with sufficient emphasis to provoke the energies of the race. A mixed life contained the summary, and for a long time limited the activities, of the primitive Parthians. But the mixed life signifies a sparse and somewhat fluctuating population, and this is unfavorable to the early development of social and political power.

We have thus far considered only the original province of Parthia Proper, and not the character of the countries which were brought under the Parthian sway in the times of the Empire. We are not here concerned to note the political and historical development, but only the territorial extension of the primitive kingdom. Suffice it to say, that hard after the decline of the Persian power came the rise of Parthia and the expansion of her dominions north, south, east, and west. The reader will not have failed to detect the name of Parthia in several paragraphs of Persian history. The country was included for a long time within the dominions of the Achæmenian kings, and constituted no mean part of the Empire of Cyrus and his successors. There were times, as we shall hereafter see, when the native force of the Parthian race asserted itself against the Persian rule, and more than one rebellion gave token of what might be expected as soon as the Persian Power should suffer from foreign violence or fail from inherent weakness.

That event at length arrived, when near the close of the fourth century B. C. the Son of Philip, as we have seen in the preceding Book, ground under his heel not only the Mesopotamian countries, but all the dominions of the Great Plateau and beyond to the river Indus. It thus happened that Parthia had, first, her historical relations with the Persian Empire; afterwards, with the Empire of Alexander and its divisions; and lastly, with the military governments established by the Romans out of the far West.

But we are here to note merely the extension of territory which came to the Parthians by war and conquest. This territorial expansion first included the adjacent countries of Chorasmia, Margiana, Arya, Sarangia, Sagartia, and Hyrcania. The provinces and kingdoms known by these names were, as we shall hereafter see, overrun and subdued by the armies

of the Parthian kings, and were added, one by one, to their dominions. The process of physical growth was coïncident with the reverse process of decay on the part of the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, in the countries of Central Asia.

The province of Chorasmia bounded Parthia Proper on the north, and consisted of a low-lying plain between the Parthian mountains and the ancient river Oxus. As we have indicated above, this was for the greater part a desert region, capable of supporting only the wild tribes of Tura with their flocks. It is believed that to the present day the nomadic habit of life has prevailed with all the succeeding nations that have occupied the country. Nor is it wonderful that the sparse peoples of such a district should have been conquered with ease by the warlike Parthians.

The country of Margiana was sometimes considered as a distinct kingdom, and sometimes as a province of Bactria. The region lay to the north-east of Parthia, and included a much more favorable district than might be found in Chorasmia. The river Margus carried verdure and plenty on its banks, and its waters were diverted, in both ancient and modern times, by channels and canals and dykes, extending for many miles from the principal stream. Strabo has given us an account of the fertility of this region, and of the extraordinary fruitfulness of the vine, bending with rich clusters on the banks of the Margus.

Next among the provinces touching Parthia, and lying on the eastern border of that country, was Arya, the little district which in the fate and vicissitude of things has preserved to modern times the name of our ancestral race. This province embraces the ancient valley of Herat. The country is mountainous, limited in area, not populous, easily subdued by the more powerful Parthians in the time of their warlike greatness.

Next in our progress to the south we find the province of Sarangia, greater in extent than Arya, but hardly stronger in development. Here dwelt the desert barbarians called the Sarangæ. The region was one of alternate hills and plains, not wholly waste, having a few small rivers flowing in a south-westerly direction. It does not appear that the primitive Sarangians were a people of great force, either in war or in peace, and their country was in course of time easily absorbed in the Parthian Empire.

Still skirting the latter country in a south-westerly direction, we come to the larger State of Sagartia—larger, but at the same time more inhospitable, less capable of supporting a great population. The ancient tribes were men of the desert, living after the manner of Bedouin Arabs, subsisting for the most part by the capture of such animals as nature had assigned to the sandy waste. The disposition of the ancient people was more warlike than that of the tribes inhabiting Sagartia and Sarangia; but their armies were never sufficiently strong to compete in battle with the Parthian horsemen.

We now complete the circuit on the west with the province of Hyrcania. As we have said above, this country was at times included under the common name of Parthia. It had the same geographical and climatic character with the latter country. It was traversed through its major diameter by two valleys lying between mountain ridges of considerable elevation. The country was well wooded and fairly watered. In this respect Hyrcania rivaled the better parts of Parthia in excellence of tree-growth and vegetable products. It was said to be a land abounding in shrubs and green slopes and flowers—fruitful in many things, pleasing to the eye, abounding in the creatures of the chase. The country has been represented in both ancient and modern times as especially prolific in animal life. The traveler, as far back as the times of Strabo, was pleased with the prospect. In area the province was considerably inferior to Parthia Proper. Of all the bordering regions of the latter country, Hyrcania, however, was the most interesting and important. It has been urged by Rawlinson and other competent critics of the situation, that the place and character of both the country and people of Parthia were favorable to the expansion of political power and the establishment of a widely extended rule over the surrounding nations.

We have now considered briefly the extent

Map of the
PARTHIAN
EMPIRE
English Miles
0 40 80 100 200 300
N.B. The coloured line shows the greatest extent to which the Empire ever reached.
PONTUS EUXINUS
SARMATIA
MARE CASPIUM sive HYRCANUM
DAHÆ
SCYTHIA
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
MEDIA ATROPATENI
MESOPOTAMIA
SYRIA
ASSYRIA
MEDIA MAGNA
ELYMAIS
BABYLONIA
SUSIANA
PERSIS
CARMANIA
SACASTANA
ARIA
PARTHIA
BACTRIA
MARGIANA
CHORASMIA
ASPASIACE
HYRCANIA
SARTIA
Desertum SARANGIA
ARACHOSIA
GEDROSIA
INDIA
SINUS ARABICUS
SINUS PERSICUS
MARE ERYTHRÆUM
Desertum
Seleucia
ANTIOCHIA
Nicephorium
Cyprus I.
Palmyra
Sidon
Tyrus
DAMASCUS
HIEROSOLYMA
Commagene
Samosata
Edessa
Carrhæ
Nisibis
Amida
Singara
Circesium
Hatra
Ninus
Adiabene
Arbela
Canerea
Ecbatana
Tylæ Caspiæ
CHOARENE
Hecatompylos
Mitabus
Antiochia Margiana
Dora
Alexandria Ariana
Arachosia
Phra
Alexandropolis
Euthydemia
Hydaspes
Acesines
Hydraotes
Hyphasis
Indus
Cophen
Taxila
Carmana
PERSEPOLIS
Seleucia
CTESIPHON
BABYLON
Spasinou Charax
Rhagæ
Caspiæ Pylæ
Oxus
Jaxartes
Margus
Dahæ
Scythæ
Parthi
Bactri
Indi
Euphrates
Tigris
Choaspes
Pasitigris
Eulæus
Araxes
Cyrus
Phasis
Halys
Thermodon
Iris
Sangarius
Rhyndacus
Rubricatus
Rubricatus
Rubricatus

and nature of those countries immediately surrounding the original Parthian kingdom, but have by no means included in the description the wide range of countries beyond—countries included in the times of Mithridates in the Parthian Empire. On the north-east we have first of all the extensive country of Bactria. In different ages this region has been variously defined. In general, the country so named was bounded on the south and south-east by the mountains of Hindu Kush; on the north by the Oxus; on the west by Chorasmia and Margiana. In the times of the Parthian ascendency, however, Bactria extended northward far beyond the Oxus Proper to the northern branch of that river, skirting the mountain range which defined the southern limit of Scythia. The country had much of the same character with Margiana and Chorasmia, but was less of a desert, more of a hill country, especially toward the east. The triangular apex of Bactria lying among the mountains under the meridian of 74° east from Greenwich, marked the uttermost limit of the Parthian dominion on the side of India. It suffices to say that the country for a long time resisted the ambitions of the Parthian kings, and it was near the close of the second century B. C. before it was included in their dominions.

On the south of the country just described, bordered on the west by Arya and Sarangia, was the small province of Arachosia, another mountain region of similar character to Bactria, but less severe in climate. It was watered by the river Etymandrus and its tributaries, reaching far into the highlands on the north-east. The country here described occupied the southern, as Bactria occupied the northern, slopes of the Hindu Kush. The province extended through about four meridians of longitude, and was nearly square, marking the extreme south-eastern limits of the Parthian Empire.

Following the boundary of that great dominion to the south-west, we come to the two countries of Sacastana and Carmania, the first lying south of Sarangia and almost wholly desert in character. Carmania is also, in its northern part, a desert waste, and on its southern border next to Gedrosia, a mountainous region. Indeed, the whole of the two countries just mentioned were in ancient times, as they are at present, as little attractive and as poorly adapted to civilization as almost any region of Central Asia.

On the west, however, we come to the country of Persis, or Persia Proper, lying along the gulf of the same name, a region of hills and streams and pleasant prospects. We have here reached, against the sea, the southern limit of the Parthian Empire, at its greatest estate, in one of the most attractive and interesting regions of the whole. Persia has been already described, not only in its narrower, but in its imperial extent; nothing need here be added as to the physical characteristics and possibilities of the country. So also of both the Medias, the Magna, and the Atropatêné. These have been amply described in a former Book.

On the south and west of these great and important countries, but still included in the Parthian dominion, lay Babylonia and all the Mesopotamian countries, bounded by the Euphrates on the west. Here were Susiana, Assyria, Adiabene, and all the regions as far north as the Armenian mountains. The country of Armenia was also included in the Empire of Mithridates, but here we reach the ultimate limits of that Empire on the west. Viewing it as a whole, we find it extending from the extreme western deflection of the Upper Euphrates, in longitude 38° 30′ east to the meridian of 74° in the Hindu Kush. The northernmost limit was on the Oxus, a little above the parallel of 42° N., and the extreme southern boundary on the Persian gulf under the parallel 27° 30′ N. The whole extent from east to west was hardly less than fifteen hundred miles, and the greatest breadth from north to south about four hundred miles. The geographical area was not far from 450,000 square miles, being about co-extensive with the area of the modern Persian Empire.

It must not be understood, however, that the two dominions—Ancient Parthia and Modern Persia—coïncided in their boundaries. A glance at the two maps will enable the reader to note how different were the limits of the ancient Empire from those of its modern

representative. We do not here dwell further upon the physical characteristics and natural potency of the countries held under a single sway by Mithridates, for the reason that the same have already been amply considered in the preceding histories of Babylonia, Assyria, Media, and Persia. We, therefore, pass at once to the consideration of the Parthians as a people, their institutions, general character and manner of life and government.

CHAPTER XXXIV.—PEOPLE AND ARTS.

THE ethnic origin of the Parthian race has not been well determined. It would appear that their arrival in Central Asia was somewhat later than the incoming of many other peoples into that region of the world. Doubtless the Chaldæans, the Assyrians, the Medes, and even the Persians, antedated by several centuries—many centuries in the case of the older of these nations—the arrival of the Parthians in their ancestral seats.

We are here close to one of the great ethnic problems with which the student of history is confronted in the beginning of his inquiry. The question is no less than that of the *origin* of the Aryan family of men. History is able to trace backwards the movements of the Aryan peoples to the region of the Bactrian Highlands, but beyond that all is mist and thick darkness. Did the Aryans come from some other region afar?—some country in which they were associated with the Semitic or Hamitic family of men? The answer is not apparent. We are, therefore, led to begin with the development and migrations of the Aryan tribes from the region of their primitive settlements without the solution of the fundamental problem.

Parthia was not far from the Aryan nidus. We may safely ascribe the origin of the people to the same source with that of the Persians and the Medes. Of a certainty the Parthians were strongly discriminated from the peoples just mentioned. They had more of the Turanian character—fewer of the well-known characteristics of the Indo-Europeans as illustrated in the Hellenic and Roman races. So strongly marked were the distinctions just referred to, that many inquirers have been disposed to regard the Parthians as having a Scythic origin. Arrian, among the ancients, declares his belief in such a derivation. It can not be doubted that there were relations between the Parthians through the tribes of Chorasmia with the Scyths beyond the Oxus. It must be observed that race distinctions fade away somewhat along the border lines where two families of mankind fret and roll together. Modern history furnishes a hundred examples of such obliteration of ethnic features along the boundaries of States and nations.

It was doubtless so in antiquity, but even in a stronger measure. At a time when society was unsettled, when the tribal state had not yet given place to fixedness of residence, there was more frequent mixing and interweaving along the selvages of races than even in modern times. These circumstances may serve to explain the presence of Scythic elements among the ancient Parthians. So that natural and ethnic causes may be found sufficient in number and character to account for the traditions of the Greek and Roman story-tellers who were wont to classify the Parthians with the Scythic race.

We may agree that at the time of the great invasion of all central and Western Asia by the Scythian barbarians, a larger amount of their work and influence remained in Parthia than in the other countries which they conquered. The Parthian language shows unmistakably a Scythic infection—just as English bears indubitable evidence of the Norman conquest. The Parthian vocabulary had in it a large addition of Scythic words, and the civil and military habits of the people were

modeled, to a considerable extent, after those of the Turanian barbarians. There are at the present time certain Teutonic peoples in Europe upon whom the Slavs have made a like impression, insomuch that their race character might be mistaken by even a critical observer. How much the more may such a mistake be expected in the case of an ancient people modified by a foreign influence! We must conclude that the Parthians, along with the Bactrians, Chorasmians, Hyrcanians, Medes, and Persians, belonged to the common family to which the name *Aryan* has been assigned.

The life of the Parthian people, however, had much the aspect of that of the peoples beyond the Oxus. This is to say that, like the Tartar and the Turcoman tribes of a later day, the Parthians were nomadic in habit, spending the greater part of their time on horseback and abroad. The Roman historians, as late as the time of the conflict of the Consular armies with the Parthian cavalry, were struck with astonishment at the manners of a people who transacted the larger part of their business and attended to all duties and avocations, even to eating and drinking, while mounted on their horses. It should not be forgotten, however, that much of the same disposition was shown by the Persians, and the student might, if he would, trace this aspect of Turanian life far into Asia Minor, and even into Europe. In other particulars also the Parthians revealed their innate sympathy with nomadic manners. There was little fixedness of settlement, at least until a late date, in the Parthian ascendency. The old habit of hunting, of riding abroad, of gratifying the passion for rapid transit from scene to scene, continued to prevail, and at length gave form to the organization and tactics of the Parthian army.

It was such a people as these that Cyrus the Great met and conquered in the early years of his aggressive career. The nation was incorporated as one of the satrapies of the Persian Empire, and remained in that dependence until what time the cohorts of Alexander, rising from the West, shattered the Achæmenian Dynasty and reduced it to its original elements. But of the historical development and varying vicissitudes of the Parthian race we shall speak more fully hereafter.

As usual with men of antiquity, the religious life of the Parthians presented many interesting features, and revealed no small part of the national character. We are here, geographically and ethnically speaking, not far from the primitive seat of one of the great religions of mankind. Zoroaster was a Bactrian. We have already seen how the faith and doctrine which he formulated and taught spread among the races of the Great Plateau and became organic in the Zendavesta.

The teachings of the great prophet were accepted by the Achæmenian kings, and were imposed by them as a State religion upon the subject nations of the Persian Empire. Among these was Parthia. Whatever may have been the tribal faith and practice of the old Parthians, they accepted the religion of their conquerors, not only in its early singleness but in its subsequent dualistic development. The wild warriors of the Parthian plain came to believe in Ahura-Mazdâo as the fountain of all Good, and in Ahriman as the source of all Evil.

We have had occasion, in a former chapter, to trace the rise of this belief and its evolution among the Iranic peoples. It was from this source that Dualism as a principle of philosophic belief made its way to the West, became interfused with the speculations of the Western nations, and at last intertwined itself with the opinions and practices of the leading peoples of modern times. But it must be allowed that dualism—the division of the universe into the two parts of good and evil and the creation of a hierarchy of the Powers set against each other in perpetual warfare, involving the lives and actions of men—is a natural growth peculiar to the human mind at a certain epoch of its career. We have seen such phenomena in the valley of the Nile, in the valley of the Euphrates, and in the highest activity on the Iranian plateau. We shall hereafter see traces of the same thing in the mercurial intellect of the Greeks, in the heavier cogitations of the Romans, and in the dreams of the Teutonic barbarians in their forest solitudes. But among all peoples, the races now under consideration

were most active in the development of such a belief and in its dissemination. Zoroaster was the abstract and chronicle of the religious opinions and philosophical speculations of the peoples among whom he appeared. The Parthians took his system and entertained it during their period of ascendency. Indeed, in nearly all respects they became the representatives of the Persians who had preceded them.

But in the hands of the Parthians, as in the hands of the Persians, the Zoroastrian system suffered deterioration. It went at length into the form of Magism and idolatry. It were difficult to say to how great an extent the idolatrous aspect of the Magian cult was the result of the revival of the ancient polytheistic instincts of the race. Perhaps a part of the degeneration may be attributed to this cause, and part to the rise of a priesthood. Here the history of Parthia could but repeat the common story of the mischief always done, the havoc always wrought with a national religion when it falls into the hands of a priesthood. Then it is that superstition, selfishness, folly, the pride of caste, and the ambition of power begin to take the place of the religious fervor which marks the earlier stages of development. Henceforth the history of religion becomes a history of forms which by their growth and inflection quench the glow that dwelt in the spirits of the primitive prophets.

The Parthians fell under the dominion of these influences. The Magi soon became a powerful caste in the State. Fire, as the emblem of the sun, and perhaps the emblem of life, became the object of superstitious adoration. The elements of nature were held in sacred awe. Rivers were worshiped, as were many other parts of the material world. The superstitions which we have noted in the case of the Persians revived among the Parthians. The dead might not be buried, but must rather be exposed on high in the tops of towers, where the bodies might be devoured by the birds of the air. After the lapse of a long time the bones might be gathered and deposited in tombs. The sacred fire must be kept burning by the priests. In short, the whole ritual of Magism must be performed—the ceremonies of the faith perpetuated by the people. Under such conditions, the Magi at one time became especially powerful. They were members of the National Council, under the Parthian kings, and were as haughty, arrogant, and arbitrary as they and their class have always been in their despotism over society.

At length, however, Magism fell into a decline. The high priests lost their hold upon the Government. It would appear that a sort of original paganism revived, which may well remind one in its manifestation of the beliefs and practices prevalent on the banks of the Tiber and in the German woods. The Sun became the principal object of Parthian worship. After him the Moon was adored as the divinity of night. We might almost transfer and adapt in this connection the celebrated chapter of the Sixth Book of the Cæsarian *Commentaries*, wherein Julius describes the religion of the Teutonic nations. The prevailing principle was that those objects of nature only were fit to be worshiped by the aid of which men were manifestly benefited. The system was thus virtually devoid of speculation. The Sun did good to men. Therefore the Sun might well be worshiped. On a lower plane we find the common beliefs of the Aryan nations in minor divinities and spirits by whom the smaller affairs of life were controlled and guided. There were genii of the day-time, genii of the night, genii of the hearthstone, the spirits of the fathers, and the Larvæ of the earth. The system in its last estate was not essentially different from that of the Pagan nations of Europe.

The men of Alexander took with them into the East the religious beliefs of the Hellenic Aryans. The name of the Olympian Zeus was heard in Babylon, in Seleucia, in Ctesiphon, in Ecbatana, in Persepolis, in Hatra, and in Bactra. Wherever the Greek cities were planted, there the mythology of the West, with its ample inflections, was founded. This invasion of Zoroastrianism and Magism the Parthians seem not to have resented. As a general fact the Aryan religions have been tolerant; those of Shem have refused to know other than themselves. The same principle was illustrated when the Romans became the conquerors of the East. They also carried

their religious system, such as it was, to the banks of the Euphrates and far beyond.

Already before this time Judaism had been propagated by several means in the Aryan countries. At a still later period, when Rome was converted to Christianity, the new faith was carried under the protection of the eagles to the uttermost limits of the Empire. It were impossible to say to what extent these foreign religious influences permeated Parthia and brought her people under their sway. Already at the time of the primitive apostles, Parthian Christianity had become a fact; and St. Luke enumerates the Parthians along with the Medes and Elamites among the strangers gathered in Jerusalem. All this would indicate on the part of the Parthian monarchs the same tolerant spirit which the Greeks and Romans were wont to show to alien systems of religion.

One of the chief forms of activity among the Parthians was war. It is from their military character that the race is best known to the world. Long before the close of the Ancient Era the name of this people was heard as far west as Rome—and generally with terror. They it was doubtless whom Horace had in view under the name of *Medii* in the *Secular Hymn*:—

Now by the sea and on the land, *the Mede*
Fears the strong squadrons and the axe of Rome;
Now the late haughty Scythian doth plead
For mild response—and men of India come.

The reader may, therefore, well be surprised to note the fact that this most warlike nation, whose fierce, wild cavalry swept like flying clouds across the deserts of the Great Plateau, had no fixed military establishment—no standing army. It appears, on the contrary, that the Parthians, by their disposition and habit of life, constituted what may be called a natural soldiery. There were two branches to the Parthian service, the cavalry and the foot. But the first was the important part. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the Parthian infantry was of much value in the field. It was upon the cavalry that the kings relied for victory; and the reliance was not misplaced.

In time of war the Parthian monarch called upon his vassals to bring forth each his quota of warriors for the field. It appears that the constitution of Parthian society was essentially feudal. The vassal was bound to his suzerain in the matter of military service. He must call out his retainers and slaves, see to their equipment and mounting, bring them to the place of rendezvous, and command them in battle. It was thus that the army was made up of bands of warriors drawn from the various districts after the manner of the Crusaders. But a common enthusiasm pervaded the whole, and there was no lack of unity in the general command. This was reserved for the king in person, and for his generalissimo, called the *Surena*.

The latter may be regarded as the head baron of the country. The office which he held hereditary in his family. It is doubtful whether even the king could displace him from the position in which he was fixed by heredity and custom. The same was in great measure true of the other vassals. Each commanded in his own right, and held his place at home and in the field in virtue of what may be called the Parthian constitution.

Looking at the organization of the army, we find a heavy-horse and a light-horse contingent. The first was the main branch of the service. This wing was undoubtedly the finest cavalry of the ancient world. The warriors were armed in mail as to their bodies, the scale-armor of iron and steel descending as low as the knees, well made and strong, polished to brightness, capable of resisting any of the ordinary missiles of the battle-field. On the head was a helmet, also burnished, heavy, and well made. The arms and the legs were free, as they must needs be in fighting from the horse.

The weapons of these Parthian dragoons were bows and arrows and a spear. All these were long and strong. The arrow was shot with such violence that its flight was said to be invisible from its rapidity, and scarcely any armor of the enemy could protect the wearer from its fall. The spear was equally fatal, being thrust with a violence which frequently impaled two warriors with a single blow. The horseman also carried a short sword, which in close quarters he drew and used with fearful effect. The horses of the dragoons, like their

riders, wore a scale armor in battle, having the same adjusted to their heads, necks, and breasts. The light-horse carried bows and arrows, but were unarmored, and bore no spears. The value of this wing depended upon its dexterity. Horsemen of this class hovered within bow-shot, discharging their arrows with great rapidity, wheeling to right and left, attacking the flank, and manœuvering in such manner as to confuse the enemy.

The supply-train of the Parthian army was furnished by a caravan of camels laden with provisions and military accoutrements. It has been noted that the Parthians, advancing to battle, always carried an abundance of arrows, so that literal showers of these missiles might be rained upon the enemy. The attack was made with the utmost spirit. So far as strategy was concerned, the same consisted in deceiving the enemy; in bringing him into unfavorable situations; in cutting off supplies; in taking advantage of any temporary confusion that might occur, and finally in the furious charge directly on the line. This mode of attack was like a thunder-gust which expended itself with the onset. When the flying squadrons came within reach of the adverse lines, they began to rain upon them a terrible discharge of arrows, which was kept up incessantly until the actual shock of combat, when the spears, and finally the swords, were used. It was the expectation by this means to break everything into confusion and sweep the enemy from the field. But if the charge was firmly met, the battle generally continued for but a few minutes after the shock, when the Parthians would turn to flight.

This, however, was a deceptious movement, intended to draw the enemy into pursuit. The dragoons, as well as the light-horse, merely scampered out of reach, and immediately formed anew. If the foe, unacquainted with this manœuver, should chance to follow, and offer by the break of the lines or other fortuitous circumstances any advantage, the onset would be immediately renewed by the Parthians in a second charge like the first. This manner of battle was on the whole especially effective. It is probably true that in the whole vast circle of victory and Imperial conquest the Roman legions never met anywhere on the frontiers of the world a more dangerous enemy than was this same Parthian army. Hereafter we shall show in many details of campaign and battle the results of the doubtful contests waged by Rome with the mailed dragoons of Parthia. The fact has been cited that in the six great campaigns made by the Mistress of the World into the countries beyond the Euphrates she was obliged in no fewer than five to yield the palm to her skillful and courageous antagonist.

Several additional facts connected with the Parthian method of warfare may be cited as of interest to the general reader. The Parthians avoided all military movements, particularly battle, in the night. Perhaps the management of cavalry in the darkness is attended with greater peril and difficulty than are consequent upon the evolutions of infantry. Moreover, the Parthians did not employ fortifications, either for their camp or in the field. For the rest, superstition may have had something to do with that feature of the tactics which required the withdrawal of the army at nightfall to a considerable distance, and the total avoidance of battle or further movements until the morrow.

For reasons of a similar character the winter was avoided as unsuited to campaigning. We may readily perceive that the summer season, as in all other countries and conditions, would be regarded as a favorable time for those rapid and headlong movements upon which the success of Parthian warfare especially depended. It was noted, moreover, by the Greeks and Romans in their conflicts with the Parthians, that the latter could endure heat and deprivation of water much better than themselves—a circumstance which gave a not inconsiderable advantage to the warriors of the East.

On the other hand, the latter were weak in all operations pertaining to sieges and investments. In the nature of the case, the Parthian cavalry were unable to carry a fortified position. They appear to have been almost ignorant of the machinery and appliances necessary to a siege. The Romans, therefore, were comparatively safe in the fortified sta-

tions which they established on the eastern borders of the Empire. But they could never be completely at rest in such situations; for their supplies were constantly endangered by the ceaseless vigilance of the Parthian horsemen. Whenever communications could be cut off, it became simply a question of time when the Romans must come forth and take the hazards of the open field in a movement towards the base of supplies. Such retreats were nearly always fatal. The Parthians, whenever they perceived a movement of the kind, were on the alert. No straggler henceforth escaped. On both wings and the rear of the receding army a cloud of warriors might be seen hovering in the horizon, and a single misstep of the retreating forces was sufficient to effect their ruin.

Another feature of the Parthian warfare was the absence of chariots and vehicles of all kinds. Those who could not ride must walk. In general, it might be said that the whole force was mounted on either horses or camels. In rare instances members of the royal household, the women and others, were borne after the army in chariots. Sometimes the ponderous bulk of an elephant was seen; but this generally marked the presence of the monarch or the generalissimo. These important personages were sometimes made conspicuous, as well as secure, by having their station on the backs of trained elephants. In rare cases camels were used by the cavalry in actual battle; but the Greeks and Romans learned that these beasts could be easily disabled by sowing *tribuli*, or iron stars, in the way of their spongy feet.

In the Parthian manner battle was made with as much noise as possible. The army was accompanied with its musicians, or clamor-makers, who in time of the onset beat upon metal drums, which resounded over the plains, and was answered by the wild shouts of the horsemen as they rushed to the onset. The charge, as we have said, was at full speed. The oncoming of the flying squadrons was so rapid that they seemed to the Romans to rise out of the earth. As soon as the charge had broken upon the legions, the horsemen, if unsuccessful, fled, as we have seen; but in doing so fired backwards. Nor were the enemy able to perceive any diminution in the shower of arrows until the receding column was out of reach

Out of the nature of things war brings cessation, and finally armistice and treaty. These things require formalities. Since war was the mood of antiquity, rules for formal intercourse between belligerents were devised at an early day. The Parthians had a well-regulated ceremonial of the field and for military conferences. It was the custom, when they desired to confer with an enemy, to go forward in full sight with unstrung bows. This signified a desire to communicate with the enemy. The right hand was stretched out towards the opposing camp, to signify the wish for a parley. When the preliminaries of the conference had thus been arranged, the formal representatives of the two powers were wont to come together on some neutral ground, as on a bridge spanning some boundary stream, and there discuss the terms of settlement. Under such circumstances treaties were made. Nor could it be said that the Parthians were less faithful in the observance of stipulations to which they had agreed than were the Greeks and Romans. From the former of these peoples, who in the times of Alexander had established themselves and planted their civilization in many cities, old and new, throughout the East, the Parthians had acquired a knowledge of the Greek tongue, and this for several centuries was used as the medium of civil and military intercourse between them and the nations of the West.

It were a mistaken view of the subject to consider the Parthian administration in the times of the Empire as a government of barbarous principles and methods. On the contrary, it became as well refined as the contemporaneous governments which had in the meantime been established by the European Aryans. The forms of intercourse were regular and enlightened. Embassies were sent by the Parthian monarchs to foreign courts, and such were received in turn at the Parthian capitals. It was the custom of the times to send by the hands of international commissioners presents from king to king as seemed befitting to the age and condition. In none

of these respects were the Parthian monarchs less scrupulous than their contemporaneous sovereigns in the West. The intercourse between Phraates IV. and the Emperor Augustus was conducted as between monarch and monarch of equal rank. Ambassadorial courtesies were common, and without disparagement to the kings of the East. The usual methods of maintaining international faith were observed. Oaths were made and pledges given after the manner of antiquity. The giving and taking of hostages was one of the commonest means of securing good faith and the fulfillment of agreements. It happened on several occasions that members of the Parthian royal family were freely sent to Rome in pledge of the fidelity of the king to his stipulations with the Western Empire.

If from the consideration of war we turn to the peaceful aspect of life and look at the king and his court, we shall find much of interest and instruction. True, we are constrained for the most part to consider the aspect of this royal life in the East through a glass darkly; for its manner has been mostly narrated by the historians of Greece and Rome and Jewry. The Parthians were not themselves a literary people, and but few original sources of information are at our command. First of all, we may refer to the national amusement, which was hunting. After war it would appear that the next highest source of interest and excitement among the people, whether of noble or of common rank, was the attack on wild beasts. We have seen this trait of character already displayed in Assyria and Persia. Nor is it needed that we should return to antiquity to find a similar passion in full activity. Nearly every people, indeed, on its advance from half-barbarity to civilization has found gratification in the pursuit and killing of wild animals. In the first intent the wild beast takes the place of the enemy. Its blood is typical of his. The fall of the boar under the arrow's flight or spear-thrust of the pursuer is next in the scale of delight to the fall of the enemy in battle.

Parthia abounded in wild beasts. On the Assyrian borders the lion was found. Hyrcania was the native lair of tigers so fierce that "Hyrcanian" became an epithet descriptive of the most dangerous species of that animal. Leopards and bears also abounded. The Parthian hunters followed these animals into their haunts, and exposed their lives in the contest. In course of time, however, when the Empire was established, pleasure and excitement were sought in a manner more artistic and less dangerous. Then were constructed the great parks, called by the Eastern nations "Paradises," wherein animals taken from the forests were loosed, to live and propagate their kind under the dominion of half-natural conditions. Here the artificial hunt was made. The king and his companions traversed the paradise, raised the wild beast from his covert, pursued and smote him after the manner of the ancient chase in the wild and desert.

We may glance at the appearance of the king when he went forth as a hunter. On such occasions he wore a short cloak, of which we find examples on the monuments and coins. A helmet protected his head, and in his hand he carried the strong bow with the double curve, the animal tendon for a thong, and the swift arrow against which nothing alive might stand. Like his countryman, the monarch went on horseback. His person was ornamented in barbaric fashion with jewels and gold. His horse wore trappings of the same splendid fashion with the king's garments, and the attendants were only less gorgeous in their apparel, less haughty in manner, than the monarch himself.

At the Court another fashion prevailed. Here a long robe, like that of the Persian and Median nobles, was worn by the king. The insignia of royalty were hung about his neck. A diadem circled his forehead, and his ears supported rings and jewels. Like her consort, the queen-in-chief, preëminent above the harem, proud in her ascendency over hundreds of concubines which the law granted to the sovereign, adorned herself in a manner equally splendid. She, as well as he, received the title of Divine. She, like the king, wore a diadem and sometimes a tiara. Not often, however, was she permitted, under the custom of the race, to obtrude herself into public affairs. More than those of any other of the

Aryan peoples were the social and domestic habits of the Parthians conformed to the manners of the Orient. Polygamy was the law of the land. The harem was the expression of the social system in its ultimate analysis. All women except the characterless crowd of *Hetæræ*, dancers, and the like, who followed in the wake of the army, were secluded from sight. They must hide themselves like the women of Shem. They must be veiled, that their faces be not seen by men. With men they must not converse, except with their husbands in the harem. The sexes were separated at the domestic meal and at the public banquet. The care of the harem was intrusted to eunuchs, after the manner already described in the history of Persia.

We have already remarked upon the small intellectual development of the Parthian people, as shown in the absence of literature and art. Their learning proceeded as far as the mastery of their own tongue and, in the best days of the Empire, a very general acquirement of Greek. It appears that the Parthian kings and their subjects were quick to discover the superiority of the language of the men of Alexander, and were not long in adopting it, at least as the speech of their higher intercourse. Greek was introduced as the official language. The Parthian coins bore Greek inscriptions, and that tongue was, as we have seen, used for several centuries in all the important intercourse between the Parthians and the Western nations.

Beyond this it does not appear that the subjects of Phraates and Mithridates were able to progress. Of science they knew not even the rudiments. Their interpretation of nature, in so far as they were curious to know the laws of phenomena, was purely mythological. Of sculpture they knew but little, and of painting perhaps nothing at all. This is to say, that of the higher forms of pictorial art they were ignorant, except by incidental intercourse with the Greeks and Romans. In these respects the Parthian race was in striking analogy with the Medes and Persians, whose want of genius in the particulars here referred to has been noted by many critics and historians.

The activities of the Parthians were thus physical rather than intellectual. They lacked altogether the imaginative and speculative disposition of the Greeks, and indeed of all the European Aryans. The civilization which they established was material in the highest degree. The nation was not without great force, great outward activity, and inner energy; but the poetic dream, the imaginative flight, the artistic concept, were things unknown, even in the highest development to which the Parthian people could attain.

In an architectural way the achievements of the Parthians were more creditable. It is in architecture that physical energies, combined with the lower forms of ideality, find their best expression. We have several instances in history of peoples who succeeded in reaching a fair degree of architectural work without attaining to poetry and art. In its higher manifestations architecture, of course, becomes ideal. It expresses at the last the imaginative powers of the human mind, and is only secondary in rank to sculpture and painting. But in its lower forms it is the most material of all the arts. Thus far the Parthians were able to proceed in the human evolution, and no farther.

As a rule the Asiatic Aryans have not been great builders. We have seen how small a thing the Medes transmitted to after times as it respects their architectural achievements. The Persians, under the Achæmenian kings, rose to a higher level of structural ability. In the preceding Book the reader has been made acquainted with the palaces and temples of Persepolis, and of one or two other of the principal Persian cities. But even here we fail to note the splendor and abundance of Assyria, to say nothing of Egypt and Greece. On the Great Plateau the energies of human life have always been expended in forms of action different from those of closely crowded and permanent societies like those of the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile.

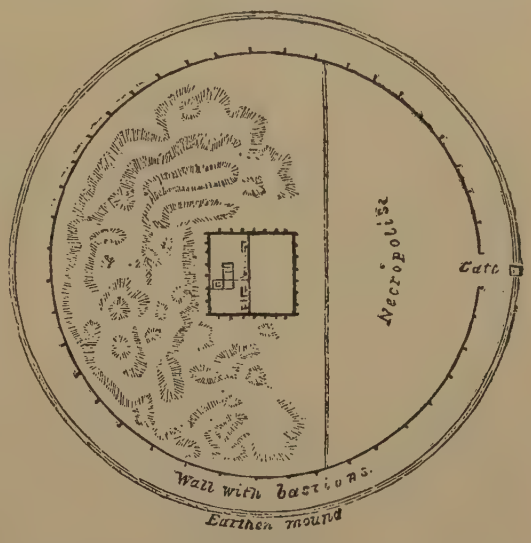
Parthia was not rich in temples or palaces or tombs. This is true particularly of the Parthian kingdom in the earlier times, before the expansion of the nation had resulted in the establishment of a great dominion. The old kings and the primitive nobility were bar-

baric in their habits and manners, caring little for fixedness, and not much for visible splendors. The consideration of the building methods and results in the country is attended with difficulties from the historical changes to which it was subject. The determination of the age of a given ruin is uncertain; so that the inquirer may not well ascertain whether the work has been done by the ancient race, in the Greek period, under the Arsacidæ, or under the subsequent Sassanians. It is the architecture of the Arsacidæ only which we should regard as truly Parthian in its character. The remains of those structures which were made subsequent to the year 226 A. D., must be regarded as the work of a later period. Rawlinson has determined the time in which the true national building was effected as covering about two centuries; namely, the first and second of our era. But we must remember that the works remaining to us of this period were merely the highest development of a kind of building which had been cultivated for several preceding centuries.

The unfixedness of Parthian society is well illustrated in the fact that the seat of the government was not established at any one city, but was transferred from place to place, according to the preference of the monarch. There were thus several Parthian capitals, among which there was little preëminence. At the time when the Empire was at its greatest expansion, the city of Hatra was perhaps the most centralized and important place of residence for the Great Kings. It is from the ruins of this old metropolis that we are best able to gather an adequate idea of the ancient architecture of the country. By the Greeks the city was called Ctesiphon. It was situated on the left bank of the Tigris, over against Seleucia, the capital of the Seleucidæ, where the successors of Alexander for awhile established themselves. Ctesiphon was built by the Parthians across the river from the Greek capital, and at length grew into a place of importance. With the decline of the Greek power in Asia, Seleucia shrank away, while the Parthian city was improved and enlarged.

The founding of this Hatra is assigned to Vardanes; not the monarch of that name, but another, whose history has not been determined. It appears that the city flourished greatly in the latter days of the Parthian Empire, but declined with the dominion of which it constituted one of the principal ornaments, only to be revived at a subsequent period by the Sassanian kings. In the year 232 A. D., when the Roman Emperor Severus overran the country, the prisoners out of Ctesiphon were estimated at a hundred thousand.

We are here concerned, however, with the character of the architecture of the Parthian period. Hatra had the novel characteristic of being circular in form. The city was surrounded by a wall, thick and strong, about



PLAN OF HATRA.

three miles in circumference, and a true circle in form. The rampart was built of cut stone, strengthened with bastions at intervals of a hundred and seventy yards. Outside of the wall was a ditch, broad and deep, and beyond this was a mole, or agger, drawn around after the manner of the ancients. We thus see that at the time of the Parthian ascendency the building arts and military expedients of the West had been introduced to the extent of making the capital city easily defensible against a powerful enemy. The nomadic instincts of the race had stooped to the adoption of those rational means by which cities are protected from assault.

From north to south across the circle formed by the great wall, and constituting an

arc thereof, was a river channel passing through and furnishing water to the inhabitants. Perhaps the course of the stream had been artificially rectified, as the antiquarian has found it to be a right line through the midst. In this respect the city was not unlike Babylon, receiving the river through the wall on the one side and permitting its outflow on the other. There was thus formed two segments, a greater and a smaller, within the circle of the wall. In the smaller and eastern division were the burial-grounds of the people, while the residence portion occupied the greater division west of the stream. Here were placed the public buildings, the palaces of the king and his officers and nobles, and whatever temples the religious system of the country demanded.

All these structures have in great measure gone down to dust; but enough remains to give the antiquarian a correct idea of the whole. The ruins have been explored by Layard, Fergusson, Ainsworth, and Ross, with the same general result as to the character of the ancient buildings of the city. Special attention has been directed to a large edifice standing near the center, and considered to have been the palace of the king, with perhaps an adjoining temple. Around the whole was a wall in the form of a parallelogram, having the respective dimensions of seven hundred and eight hundred feet. The wall was of cut stone, and was strengthened at frequent intervals with bastions like those found in the outer rampart of the city. Within this inclosure were two courts, the first being open and free from architectural remains, and the second containing the ruins of the two edifices to which we have just referred.

It is believed that the larger of the two, so far as the ground plan was concerned, was the less important and imposing. It has been conjectured that this division of the general structure was intended as a residence for the king's guard, the minor officers, and servants of the court. The second building appears to have been the royal residence. It consisted—as has been determined by the ruins—of seven principal halls lying parallel, opening to the east. Three of these were of larger and four of smaller dimensions. All were arched or vaulted. The smaller halls were thirty feet in depth and twenty feet in width, and the height was thirty feet. The larger halls had a depth or length of ninety feet, were thirty-five feet in breadth and sixty feet in height. Into these vaulted and elongated chambers light was admitted from the eastern openings, which are supposed to have been closed with curtains in the times of occupancy.

The observer standing in front of the structure would see a façade of cut stone well laid in a great wall from right to left, pierced by seven archways, resembling very much the entrances to stone viaducts, tunnels, or the under arches of bridges, such as we see in modern architecture. These arched halls constituted the great apartments of the palace. They were ornamented within, and at the further extremity terminated in smaller rooms, which were doubtless the sleeping chambers of the occupants. In the façade, considerable skill was shown by the stone-cutters and builders. The seven arches, three of greater and four of smaller dimensions, were so arranged as to give a pleasing effect. The arches were sprung from sculptured pilasters, bearing spirited figures, some real and some mythological in character. In one place a female form, floating in air, was represented in a way to remind the beholder of the more elegant figures thus suspended in the mural decorations of Pompeii. In several places heads were carved in the stone, particularly in the keystone, in a manner peculiar to the Parthian workmen, but by no means devoid of art.

The side walls of the arched halls within were relieved by square pilasters rising from the floor to the spring of the vault. In this part much ornamental work was done. There were capitals and ovals and peculiar carvings of several varieties, especially in the line of the cornice. Here again, on the capitals of the pilasters, were found human heads and mythological creatures, some of which were truly remarkable in character, and without likeness among any other known sculptures. It has been noticed, moreover, by antiquarians that the figures in question were all marked by a striking quality of spirit and activity—a

certain airiness of life almost jocose in its expression.

A close examination of the structure here before us has led to the belief that the first story, now remaining in ruins, was surmounted by a second and perhaps a third story of nearly the same height, but of different character from the first. In these, of course, the arched openings would be wanting, their place being taken by windows or apertures not unlike what we should expect in a modern building. Some have gone so far as to construct restorations of the palace, giving the full façade of about three hundred feet from right to left, and a height of three stories. Nor is it improbable that the conjecture fairly represents to the eye the true outline of the ancient edifice. And in this we may not forbear to note the close resemblance of the restoration to the well-known appearance of the projection of a great railway station in Europe or America. The arches in the first story correspond to the openings for the tracks, and the second and third stories above are not unlike the superstructure of our stations for passengers.

We have already remarked that at the bottom or further end of the great halls were arranged the apartments of actual occupation. Research has shown among these the usual division between those assigned to the men and those occupied by the women. It is in evidence that the arrangements in this respect were strictly Oriental, the aim being to prevent the free intercourse of the men and the women of the court.

Something has already been said of the adjacent structure, to which antiquarians have assigned the office of a temple. It is not certainly known that such was the use of the edifice. The ground plan shows a square of about forty feet in each dimension. It appears that the building was surrounded through its whole extent by a hall or passage-way, which was vaulted after the manner of the halls in the palace. Two windows were so set as to admit the light into the passage. The doorway bore a frieze which exhibited some of the finest work which the Parthian chisels were

RUINS OF HATRA.

able to produce. As to the interior apartment, that also was of a vaulted form above, and dimly lighted by a single aperture. It has been noted that the main apartment within was devoid of ornamentation, and from this fact the conjecture has been principally formed that the room was devoted to religious worship. The severe spirit of the Iranians did not permit the religious thought to be distracted from the contemplation of the unseen by the interposition of material forms.

The present sketch may serve as an outline of building at its best estate among the Parthians. While the race may not by any means be compared in its structural abilities with the Greeks, the Romans, or the Egyptians, it may well be likened to the Persians and Susianians. The work which we have here described was on the whole substantially and well done. The building material—a gray-brown limestone—was selected of the proper quality, and was handled with skill. The cutting was done with great exactitude. No mortar or cement has been found in any of the walls. It would appear that the builders relied wholly upon perfect work by the chisel for the fitting and juxtaposition of the materials. Like the builders of Egypt and Baalbec, they relied upon the accuracy of the line and the perfection of the work rather than on the uncertain and dubious expedient of mortar.

We have already remarked that the smaller segment within the circular wall of Hatra was for the most part a necropolis. The surface of this part is marked with many small structures, square as to their shape, built of stone, but long since fallen into ruins. It can hardly be doubted that they were the sepulchres of the Parthian citizens dwelling across the river. In general, the foundations are about twenty feet square, but are sometimes larger. Doubtless each structure marks the resting-place of the members of a given family or kindred. The work is plain and solid. The subterranean apartments are of a peculiar bell-shape, widening to the bottom somewhat after the manner of the modern cistern. Such underground rooms are carefully walled with stone well laid, plain, and substantial. It is quite likely that the vaults were used as a receptacle for the bones collected from the towers of the dead, where, as already explained, the flesh of the bodies had been plucked away and devoured by the birds of the air.

It is clear, however, that burial, in the proper sense, came at length to be practiced by the Parthians. We may well infer that the notions of the Babylonians were to some extent adopted by the Parthian people of the times of the Empire. At all events coffins are found not wholly dissimilar to those of the ancient Chaldees, but there is a sufficient variation from the type to indicate a change of use and manner. Instead of the so-called "dish-cover" vessel, the Parthians employed what is known as the "slipper" coffin, so named from its resemblance in shape to a slipper. Such boxes were of earthenware, a blue-green in color, and glazed and ornamented in the way of finish. They are found of all lengths, from three to six feet, are not untasteful in form, and are perhaps among the most durable sarcophagi ever invented.

PARTHIAN SLIPPER COFFIN.

The antiquary, by careful examination, has found near the foot of the box an aperture evidently designed for the escape of the gases generated in putrefaction. As for the principal opening, that was closed over the face of the dead with a lid, which was no doubt hermetically sealed in its place. The small art of the Parthians sought expression on the coffin-lid, which was not infrequently adorned with figures either suggestive of the life and manners of the dead or emblematical of some

of those wavering hopes wherewith the living of all ages have beguiled themselves in the presence of death.

We have come in this connection to the consideration of such indifferent Art as the Parthians were able to produce. We have seen how unfavorable on the whole the country was for an artistic development, and how little genius for reproduction of forms and images the Parthian race possessed. The remains of this people, however, are sufficient to show a certain degree of æsthetic perception, and a corresponding measure of artistic achievement. First of all, we may mention the terra-cotta statuettes which are found in the ruins of the Parthian cities. Some of these Loftus has described with his usual care. The Parthian artist seems to have preferred the recumbent posture in the subject of his work. One effigy represents a warrior reclining at a banquet. He wears his helmet, his coat of mail, and his greaves. There is evidently much truthfulness in the delineation. Female figures are represented according to the fitness of things. The figure is draped, and the face veiled after the manner of the East. In some instances, however, it appears that the infection of Western art had reached to Iran, for examples have been found in which a portion of the person and the lower limbs are nude.

From these attempts at the representation of the highest existing form, namely, the body of man, we may pass to the consideration of utensils. These were to a certain extent of artistic outline and finish. The vases and jars, water-jugs and lamps, of the Parthian people were of terra-cotta, and were sufficiently well-formed to merit praise even in a modern collection of such objects. In general, the same were modeled after the Babylonian pattern, being produced on the potter's wheel, and hardened by the heat of the furnace. It may be noted in this connection that the larger part of the pottery recovered from the Parthian period has been found in the sepulchral vaults, where, no doubt, food and drink were placed by the hand of that superstitious affection which was stretched out by all the ancient peoples over the burial-place of the departed.

PARTHIAN VASES, JUGS, AND LAMPS.

From utensils we may pass to personal decorations. These were many, and not inelegant. We have already referred to the triple necklaces worn by the kings and queens, and doubtless by the nobility. The diadems of royal personages were adorned with jewels. Ear-rings and finger-rings appear to have been generally worn by both men and women. Beads and bangles were of the fashion, as were also armlets, wristlets, anklets, and the like. The toes were often adorned with rings. In the manufacture of ornaments the Parthian smiths employed the precious metals, as also copper and brass. Another kind of personal ornament much in vogue, especially among the nobility, was the band of gold which was made to depend from caps and mitres in the style of modern ribbons. The inference of great personal pride may be deduced from the universality of adornments for the person.

It is the decision of antiquaries that not more than a half dozen authentic examples of Parthian bas-reliefs have been recovered. From these the opinion of the modern reader must be formed relative to the extent and character of Parthian sculpture. On the Rock of Behistun one of these examples is found. It consists of a procession of figures moving in one direction, somewhat after the manner of the procession on the frieze of the Parthenon. Some of the figures are on foot, but the rest are mounted, and are riding with lance at rest,

evidently in the charge of battle. In one part a flying figure appears, which is thought to represent Fame or Victory. The attitude of both men and horses is spirited, and it is believed that the work, before the decay which has come through centuries of exposure to the elements, was of a high order of artistic merit. It has been observed, however, that there are discrepancies in the design, as for instance, the circlet, or diadem, which Flying Fame holds over the head of the warrior is altogether *too large*, being sufficient to cover his whole figure! another example of such art is that of a mounted hunter engaged in conflict with a bear. His spear is at the animal's throat. His horse rises and the bear rears on his hind legs for the final struggle. The work is rudely done, but the design is true to nature and marked with much spirit. The figure on horseback presents a wonderful beard, curled into a puff surrounding all the lower part of the face, and balanced behind with a corresponding protuberance of the hair. The bear much resembles an American grizzly in

HUNTER KILLING A BEAR.

But this is, as Hamlet might say, to consider the question "too curiously."

Other bas-reliefs have been discovered in various places. A favorite subject was the horse and the man. One work of great value and merit represents a Magus, or High Priest, in the oracular attitude. At his right hand is the cone burr. He is in full robe of office. He wears a mitre that might almost have suited one of the mediæval Popes. His hair is worn long, and is curiously done into a broad puff extending laterally on both sides at the back of the neck as far as the shoulders. Still his form and attitude, and the hunter seems to be clad as a man of the arctic regions.

On the whole, however, and to sum up results, it might almost be said that the Parthians were a people wholly inartistic in taste and habit. No doubt a single Greek town of the second or third class, in the times of the Hellenic ascendency, exhibited a larger range of art work, whether of the chisel or the brush, than did the whole Empire of Mithridates spreading through many lands, from the little principality of Osrhœne in the upper bend of the Euphrates to the summits of the Hindu Kush.

CHAPTER XXXV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY ANNALS.

AS we have said in the preceding chapter, the tribal history of the Parthians is lost in the mist and distance. Nor need the reader of the present age cultivate the anxious spirit relative to the origin of the migrations and the wild nomadic life of a primitive people so far removed in time and place from all the interests of the world that now is. Certain it is that the Parthians were little known to the Semitic peoples, as is evidenced by the fact that the name is not found in the Hebrew Scriptures.

We have already spoken of the Aryan origin of the Parthian people and the probable intermixture with them of the Scyths. Their first emergence into historical view is in connection with the story of the Persian Empire at that juncture when the Pseudo-Smerdis attempted by false pretensions to gain possession of the throne. The narrative of that interesting episode in Persian history has already been presented. At the time of the conspiracy the Parthians revolted and upheld the cause of Smerdis against Darius Hystaspis until what time both they and the Pretender were put down.

From this circumstance we learn that at this time—namely, in 521 B. C.—Parthia was a province, or satrapy, of the Persian Empire. It appears, indeed, that Hystaspes, father of Darius the Great, held the office of satrap of

PARTHIAN WARRIORS.

Parthia at the time of the Smerdian revolt. He, of course, supported the claims of his son, as did also the majority of the other princes. But the Parthians, in league with many from the adjacent provinces in the North, strove to overturn the throne, suffering severe reverses in the field, losing in a single engagement, according to the reckless estimates of antiquity, about eleven thousand men. Thus much may be gathered from the inscriptions on the Rock of Behistun.

We thus arrive at the existence of Parthia as a division of the Empire of the Persians. After their suppression and punishment for revolt in the interest of Smerdis, the Parthians accepted Darius, and remained loyal to the succeeding Achæmenian kings. Their history becomes the common history of Persia down to the time when the complication, existing for more than a century between the Great Kings and the commonwealths of Greece, was cut by the sword of Alexander.

It is not needed in this connection to review the work of the Conqueror as he passed from Europe into Asia and traversed that continent through a distance of two thousand miles. Persia was now in the ascendant over all the East. Her dominion was accepted by many peoples and nations. Alexander, by the acuteness of his genius, perceived that his objective point was the court of Babylon, that the overthrow of Darius would be a universal victory, and that the subject nations would, with the master stroke, fall asunder and accept himself instead.

The event was as the expectation. Arbela ended all. With the life of Darius went out the dynasty and the whole cycle of ideas which it represented. True, Alexander deemed it important to continue his expeditions north, south, and east, until the subject nations were taught by ocular demonstration the futility of opposition to his will. One of his campaigns was directed against Bactria. In the prosecution of this, passing from the Tigris to the hostile country, he must needs traverse Parthia. But it does not appear that the Parthians had refused to accept the results of Arbela. Little, perhaps nothing, is said of any resistance on their part to the Conqueror's progress. To them, as to so many others, the event was but a change of masters.

The reader of the present age is many times astonished at the rapid and spectacular transformations of antiquity—this for the reason that he does not apprehend the civil and social condition of the ancient world. The Persian Empire, for instance, was not closely enough bound in its parts to constitute a Staatenbund, much less a consolidated union of nations. Each satrap was a feudatory, holding loosely under his suzerain. To strike down the latter was to break the nexus of the whole, and to deliver the provinces back to local independence. But the condition was such that the establishment of another nexus was easy, if not necessary.

Thus for two centuries we contemplate Parthia as a satrapy of the Persian Empire, and then behold its transference to the Son of Philip and his successors. It is sufficient to note in this connection that the country of Parthia proper was, under the Persian kings, at first associated for governmental purposes with Chorasmia, Sogdiana, and Arya. In the second stage Parthia was bound up with Hyrcania into a single province, and it is probable that the two were held as one at the time of the conquest of the Empire by the Macedonians. By that event Parthia, without other serious changes, was subjected to a Greek administration under officers appointed at the first by Alexander himself, and afterwards by his successors.

In order to follow the history of the country we are obliged in this place to enter again that distracted epoch which succeeded the death of Alexander the Great. We shall hereafter, when we come to narrate with particularity the partition of the world among the Greeks, describe the wars, the tumults, and the transformations by which the quadripartite division of Asia, Eastern Europe, and South-eastern Africa was effected. For the present it is sufficient to present an outline of that part of the field with which the destinies of Parthia are concerned. The four Powers to which we have just referred—as determined by war and compromise among the successors of Alexander—were Macedonia, Egypt, Asia Minor, and

Syria. The last named was misnamed; for the dominion so-called had, at first, but little respect to Syria Proper. On the contrary, it included all of the Alexandrian conquests in South-western Asia. It was by far the most extensive and important part of what had been taken by the Son of Philip; and it is with this so-called Kingdom of Syria that we are here concerned.

Considered from the style of dynasty established over it, the same was known as the Kingdom of the SELEUCIDÆ, so named from Seleucus Nicator, founder of the line of sovereigns referred to. As for Seleucus, he had not at the division of the Empire received a portion, but he was at length appointed satrap of Babylon, and from that position soon rose to preëminence in the East. In this relation he served under Antigonus, to whom the Kingdom of Syria had been given. But having aroused the jealousy of the king, Seleucus fled to Egypt, and put himself for a season under the protection of Ptolemy. At length the Greek monarchs of the three western divisions of the Macedonian Empire banded against the king of Syria. When this confederacy was formed, Seleucus first recovered his office as satrap of Babylon, and in that relation joined the Western monarchs with his forces on the field of Ipsus. It was by the battle so named that the subsequent destinies of Western Asia were for a long time determined. A new division, being a modification of that already in existence, was made by the victors, and Seleucus received for his part all of the Asiatic conquests which had been achieved by Alexander, with the exception of Lower Syria and Asia Minor.

No sooner had this result been achieved than Seleucus was able to look around and view with complacency his dominions. These included Upper Syria, Mesopotamia, parts of Cappadocia and Phrygia, Assyria, Media, Babylonia, Susiana, Persia Proper, Carmania, Sagartia, Hyrcania, *Parthia*, Bactria, Sogdiana, Arya, Zarangia, Arachosia, Sacastana, Gedrosia, and the hither parts of India—and to these was presently added Armenia on the west. The Imperial realms here defined included a million two hundred thousand square miles, from which, after deducting the waste and desert parts, about eight hundred thousand square miles of valuable and fertile territory remained.

It now devolved upon Seleucus to choose his capital and organize his Government. In this connection the cities of Mesopotamia, famous in ancient story, would naturally suggest themselves. There on the Lower Euphrates was Babylon, which Alexander himself had preferred as the seat of his dominion. On the Upper Tigris was Nineveh, or the site of Nineveh, equally well situated for a capital of empire. For a short season the former was chosen; but Seleucus for some reason wearied of Babylon, and determined to build a capital of his own. For this he chose a site about forty miles distant to the north-east, on the right bank of the Tigris, and there laid the foundations of Seleucia, which soon sprang into importance and grandeur as the seat of central interest for all of South-western Asia.

Here then was founded the Kingdom of the Seleucidæ, under auspices favorable to permanence and grandeur. But it was not long until Seleucus made the fatal mistake of abandoning the position which he had so well chosen in Mesopotamia and seeking another and less favorable capital in the far south-west, on the border of his Empire.

It would appear that Alexander and his successors fought against the law of nature in their attempt to carry European institutions backwards across Asia. There is certainly an irresistible cosmic force which draws men to the West. The historical drama constantly shifts its scene in the direction of the setting sun. There was doubtless a time in the past when Babylon itself was a young and progressive municipality in the West. A large part of ancient history is concerned with the processes and vicissitudes by which the central energies of human power were transferred from Babylon to Rome, just as a large part of Modern History has covered the details of the movement from Rome to London. There is something in nature, there is something in man, there is much in the correlations of man and nature, which propel civilization in the direction indicated and makes it almost impossible

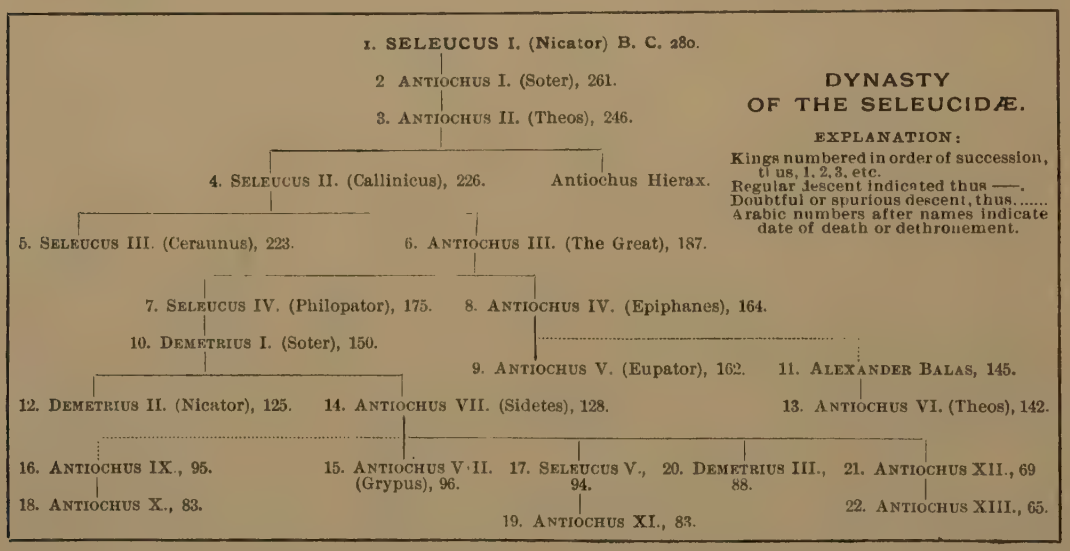
to replant eastward the aggressive societies and institutions of the West.

The men of the Alexandrian epoch found it so. Perhaps no valid reason could have been assigned by Seleucus for yielding his vantage on the banks of the Tigris and transferring his seat of government to Antioch, in the valley of the Orontes. Whatever may have been his motive, the policy was fatal to the maintenance of a European dominion in Southwestern Asia. The king, by the removal, reassociated himself with the contentious and contending successors of Alexander in Macedonia, Egypt, and Asia Minor. He was at once reïnvolved with them in those wars which were destined to continue until what time the Mistress of the World should, from her seat on the Tiber, stretch out her scepter over all.

But we are here concerned rather with the actual course of events than with speculative views concerning them. The withdrawal of the capital of the East from Seleucia to Antioch left the Asiatic nations without the visible presence of the master. It left them to the suggestion of conspiracy, revolt, and independence. Worst of all, it left them to the domination of corrupt satraps, who resumed the manners and methods of the past, extorting from the subject peoples whatever might be gained by excess and tyranny.

For Seleucus had in the meantime committed another administrative error, which must sooner or later lose him all his Eastern provinces. Alexander had, against the prejudices of his own countrymen, adopted the policy of uniting the ruling classes and native princes of the East with himself. He had encouraged to a great extent among his officers and men the formation of marriage unions and other alliances by which the conquered peoples might come to regard their interests as identified with those of the Conqueror. He had deliberately called to his aid the princes of the subject Asiatic provinces, reäppointed them to their places, conferred honors upon them, and made them secure under his authority. While this policy had left behind much bitterness on the part of the adventurers who had hoped to revel in all the spoils of conquest—while it had in many instances alienated the home Government of Macedonia—it had nevertheless secured to the Conqueror the regards, the confidence, and even the affection of peoples and races whom he could not otherwise have bound sincerely to his interests.

At the first his successors followed in a feeble and uncertain way the policy of their great leader. But their weakness and cupidity soon prevailed, and they began to promote Europeans in the place of native princes. This method was fatally adopted by Seleucus on his withdrawal to Antioch. He set Greeks in authority over the Asiatics, as if to say that his security in the East depended upon Euro-


1. SELEUCUS I. (Nicator) B. C. 280.
2 ANTIOCHUS I. (Soter), 261.
3. ANTIOCHUS II. (Theos), 246.
4. SELEUCUS II. (Callinicus), 226.
Antiochus Hierax.
5. SELEUCUS III. (Ceraunus), 223.
6. ANTIOCHUS III. (The Great), 187.
7. SELEUCUS IV. (Philopator), 175.
8. ANTIOCHUS IV. (Epiphanes), 164.
10. DEMETRIUS I. (Soter), 150.
9. ANTIOCHUS V. (Eupator), 162.
11. ALEXANDER BALAS, 145.
12. DEMETRIUS II. (Nicator), 125.
14. ANTIOCHUS VII. (Sidetes), 128.
13. ANTIOCHUS VI. (Theos), 142.
16. ANTIOCHUS IX., 95.
15. ANTIOCHUS VIII. (Grypus), 96.
17. SELEUCUS V., 94.
20. DEMETRIUS III., 88.
21. ANTIOCHUS XII., 69
18. ANTIOCHUS X., 83.
19. ANTIOCHUS XI., 83.
22. ANTIOCHUS XIII., 65.
DYNASTY OF THE SELEUCIDÆ.
EXPLANATION:
Kings numbered in order of succession, thus, 1. 2, 3, etc.
Regular descent indicated thus —.
Doubtful or spurious descent, thus.....
Arabic numbers after names indicate date of death or dethronement.

pean rather than Asiatic support. It may be doubted whether his governors themselves, chosen henceforth from the small European contingent, were more loyal, more devoted to the king than would have been the native noblemen of Asia; and as for the subject peoples, all sympathy between themselves and their rulers must at once have been destroyed.

We thus see the head of the Syrian kingdom of the Greeks establishing himself in leisure and pleasure at Antioch, little regarding the concerns of the East. The Mesopotamian countries and all beyond were left in charge of their European governors. Seleucus himself gave his attention to Western affairs, interfering in Egypt and Asia Minor, according to the caprice of the day. Seleucus reigned until the year B. C. 280 when he was assassinated at Lysimachia. He left his crown to his son Antiochus I., called Soter, second of the Seleucid princes. The latter pursued the same policy with his father, and became involved in the same troubles. The administration of the East was continued in the same manner, was attended with the same dangers, and that of the West was distracted with like quarrels and battles, until, after the space of nineteen years, Antiochus Soter was slain by a Gaul, in a conflict near Ephesus.

The crown next descended to Antiochus II., surnamed Theos, who, during the ten years of his reign, was engaged in almost constant warfare with Asia Minor and Egypt. The history of all three reigns, covering the period from the accession of Seleucus, in B. C. 301, to the death of Antiochus Theos, in B. C. 250, has a common feature—that of neglect of the East and needless complication with the affairs of the West.

During this period, the old kingdom of Parthia, reduced for centuries to subordination, first to Persia, afterwards to the successors of Alexander, lay in comparative obscurity. But the time had now arrived for an emergence by rebellion into light and life and action. At this epoch the actual history of Parthia as an independent power begins. All the rest is, as it were, the setting of the picture. From this time forth the movement, first toward freedom, and then to greatness, is rapid and direct.

The administration of Antiochus the Divine was of precisely the kind to furnish the opportunity and the suggestion of a revolt. About six years before the conclusion of his reign, Theodotus, or Diodotos, the Greek satrap of Bactria, perceived in the distance between himself and Antioch and in the effeminate administration of the king the hint of successful rebellion. He accordingly at once threw off the yoke, gave himself the title of *Basileus*, and entered upon an independent administration. Thus did Bactria lead the way in renouncing the sovereignty which had been accepted since the Alexandrian conquest. It appears that Antiochus had neither the ambition nor the courage to chastise his rebellious governor, and Theodotus was accordingly permitted to take his undisturbed course to independence.

The example was contagious. The neighboring satrapies felt the shock of the Bactrian

COIN OF THEODOTUS.

revolution, and soon adopted a similar method. Parthia was the first to follow in the wake of the neighboring revolt. In this country, however, the movement took on a wholly different character. In Bactria the revolution could hardly be said to be national. The Greek governor was simply permitted to raise himself to the rank and title of king; but in Parthia the revolt had a different source. Here the spring of action was a national sentiment against the rule of the Europeans in any form. The feeling was against the Greek Dynasty *in toto*, so that instead of following the lead of the governor in making himself independent of Antiochus, the Parthians rose against the governor himself, and the whole system of foreign domination which he represented.

The circumstances and details of the revolt have been differently told by different authors. It has been narrated that a certain ARSACES—

which name the leader of the revolution certainly bore—appeared out of Bactria, from which country he had fled from the jealousy of Theodotus. Coming into Parthia, he induced the people to accept him for their leader in a rebellion against their own Greek governor. Successful in this, he was made king of Parthia and founder of the dynasty. Another account says that Pherecles, satrap of Parthia under Antiochus the Divine, offered an insult to Arsaces, who, according to this tradition, was a native Parthian, son of Phriapites, and that he—Arsaces—and his brother Tiridates drew five of their fellow-noblemen into a conspiracy and slew the satrap. This done, the people were easily induced to rise and throw off the foreign domination altogether. They then chose Arsaces for their king. Still another account makes Arsaces to have been a Scythian of the nation called the Dahæ, who came by hostile invasion into Parthia, overthrew the Greek government, and made their leader king. It is sufficient for historical purposes to say that the rebellion against the Greeks was led by a patriot named Arsaces, who was perhaps of Scythian extraction; that the foreign officers were expelled; that the pride of the nation was gratified by the success of the insurrection; and that its leader was made king of Parthia, with the title of ARSACES I. These events are assigned to the year B. C. 256, but some have moved the event forward to 250, being the year of the death of Antiochus Theos.

COIN OF ARSACES I.

The accession of Arsaces and the founding of the Parthian monarchy were not wholly peaceful. The expulsion of the Greeks from the country—the suppression of their influence—was not of easy accomplishment. The Greek capital, Hecatompylos, built by Alexander, had been peopled in the first place by Macedonians and other men out of the West. These and their descendants would, out of the nature of things, resist the revolution and strive to regain their ascendency. The party of the late government, great or small, would follow the counter-revolution. Arsaces, therefore, had to make battle with the malcontents, and to put them down by force of arms. Nor was he able to give perfect quiet to the kingdom before his death, which came by a spear-thrust in the side, in the year B. C. 247.

The crown descended to TIRIDATES, brother of the late king. But he took for his title Arsaces II., and is generally referred to by that name. It appears that the name *Arsaces* was at once adopted as the designative title of the Dynasty, which is thus known in history as the ARSACIDÆ. It remained for the second king of this great house to promote, establish, and defend the kingdom planted in weakness and uncertainty by his brother. His reign lasted for over thirty years, during which time Arsaces II. fully justified the expectations of his country. The boundaries of Parthia were enlarged. It was fortunate for the monarchy that so strong a character was at its head, for scarcely was the king established in power until all of his energies and resources were needed to protect the nation from conquest. It was at this juncture, namely, in B. C. 245, that Ptolemy Euergetes, of Egypt, warlike and ambitious, led an army into Asia, entered the kingdom of Syria, overthrew Seleucus Callinicus in battle, captured Antioch, and then made an expedition into Mesopotamia—as though he would recover the whole Empire of Alexander. The major countries in his path yielded with little resistance. Babylonia, Susiana, Assyria, Persia, and Media went down successively before the invader. Indeed, the restoration of the Asiatic dominion was complete, with the exception of Bactria and Parthia.

Tiridates thus found his kingdom threatened by a new conqueror, between whom and himself an unequal contest must be waged—on his own side for existence, and on the side of Ptolemy for Empire. But destiny had prepared a different event. While Ptolemy was engaged in rapidly reconstructing the power which Seleucus had permitted to go to wreck, his attention was suddenly recalled to Egypt. In that country a rebellion had broken out, and the king was obliged to hurry back to Africa, lest his losses at home might be greater than his gains in Asia. The great

campaign which he had made with so much apparent success became, historically considered, a campaign and nothing more. The countries which he had conquered regained their independence with the withdrawal of the Egyptian army, and South-western Asia resumed her former aspect.

But the lesson of the expedition was not lost on Tiridates. He could but observe with what ease the countries through which Ptolemy had passed had been subdued. The wings of his own ambition fluttered at the prospect. Why should not a Parthian king make successful warfare in the neighboring countries? He accordingly organized an army, marched into Hyrcania, overran the district, and added it to his own dominion. This was an act of direct aggression on the kingdom of Syria. Hyrcania was a satrapy of that Power, and Seleucus Callinicus must either yield ignobly to the aggression, or else fight for the recovery of the province. Thus were prepared the antecedents of a conflict between the Parthians on the one side and the Graeco-Asiatic kings on the other, which was destined to be transmitted to the Romans, and by them perpetuated for several centuries.

For the moment, however, Callinicus was unable to attempt the punishment of his enemy. The king of Syria had a brother, Antiochus Hierax, who troubled his dominions in the West and paralyzed the powers of the kingdom. But at length an accommodation was reached between the two brothers, and Callinicus found himself ready for his eastward expedition. It appears that by this time the Parthian cavalry had diffused a wholesome fear of itself throughout South-western Asia. At all events the Syrian king deemed it prudent to approach the enemy with the support of an ally. He accordingly drew the king of Bactria into a league with himself against Parthia—a thing most unnatural and most dangerous to the latter kingdom.

Callinicus then advanced to the conflict, which Tiridates was not well able to enter. Courage was not wanting, but an adequate force to contend with the combined armies of Syria and Bactria. The Parthian king found it necessary to recede before the enemy, and to fall back into Scythia, beyond the Oxus. Parthia was penetrated by the foe, and it appeared superficially that the independence of the country was at an end. At this juncture, however, Theodotus died, and the crown descended to his son, more patriotic than his father. Tiridates succeeded in detaching the new king of Bactria from the unnatural league, and brought him into alliance with himself. The situation was so changed by this event that Tiridates was able to meet Callinicus in the field. A decisive battle was fought, in which the Syrian army was routed and driven from the country.

This success was perhaps the critical event in the early history of the Parthian Kingdom. It was regarded by the people as the definitive achievement of independence. The day of the battle became the day of the nation, and was commemorated after the manner which peoples in all ages have adopted in preserving and transmitting the story of their liberty. Nor was the effect of the victory to be disregarded as it respected the other countries of Asia. The final delivery of Parthia by successful battle from the dominion of the Greek Kingdom of Syria was an example to the other Asiatic States. It showed that the successors of Alexander, in so far from being invincible, might be repelled by valor and constrained by overthrow to confine themselves to the borders of the Western seas. Henceforth the discerning eye might discover the unmistakable symptoms of the coming of a native Asiatic Empire in the place of the vast dominion established by the Son of Philip.

The critical events to which we have just referred happened about the year 237 B. C. The purposes of Callinicus after his defeat and expulsion may not be well discovered; but the difficulties in his own dominions were so great as to confine his attention henceforth to his home affairs. Hierax was again an insurgent, and with him the king had to decide the issue by force. Parthia, delivered from apprehension, was left to pursue her own course, and Tiridates employed the remainder of his reign, full twenty years in duration, in consolidating and establishing the kingdom.

By this time the Parthians had departed in

the national evolution, from the ancient barbaric type, and had learned to avail themselves of approved methods of defense. Instead of trusting henceforth to the wild and audacious charges of their cavalry, they began to fortify the country against the possible recurrence of such invasions as that of Callinicus. Several positions of importance were converted into fortifications and intrusted to regular garrisons for defense. The king is himself represented by Justin and other authors as active in these enterprises. Among other works which he promoted was the building of a new capital. We may well believe that Hecatompylos was not wholly a pleasant seat of government for the first of the Arsacid princes. The place had been built, as we have said, by Alexander. It was a Greek city. It represented the European domination—a thing which had now become hateful to the nation. The tradition of such a city was in the way of a peaceful native administration. The suggestions of the place were against the existing order, and the king sought to escape from these surroundings and to transfer his government to the new city of Dara, which he founded and promoted as the Parthian capital.

COIN OF ARTABANUS I.

For some reason, however, the enterprise was not wholly successful. It is not certain that Tiridates ever succeeded in removing the Government to his new city. If so, the transfer was of brief duration. We may conjecture that the Hecatompylonians, seeing the Government about to slip away from them, found it to their interest to become more loyal to the existing order—less Greek and more Parthian in their sympathies. It is possible, moreover, that there was an equalization of forces. Even the Saxons of England were not wholly proof against the refinement, the culture, the graceful speech and manners of the Normans. Though they succeeded in absorbing their conquerors, they were themselves, in a measure, absorbed in turn. The Greeks were the Normans of Parthia. With them were culture, artistic taste, elegant speech, fancy and wit. These things are lovable, even in our enemies. Our hatred of the foreigner yields somewhat to our liking for his ways. Women more than men are subject to this infection. Probably the Parthian princesses and ladies of high rank had found in the Greek residents of Hecatompylos a more graceful and charming folk than their own brothers and lovers. At any rate the Greek attraction finally prevailed over the repelling forces, and Hecatompylos was retained as the future capital of Parthia.

It was about the year 214 B. C. that Tiridates, second of the Arsacidæ, died, leaving the crown to his son ARTABANUS I. He also was an *Arsaces*, being the third of that title. By this time Seleucus Callinicus had also rendered his account, transmitting his throne to Antiochus III., his second son. The latter inherited the local troubles with which the reign of his father had been distracted. Scarcely had he taken the crown when Achæus, one of his governors, rose in rebellion, and civil war again ensued in Syria.

By this time the Parthian kings had learned to be observant of the course of affairs in the West and the South-west, and to take advantage of any circumstance which might favor the development of their own kingdom. Artabanus I. was of this mood. Perceiving that the king of Syria had as much as he could attend to in his home dominions, the Parthian planned the conquest of Media. This ancient State, now fallen into decay, lay open to invasion, and Artabanus undertook its conquest. He carried a vigorous campaign into the country, where he seems to have been received with little hostility. He made his way to Ecbatana, took the city, completed the conquest, and added Media to his dominion. For the moment it appeared that a great kingdom or Empire was about to be projected, under the auspices of the Arsacidæ.

But Antiochus III. could not well permit his great dependencies in the East to be torn away without an effort for their recovery. As soon as he could bring affairs to quiet in Upper Syria, he gathered a large army and set out for Mesopotamia. The event showed that the king was not incapable of great ambition. Passing rapidly beyond the Tigris

and the Zagros mountains, he entered Media, recovered the capital, restored the Syrian authority, and then moved forward against Parthia itself. In doing so, he had to traverse the Iranian desert, a region almost wholly without water. Upon this circumstance Artabanus relied to keep his enemy at bay. He kept detachments of cavalry in the desert in front of the Syrian army, with orders to fill up or poison the wells upon which Antiochus must depend for water. But the progress of the latter could not be stayed. Hyrcania was entered and its cities taken. The Parthians now confronted the enemy, but were unable to check his course. They adopted the expedient, however, of keeping out of his way until what time the Syrian king, wearied with campaigning against a foe whom he could not strike down, consented to peace.

It is thought that Artabanus agreed to cooperate with the Syrian monarch in a war with Bactria. That country, the reader will remember, had also become independent. Euthydemus, the king, had shown himself able to defend the country. Nor did he shrink from the invasion of his dominions by Antiochus. It is probable that Artabanus was secretly in sympathy with the Bactrian king in the struggle that ensued with Antiochus. At any rate, Euthydemus was able to uphold the fortunes of his country until the Syrian king, seeing the impossibility of restoring the Eastern Empire by war, withdrew from the country, leaving both Parthia and Bactria to follow their own course of development. It would seem that Antiochus scarcely regarded himself as a victor in his Eastern wars, for the conditions of peace which he conceded to those who had opposed him were such as follow a drawn battle rather than a conquest.

It would appear, however, that Parthia was considerably weakened by the struggle through which she had passed. The history of the kingdom becomes for many years obscure. The remainder of the reign of Artabanus was of little importance in a national sense. At least the ancient historians have passed over the closing years of the third century B. C., as though they were marked by no stirring event from the side of Parthia. In Bactria the case was somewhat different. We may infer that this kingdom was not so severely punished in the war with Syria as was Parthia. At any rate, the remaining years of Euthydemus, and of his son and successor Demetrius, were marked in Bactrian history as a period of advancement and prosperity. Historically considered, the forces were at this time balancing between the two kingdoms as to which should finally take the lead in the restoration of the Asiatic Empire under native princes.

We may, therefore, say no more in this connection than that the subsequent reign of his son, named PRIAPATIUS, otherwise Arsaces IV., was more obscure than that of his predecessor. The single fact remains that he occupied the throne from B. C. 196 to 181. The epoch was in one sense important, for it was at this time that the period in history assigned to the successors of Alexander the Great comes to a close. In the year 196 B. C. the Roman Proconsul, Titus Quinctius Flaminius, made his appearance at the Isthmian games, at Corinth, and proclaimed the protectorate of the Western Republic over Greece. It was the end of Hellenic independence, and the beginning of the end of all those divisions of political power which had been established in the East by the Macedonians. Since it was from the latter that Parthia had most to fear, and since these were now to be completely overwhelmed by Rome, we may note the time as the crisis from which the Parthian Empire and ascendency were to begin. It thus happened that in the obscurity of the reign of Priapatius the antecedents were preparing of a great dominion for his successors.

We may here make a brief pause and digression for the purpose of noting the condition of affairs in the extreme eastern part of the former dominions of Alexander the Great. If the Macedonian governors had not been able to hold their authority over the Asiatics in the meridian of Parthia and Bactria, what shall we say of their inability in the Indus valley? There lay the great region of the Punjaub, cut off from all dictation of the West and from all support by the Europeans. The will of the Conqueror had indeed been sufficient to hold the countries of Afghanistan and the

Upper Indus in subjection, but not so the will of his successors.

The native Indian princes, like those of the Great Plateau, soon revolted, and regained their independence. Among these a king called Chandragupta arose and established a dominion in the Punjaub fit to be called a kingdom. Already at the close of the fourth century B. C., when Seleucus Nicator made his great expedition into the East, he found Chandragupta reigning over the countries between the two great rivers of India. Nor was it deemed advisable by the Macedonians to enter into a war with him for the recovery of the country. The Indian prince was left in authority under treaty stipulations defining the extent of the Indian Kingdom. Nearly a century went by, and Antiochus III. crossed Asia on his expedition to the East. But on approaching India he also made a pause, and renewed with the successors of Chandragupta the treaty of Seleucus. Amicable relations were established between the Syrian Kingdom and the far East, and gifts were interchanged between the monarchs in the manner of ancient royalty.

But these things were displeasing to the king of Bactria. It was little agreeable to his feelings to be overspanned by so wide an arch as that between Antioch and the Punjaub. Euthydemus determined to break this far-reaching connection between the East and the West, and himself made war on India. After him Demetrius, the succeeding Bactrian king, took up the cause. He carried a victorious army into Afghanistan, and afterwards into India. On the River Hydaspes he built the city Euthymedeia, long known in ancient geography. He established his supremacy in the countries dominated by his arms; and the historian of the day might well have been on tiptoe to witness the further expansion of the Bactrian power into a universal Asiatic Empire.

This period, however, covered the climax. The Bactrian ascendency could reach no higher. It is believed that the success of the kingdom in the times of Euthydemus and Demetrius was correlated with the unsuccess of Parthia at the same epoch. It may have been that the Parthian kings of the period were unable to do more than to maintain the *status in quo* until what time the nation might revive from the effects of the Syrian war, and until Bactrian ambition should run its course.

We may pass at once from the unknown reign of Arsaces IV. to that of his son and successor PHRAATES I., otherwise Arsaces V. The latter acceded to power in the year B. C. 181, and his coming marked an epoch of revival in the fortunes of the kingdom. It were difficult to say how much under such circumstances is due, on the one hand, to the renewal of spirit among the people, and how much on the other should be attributed to the ambition of the monarch. Neither is available to any great extent without the aid of the other. Of a certainty an ancient king could not of himself make a successful war. Equally certain it is that an ancient people, accustomed to the forms of monarchy, used to receive mandates, and to look to its head for orders and inspiration, could not make successful war without the leadership of a competent king.

In this case we may assume that the people of Parthia had recovered from their period of depression, and that Phraates was ambitious of conquest. At all events he began his reign by making war on the Mardi. These were a mountain people living in the fastnesses of the Elburz range—a kind of Swiss of the sub-Caspian hills. Their position was almost inaccessible, and their spirit the spirit of mountaineers. We may perceive, moreover, that Phraates was much at fault in making his first war from his inability to use the Parthian cavalry in the country which he must penetrate. Nevertheless, the invasion of Mardia was successful. The tribe was conquered and combined with the Parthians.

The reader must bear in mind that the authority of the kings of Antioch still nominally extended to the borders of Parthia and Bactria. Any movement of the Parthian king, therefore, beyond the limits of his own territory was aggressive, and might well provoke the hostility of the Seleucid monarch. The latter at this time was Seleucus IV., surnamed Philopator. At the time of the conquest of the Mardians by Phraates, the Syrian

monarch was deeply involved with Rome. The shadow of that colossal power had already fallen on Greece and Egypt and the East. It was therefore out of the question for the king of Syria, whatever may have been his resentment, to proceed against the Parthian Kingdom in punishment for its aggression. Perhaps the loss of the country of the Mardi was not much regarded. The great Powers of Western Asia were nearly all established on the plain. The massive peoples which were wielded by the kings of Mesopotamia, of Asia Minor, and of Syria were adjusted to the lowlands, to the alluvial countries, and knew not how to deal with mountain tribes any more than the ostrich understands the eyrie of the eagle. So the Mardi were permitted to go to the conqueror.

Phraates, gratified with his success, soon made a bolder move. It would appear that he was able to consider geography in its relalations with political development. It happened that his point of view took in easily one of the critical positions of Asia. The Greek writers have dwelt with much interest on the celebrated pass called the Caspian Gates. We have already had occasion, in the histories of Media and Persia, to refer to this famous gap left by nature between the mountains on the one hand and the desert on the other. In modern geography the place is designated as the Pass of Girduni Sudurrah. It is, in a word, the gateway between Armenia, Media, and Persia on the one side, and Turkistan, Khorassan, and Afghanistan on the other. Nor is there any other way by which convenient or even practicable passage between the East and the West can be found. The situation seems almost to have been contrived as a military expedient in the strategy of the Asiatic nations.

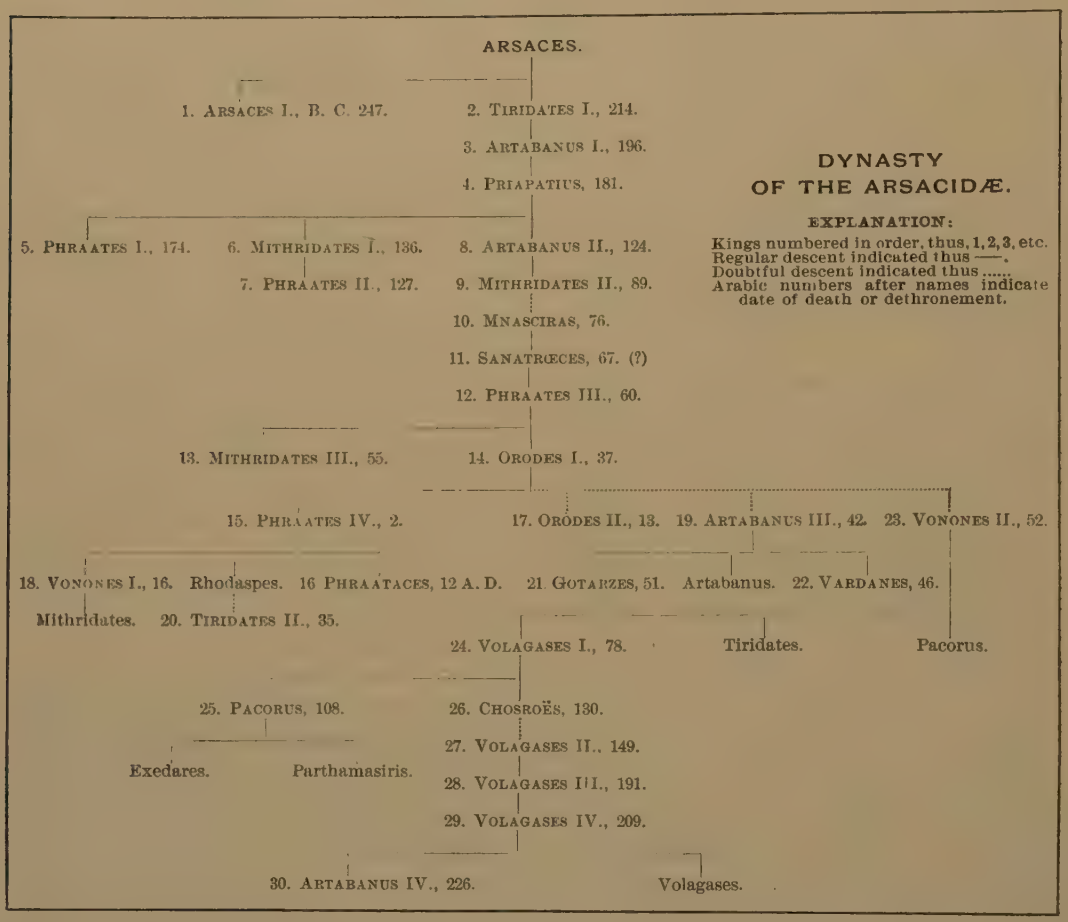
For here the Elburz mountains stretch their impassable barrier from the Caspian on the north to the desert regions of the Great Plateau on the south. At the termination of the range in this direction a spur projects to a considerable distance desertward, as if to extend the barrier beyond the natural limit. This mountain spur is broken from the principal range in such manner as to make human transit possible, but hardly practicable through the northern gap. At the lower extremity, however, where the offshoot abuts against the desert, stand the so-called Caspian Gates. The approach from either side seems to be absolutely barred by the mountain wall, but an army winding carefully along finds a narrow and unobstructed pass from Media Rhagiana on the west into the country of the ancient Sagartians on the east.

The importance of the Caspian Gates was well known to the ancients. Phraates perceived it. Having conquered the Mardi, he next turned his attention to Media Rhagiana; for, could he but succeed in conquering that country, he could gain possession of the western entrance to the Gates, and thus be able to bar henceforth the progress eastward of a Syrian army. The enterprise was one of hazard. It was undertaken by Phraates by transferring a part of the tribe of the Mardi into the open country westward from the Gates. The movement was successful. Phraates and his Parthians made their way through the pass and overran at least a portion of Media Rhagiana. The country west of the Gates was occupied by Parthian garrisons, and the strategic position was secured by Phraates. His reign, however, was not marked by any other important events. He wore the crown for only seven years, dying in B. C. 174.

Thus far the dynasty had been tolerably regular as to the descent of the crown. Tiridates is reckoned as the brother of the first Arsaces. The succession was then to the son and to the son's son. With the death of Phraates, however, the crown, in accordance with the purpose of the late king, was transmitted to his brother MITHRIDATES, as against the claims of his own son. It is probable that Mithridates had been a strong stay of the monarchy during the late reign. Phraates had honored himself with the title of Philadelphus, which would indicate his reliance upon his brother. If we are to judge by results the lateral transmission of the crown was beneficial in the highest degree, for we here come to the sudden rise of Parthia to the rank and character of an Empire.

More than any other name among Parthian

monarchs is that of Mithridates known to the peoples of the West. Those historians who are willing to allow to individual agency the general results which in the aggregate go by the name of History, have been wont to ascribe to Mithridates the place among his countrymen which the same writers assign, each in his respective sphere, to Alexander and Cæsar. More properly we may regard this



sixth representative of the Arsacid Dynasty as the personal expression of the historical growth and purpose of the Parthian nation in his age. To him undoubtedly great abilities and great ambitions must be ascribed. His courage and strength were equally manifested in civil administration and in war. His reign, covering a period of thirty-seven years, is the most important and interesting of Parthian history. His career as a ruler was so extraordinary as to impress itself strongly upon the Greeks and Romans, whose historians have done tolerable justice to the builder of the Parthian Empire.

The conditions of success, however, had been prepared for Mithridates before his coming. The state of South-western Asia and Eastern Europe was now favorable, as it had not been before, to the construction of a great political power on the scene of what had been the Persian Empire. In the first place, the condition of Bactria invited the Parthians to achieve what the neighboring kingdom had not been able to accomplish—the consolidation of Asia. True, the Bactrian kings had, as we have seen, aspired to dominion. They had put out their hands by conquest over the East to the extent of grasping the country as far as Upper India. They had also crossed the Paro-

pamisus Mountain chain to the south, and had brought Arya, Sarangia, and Arachosia under their sway.

Eucratidas was now the king of Bactria. It appeared that during his reign the full political and military energies of his people had been put forth, and that victory and organization could go no further under the Dynasty of Euthydemus. A great difficulty existed in holding in one even the countries already brought into union. The student of history will not have failed to note among the ancient nations to what an extent a mountain barrier was a bar to the political unity of the peoples on the two sides of the chain. At the time of which we speak it was found difficult to hold together the nations lying on the south and the north of the Paropamisus. While Eucratidas was absorbed with the work of unifying the Southern races, the Northern races rose against him. There the Scythians made invasions, and the nomadic life reässerted itself in rebellion. Turning his attention to these distractions, the king soon found that the tribes of the South were not to be trusted in his absence. Thus between the two the energies of Eucratidas were wasted, and the kingdom vexed with disunion and war.

In the direction of Syria there was equal confusion. The great dominion established by Seleucus was gradually receding and contracting around Antioch. Even in those foreign parts still dependent upon the Seleucid king there was a loosing of the bands wherewith they were bound to the center. At this time Seleucus Philopator had become king and had involved himself in foreign wars. Now it was that Cœle-Syria became an object of contention between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. It was said that Antiochus the Great in giving his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy V., had promised to dower her with Cœle-Syria, which would have transferred the country to Egypt. The reigning Seleucus also found cause of quarrel and war with the Grecian section of the Alexandrian Empire and with Armenia, now in revolt against himself. Of a certainty a prince thus distracted by serious conflicts on three sides of his dominions was in no condition successfully to resist a determined movement for nationality among the Asiastics beyond the Tigris.

It thus happened that Mithridates found on his accession to power a fair field for his ambitions. He found Eucratidas, his Bactrian rival, involved in a war on the side of India. This circumstance seemed to invite the Parthian to his first aggression. He led an army into the adjacent parts of Bactria, and seized the two provinces of Turiûa and Aspionus. It is believed that by this, his first successful foreign campaign, the king of Parthia possessed himself of the regions out of which the Scythic elements of the Parthian nation had been derived. A source of disturbance was thus cut off, and its fountain drawn up by absorption. The king made himself secure in his conquest, and then wheeled about towards Media. We have seen how the latter province had already been partly taken away from the Syrian kings. But the latter still held their sway over Media Magna, and it was against this district that Mithridates now advanced.

COIN OF MITHRIDATES I.

The Syrian crown at this time had descended to Antiochus Eupator, a mere youth, incapable of affairs. The kingdom was in the hands of the regent Lysias; but his energies were for a while exhausted in a war with the Jews. At the court also he found opposition in the designs of a certain Philip, who, as the teacher of Eupator, claimed the right of controlling the boy-king's actions and policy. Civil war broke out until what time Philip was overthrown and slain. By this time Prince Demetrius, a cousin of Seleucus, laid claim to the throne in virtue of their common descent. Demetrius had been given by one of the former Seleucids as a hostage to Rome. His youth was spent in the city of the Tiber. At length he made his escape from Italy, returned to Syria, headed a revolution against his cousin, and gained the throne.

It was during this confused and confusing condition of affairs that Mithridates threw his army upon the Medes. It was of little avail that the Syrian claim to the dominion of the

country was asserted. Even before the beginning of the invasion the Median tribes had become virtually independent. Indeed, the spirit of the people was a more serious obstacle to the ambitions of Mithridates than was the Syrian army. The details of the war with Media have not been preserved, but the general result was manifested in the transfer of Media Magna to the Parthian king. Perhaps the condition of the country thus subjugated was not greatly changed. It is believed that the same prince who had ruled under the king of Syria was retained in office by Mithridates as his representative among the subject people.

It was now evident that the king of Parthia was about to begin his career as Imperial conqueror. Such premonitions are always alarming to the surrounding peoples. Whoever plays the part of Alexander or Cæsar has a hard struggle at the outset. It is only after a period of victory, when the volume of conquest begins to roll on by its own momentum that the conqueror rides majestically on the rising wave. In the present instance the Hyrcanians took the alarm and set themselves against the Parthian king. The latter was now ready for any emergency, and made haste to advance against the hostile nation. The Hyrcanians sought to induce the Medes and the Mardian mountaineers to join them in the war, but their efforts were unavailing. Hyrcania was thus exposed without support to the wrath of Mithridates, who soon succeeded in reducing the province to submission. Thus in at least three directions the Parthian monarch stretched his cords and strengthened his stakes.

Scarcely had these movements been accomplished when a revolt broke out in Elymaïs. It is believed that the prince or king of this country had already made himself independent of the Syrian monarchy before his war with Mithridates. The latter now, for the first time, had opportunity to test his abilities as leader of an army in a truly foreign war. Thus far he had contended with nations whose dominions bordered on Parthia. Now he was obliged to lead his forces to a distance through a desert country, and meet the Elymæans in battle. But the event was auspicious to the Parthian, who overran Elymaïs and added it to his dominions. This successful campaign had thrown him between Persia and Babylonia. It was not likely that a victorious monarch would fail to make the most of his advantageous position. It appears that both the Persians and the Babylonians recognized the peril of their situation, and, perceiving the weakness of the ties by which they were bound to Antioch, deemed it prudent to cast in their lot with the conqueror. It thus happened that an extensive region in the South-west, including the Babylonian plain and the whole country eastward to the Carmanian desert, was added by a single campaign to what may now be called the Parthian Empire.

A period of more than twenty years was occupied by Mithridates in these wars. During the whole of this time the Syrian kings had been unable to disentangle themselves from their troubles in the West and give attention to the Eastern revolution. Nor had the king of Bactria found opportunity or disposition to attempt the recovery of what had been lost by conquest. The attention of Eucratidas had been constantly occupied with troubles and revolts on the side of India. He was thus obliged to assent to the loss of his western provinces to his rival. It would seem that the two kings, one pressing his way towards the Indus and the other towards the Babylonian plain, had come to amity and common purposes. But to a part of the Bactrian nation this concord with Parthia was distasteful. Prince Heliocles, son of the Bactrian monarch, represented the discontent, and sought to recover from Parthia the lost provinces. Believing that his father, the king, was in the way of his ambitions, he secured his taking off by violence, and seized the crown for himself. This he did with the evident purpose of going to war with Mithridates.

But the latter was on the alert. Perceiving the designs of his antagonist, the Parthian king turned into Bactria, quickly overthrew Heliocles, subverted the kingdom as to all its western provinces, and added them to his Empire. He then carried his victorious arms to the east, forcing the Bactrian monarch to

the mountains, and compelling him and his successors to accept henceforth the restricted region adjacent to Upper India. Thus between the years B. C. 163 and 140 were the widely extended countries of South-western Asia restored by revolt and war to Asiatic domination. The drama as a whole was virtually a restoration of the Persian Empire under the auspices of Parthia. Of the extent and character of the Imperial territories we have already given an account in the first chapter of the present Book. The Imperial domain now consisted of at least twelve provinces, and embraced an area but little less than five hundred thousand square miles in extent. It only remained for Mithridates to consolidate, organize, and defend the countries and nations that had fallen under his sway.

As for foreign violence, little was to be feared except from the side of the kingdom of Syria. Doubtless the reigning princes at Antioch had been deterred for nearly a quarter of a century from invading the East by the distractions of the West. Doubtless the news of Eastern rebellions, wars, conquests, and transformations smote dismally on the ears of the Syrian kings. Doubtless the loss of their revenues was to them a source of extreme annoyance and discomfort. But the struggles of the rulers around the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, from the Libyan desert to the Grecian archipelago, were sufficient to keep the Syrian monarchs from any effort at the recovery of their provinces. We have seen how the Regent Lysias and the teacher Philip contended for the mastery of the government and the young king of Antioch; how Demetrius Soter came from Rome and took the kingdom, and how Syria was obliged to contend with Egypt for the recovery of the territory given away with the first Cleopatra.

At length the crown of what remained of the Syrian monarchy descended to Demetrius II., a prince not without ambition. Reaching a lull in the Western wars he cast his eyes to the East, and about the year 140 B. C. planned an expedition for the recovery of the fortunes of his house by war. Mithridates had not found everything comformable to his will in the administration of the new Empire. Among the conquered Bactrians there were mutterings, discontent, incipient rebellions. In all the countries which he had conquered were Greek cities planted either by Alexander himself or by his successors. These seats of power and influence had been built up by immigration from Europe. Thither had come thousands of Greeks and Macedonians from the European main-land, from the archipelago, and from Asia Minor. These had increased, multiplied, expanded. They had become the intellectual class throughout all South-western Asia. They had taken, in marriage or in illicit relations, the choice princesses of the Asiatics. There had thus appeared a large and influential Græco-Asiatic element in the population.

On the whole, the sympathies of this class were hostile to the Parthian ascendency. Through a hundred and seventy years the Seleucid kings had held sway, real or nominal, over the countries this side of India. Even the Asiatics, pure and simple, had become at last accustomed to the European and Syrian dominations. All of these conditions, sympathies, and tendencies had to be overcome and reversed by Mithridates before his Imperial rule could be accepted with cordiality by the diverse peoples whom he had conquered.

It thus came to pass that when Demetrius II. entered upon his war with Parthia, he was assisted somewhat by the social and political condition of Asia. He began his campaign under favorable auspices, making his way first into Babylonia, where he received the submission of the country. It will be understood by the reader that the peoples of these Asiatic dominions had little choice among their masters. They could therefore be delivered from hand to hand as merchandise of the mart. But Demetrius now began to encounter opposition. The Bactrian cavalry was in his front. He was able, however, to continue his advance and to win several battles beyond the Mesopotamian rivers. Elymaïs was overrun and temporarily recovered to the Syrian monarchy. Other districts were retaken, and Mithridates found himself receding before the superior forces of his enemy.

It appears that at this time, if we are to

trust the testimony of Justin, the Parthian king overreached his rival by proposing negotiations. While these were pending he attacked and routed the Syrian army, capturing Demetrius himself and leading him away into the interior. It seems that the whole expedition was blown away. Nor was Mithridates satisfied until he had taken the captured king from capital to capital through the provinces, showing him in the cities to the Græco-Asiatics as an example of what might be expected of those who dared to raise the arm against his Empire and himself.

Of a certainty the victory of Parthia was sufficiently decisive. So much, however, could hardly be said for the scheme of the king to unite his dynasty with that of Syria by intermarriage. It appears that he placed his royal prisoner, Demetrius, in a suitable residence in Hyrcania, where he maintained him in a style befitting his rank. He also sought to have his daughter given to the Syrian monarch, in order that the destinies of the two houses might be blended in the issue. But the project came to naught. Mithridates himself was now well advanced in years. He was exhausted by the vicissitudes and struggles of a reign more than thirty-seven years in duration. Soon after he had put his royal prisoner into Hyrcania for safe-keeping he sickened and died, in B. C. 136.

As we have said, the Parthian Empire had now reached its greatest territorial extent. It had become the great power of Western Asia. The Old Era was drawing to a close. Rome was making her way through an aristocratic republicanism towards Imperial world-wide dominion. Already by the time which we have now reached, namely, the last quarter of the second century B. C., the two rival powers of the world were the Roman Republic in the West and Parthia in the East. Before entering upon an account of the struggles between these two, covering several centuries about the beginning of our era, it may be of interest and instruction to note with some particularity the civil and political constitution of the Parthians.

The Government of the Empire was in its leading features an amplification and adaptation of the old Parthian monarchy to the new Imperial conditions. We have many such examples in history of an aspiring State imposing by war and diplomacy its civil institutions upon surrounding and subject peoples. In our own day we need go no further than the recent establishment of the German Empire, under the hegemony of Prussia, in illustration of this form of political development. Ancient Parthia—Parthia Proper—imposed herself and her half-barbaric forms of administration upon the nations whom she conquered, insomuch that the Empire was but an enlargement of institutions which had already existed for four or five centuries.

The first point to which we may refer in the explication of the political life of the Parthians, is the ascendency and strong countercheck of the Nobility on the Monarchy. The secular nobles were known as the Megistanes. The body so called might well be compared to the British House of Lords in embryo; that is, it was composed of two groups of notables, the one secular, and the other of a religious derivation. The former were called, in the Græco-Asiatic tongue, the *Sophoi*, that is, the "Wise," and the latter were the Magi, or degenerated Zoroastrian priesthood. These two branches of nobles combined to form one of the great councils by which the Parthian monarch was advised and, in at least a negative sense, directed. Besides the Megistanes there was another body, made up for the most part of members of the royal family, and known as the Domestic or Privy Council. In these arrangements we see the germs in the one of the modern Senate, and in the other of the modern Ministry, or Cabinet. After all, antiquity is not so far away!

The head of the Parthian monarchy was chosen by election of the Megistanes. The naming of the king required the concurrent voice of the Megistanes and the Domestic Council. But over and above these bodies was the constitution, in which heredity was recognized as the best law of choice. That is, the councils must choose *by law*, among the Arsacid princes, that one whom the constitution pointed to as the legitimate sovereign. This was generally the eldest son of the late

king; or in lieu of him, his next brother must be chosen. In default of sons, then the eldest surviving brother of the last monarch was the one designated for the crown; after him, his brother. In default of sons and brothers, then the choice rested on the uncle of the last ruler. In case the descent was thus diverted from the direct line, it could not be recovered by representatives of that line except in default of the younger branch whereon the crown now rested. Here again we discover an almost identical prototype of the English law of royal descent and inheritance.

In some instances the Parthian councils felt warranted in deposing their sovereign. Such proceeding, however, could but be revolutionary in character. Only an imbecile or idiot prince would permit himself, without an appeal to the sword, to be put aside by the act of the Megistanes. If James II. proves recreant to his trust—is no longer tolerable by the nation—we will put him aside. We will declare that he has himself abdicated the throne. We will call over William to be king in his stead. But of a certainty James and his adherents, not accepting our decision in the matter, will fight for the recovery of his crown and kingdom.

crown upon his sovereign's head, a fact which fully establishes the strongly military character of the monarchy.

In common with the other great despotisms of the East, the Parthian Government was little changed from age to age. There was in it much of the same quality which made the laws of the Medes and Persians the synonym for unchangeableness in both ancient and modern times. As a rule the king governed

MAGUS MEGISTOS, OR HIGH PRIEST.

As to induction into office, we might have expected that the Magi, more particularly the Magus Megistos, or High Priest, would be called upon, or would assume the right, in virtue of his religious office and after the manner of his kind, to crown the sovereign and consecrate him to his royal duties. But this office, on the contrary, was reserved for the *Surena*, or Generalissimo of the army. He it was who was summoned on the day of coronation to put the according to his own judgment, executing his own decisions as though they were the decrees of a Parthian Congress. The reader must understand, however, that in all personal governments there are traditional checks and restraints upon the absolutism of the sovereign, the nature and force of which it is difficult for citizens of a modern republic or kingdom to understand. It appears that the nature of man is of itself a constitution whose provisions

are as well understood and as mandatory as the most formal articles in the written code of nations. Added to this unalterable principle of human nature, as shown in the unwritten restraints imposed by public opinion on the wills of barbaric kings and emperors, we must allow, in the case of Parthia, a restraining influence to the Magian priesthood. This body, whose numbers, in the latter times of the Empire, Gibbon has estimated at eighty thousand, could not fail to hold the rod of religious authority over the secular rulers. The sovereign himself, according as his nature was of a religious or a secular bias, must have felt in greater or less degree the common awe which the traditional representative of the ancient Iranian faith exercised over the minds and conduct of the common people.

In lieu of a representative Government, composed of delegates assembling from all parts at the capital—in lieu of a system of administration by which revenues were regularly gathered and authority dispensed from the central Government to its remotest members—the ancient provincial system, developed by the Achæmenian kings into the well-known satrapial form, was adopted and adhered to by the Parthian monarchs. The plan was, in brief, to regard the different provinces as a sort of quasi independencies, over each of which a satrap, or governor, was appointed by the king. There was, however, among the dependencies much inequality. Some of them consisted merely of the territories of a tribe only half emerged from the barbaric state. Others rose as high in the scale as regular kingdoms. There was a great difference in rank between the rulers of the latter and those of the former. The latter were in reality sub-kings, tributary monarchs to the great sovereign, who now took upon himself the title of King of Kings. Over the smaller and less important provinces mere satraps, holding office during the pleasure of the sovereign, were sent out. In such countries as Media, Persia, Armenia, and Babylonia, the viceroys were rulers of royal rank and hereditary rights. They had, of course, been obliged to accept a tributary relation to the Parthian Emperor; but beyond this the administration of the sub-kings was comparatively free from interference. There was, indeed, no general administration for the whole Empire, but a sort of feudalism, under which connections and subordinations were established on the principle of protection from above down, and of military service and tribute on the part of the subject States.

Besides the two kinds of government here referred to, namely, the common satrapy and the half-hereditary viceroyalty, there was still a third variety of political organization within the Imperial dominions. This was the free city. It was not within the desire, and probably not within the ability, of the Parthian monarchs to eradicate the Græco-Macedonian municipalities which for nearly two centuries had constituted the nests of Europeanism in Asia. These cities had for six generations lain like gems of culture on the immoderate breast of barbarism. In many respects they were *in* Asia, but not *of* it. In the natural order of things they became detached from the surrounding provinces. At length permanent relations were established between them and the monarchy. Many of the cities paid tribute directly to the royal treasury, and were henceforth isolated from the local government of the satrapy.

It was the policy of the Empire not to disturb the provincial governments, of whatever kind they were, so long as the tribute was paid regularly and in full amount. The same principle held with the cities. The latter were allowed to proceed on their own lines of development. Thus, for instance, Seleucia grew to greatness. According to Pliny, the population waxed to six hundred thousand. Fortifications were built, and the place became a sort of Hamburg of antiquity. A municipal government was constituted after a plan that might well remind the reader of Mediæval Venice under the Doges. Of course the arts and learning of the Parthian Empire fled for covert to these Græco-Asiatic strongholds. Each became a sort of Constantinople of the desert, wherein Culture might peaceably examine her still beautiful features in the mirrors which had been preserved from the days of the Grecian ascendency.

To destroy such places was a thing not to

be considered by the Parthian kings; and so they were spared from violence. More than this, we may discover in the situation one of the prevailing habits of the Parthian court. We have already remarked upon the unfixedness as to the locality of the seat of government. Hecatompylos, the old capital of Parthia Proper, ceased to be regarded as the seat of the Empire. Ctesiphon was preferred, particularly for the winter months. The milder climate of the South and the half-Greek refinements of the metropolis wooed the kings and their courts out of the boisterous North. Not far away was the city of Vologesocerta, which likewise invited at certain seasons a visit from the sovereign. Then, with the return of summer, the Emperor and his retinue would hie away into Media and fix themselves for awhile at Ecbatana, the ancient capital. Sometimes the royal residence was at Tapé, in Hyrcania; and during the spring months the monarch was wont to enjoy himself at Rhages, which had been one of the first conquests of Mithridates.

Could the observer look in once more upon this ancient Parthian court, as it was constituted in the days of the King of Kings, he should behold an assemblage of splendid persons clad in the style of the Orient, having the manners of a half-redeemed barbarism, and living in such luxurious habit as war and pride and appetite had engendered. The manner of the royal establishment was virtually the same as that of Assyria and Persia. The story of the kingly courts in those countries has already been recited. In general, there was about the king's residence much passion and treachery. It might almost appear that there is something climatic about the sentiments and customs of men, by which they are controlled in the different epochs of history and the different localities of the world. It might be difficult to conceive of the existence of the Hellenic democracy on the Plateau of Iran, and equally difficult to imagine the existence of a Persian or Parthian court in the Grecian Islands.

However this may be, we may assure ourselves that the Arsacid princes virtually revived and restored the style of government which had been practiced by the Achæmenian kings. But in one respect Parthia appears to have outdone the Orient in the way of barbaric grandeur. In time of war, not only the king, but his court, his Government, went into the field. The State was encamped with the army. An immense retinue of non-combatants followed in the wake of the expedition. A caravan of camels carried not only the military equipage, but a half cityful of articles belonging to peace. The king and his generals had no thought of leaving any gratification behind them. The wives and concubines of the monarch and his nobles were borne on litters from camp to camp, and all the means of revelry, all the accoutrements of pleasure, were bountifully supplied at every stage of the campaign. The royal society removed from place to place with only the cavalry interposed between itself and the enemy.

Conquest had now reached its territorial limit except on the side of Syria. In that direction the country was still open to invasion, and the motives were present for the renewal of war. Time and again the Græco-Syrian kings had thought to recover by the sword their Eastern provinces. Time and again the Parthians had succeeded in beating them back. Would not the latter now turn upon their foe, and drive an expedition in the direction of the Mediterranean? At this very time Demetrius, one of the Syrian kings, was a prisoner in the hands of the Parthians. We have seen how Mithridates confined him in regal state in Hyrcania, and how he sought to give him his daughter Rhodoguné in marriage. This project went over unfulfilled to PHRAATES II., who, in the year 136 B. C., succeeded his father on the throne.

Meanwhile the Syrian crown had, when the captivity of Demetrius was known, descended to Antiochus Sidetes, brother of the prisoner. It appears that as soon as Phraates came into power he began to consider the question of conquering Syria. He first sought to promote his purpose by an intrigue. Having succeeded in inducing the captive Demetrius to accept Rhodoguné as his wife, he attempted to enlist his prisoner in his cause. To this end he tempted him with the prospect of liberation,

hoping that as soon as Demetrius was free he would reclaim the Syrian throne. The captive was himself not innocent of such a dream, but he sought to consummate his hopes without the connivance of his brother-in-law. He accordingly made one or two unsuccessful efforts to escape, but was in each instance pursued, retaken, and brought back to captivity.

Meanwhile feelings of correlative antagonism were cherished by the Syrian king against the Parthians. He too bided his time. For the present Antiochus Sidetes was engaged in a war with the Jews. That rebellious people, under the leadership of the High Priest Simon, attempted to maintain the independence which had been conceded by Demetrius before his overthrow and captivity. In course of time the Jews, under the command of John Hyrcanus, who had succeeded his father Simon, were reduced to submission, and Antiochus found himself free to make war on the Parthians. He organized a powerful army, and set out in the direction of Babylonia. The king of Syria was still able, notwithstanding the losses of territory which his predecessors had met, to bring into the field a force greatly superior to that with which Phraates was able to confront him. The latter, however, came forth as far as Mesopotamia, and time and again joined battle with his antagonist. But in each engagement the victory remained with the Syrians, and the Parthian king was obliged to recede toward the central parts of his Empire.

The successes of the Syrians in the field were, in the next place, increased by the chronic disaffection of the Greek cities. The latter, together with many of the provinces on the side of Babylonia, rose and went over to Antiochus. It was the same old story of exchanging masters under the expediency of the hour. For the time, the western horizon seemed to bear nothing but thunder-clouds and tempest for Phraates; but he was undaunted, and set himself against further disaster. The time had now come for making the most of the captive Demetrius. The Parthian king set him at liberty, and he sped away like an arrow in the direction of Syria. It seems, however, that Antiochus did not learn of the flight of the dangerous bird, and so he pressed on, gaining additional advantages until what time winter set in, and the Syrian army was distributed into the cities for quarters.

The forces of the invasion were thus scattered over a wide extent of country; but the situation seemed one of security, and no uneasiness was felt by the king. On the side of Parthia, however, the case was viewed with a keener eye. The Parthian soldiers were able for winter service, being inured to the climate. The case, moreover, was well-nigh desperate, and Phraates determined to make the most of the opportunity. At first the different detachments of the Syrian army were well received in the cities to which they were sent; but military occupation is always a weariness of the flesh. The soldiers ate and drank and caroused, after the manner of their kind, until the citizens became heartily sick of having gone over to Antiochus.

As the winter wore on Phraates, learning of the universal discontent, sent trusted agents into all the cities where the Syrians were quartered, and contrived a great conspiracy. It was arranged that on a given day each city should rise against the soldiers and destroy them, while at the same time Phraates himself should make a rush for the headquarters of the Syrian army and overwhelm his enemy in battle. The plot was carried into execution. At the given time the citizens sprang to arms, surrounded the quarters of the soldiers, and slew and massacred until scarcely a Syrian was left to tell the story. The rumor of the insurrection flew to Antiochus, and he led forth his central division to the rescue, only to be met by Phraates in the field. In this struggle also the issue was against the Syrians. The Parthian cavalry swept everything before it, and Antiochus himself was slain. Almost the entire force, enormous as it was, was destroyed. According to Diodorus Siculus, three hundred thousand of the Syrians perished.

At all events the expedition was brought to utter ruin. Not a vestige of the invading force was left in the field. The triumph of Phraates was complete in every particular. He succeeded in capturing the son and

daughter of his adversary. The rapid restoration of Parthian authority ensued in all those parts of the country which had been overawed by the Syrians. The Parthian king made strenuous efforts to overtake and bring back Demetrius, hoping thus to secure all the Seleucid princes, and thus perhaps extinguish the Dynasty. But Demetrius had already fled beyond his reach, and could not be retaken.

As to the Syrian monarchy, an additional disaster was in waiting. No sooner was it known in Judæa that Antiochus was slain than the people rose against their masters and achieved their independence. The kings of Antioch, in the remaining sixty-three years of their power, were not able again to subdue the Jews, and Palestine remained an independency until what time the scepter of Rome was passed over the countries east of the Mediterranean.

Notwithstanding the great advantages of victory, Phraates found serious obstacles in his path. An enemy, not indeed so numerous, but far more terrible in war than the Syrians, rose on the opposite borders of the Empire. For several generations the Scythians had been in league with the Parthians. The old-time kinship and affinity of the two peoples have been more than once referred to in the preceding pages. Friendship existed, and common cause was frequently made by the Scyths with the people and king of Parthia. When Antiochus Sidetes, the late invader, came into Babylonia with his army, Phraates had solicited the aid of the Scythians, and a great body of the wild warriors had accepted the call. They set out on their march to join Phraates, but did not succeed in doing so until after the defeat and destruction of the Syrian army. Then, forsooth, Phraates had no further use for the Scyths or for their belated offers of aid. The Northern warriors then demanded their pay, and when this was refused they turned about and began to take by ravage in the districts of Parthia a liberal compensation for their alleged services.

Against these disturbers of his Empire Phraates was now obliged to turn about from the scene of his great victory. He had meanwhile forgiven the Greek cities, and had accepted from them a contingent of soldiers. He had also incorporated with his own army the prisoners whom he had taken from Antiochus. There was thus a considerable division of his forces made up of foreign elements. With this army he advanced against the Scyths, and came to battle. In the midst of the conflict the Greeks, on the Parthian side, treacherously rose against their general and went over to the Scythians. The Parthians, thus weakened by defection, were routed and swept from the field. Phraates himself was among the slain.

Had the Scythians possessed the instincts of conquest and reorganization, they might now, to all appearances, have gone forward to the overthrow of the Empire; but their method was simply the method of plunder. As for the Greeks, by whose aid the victory had been achieved, finding themselves suddenly liberated from military captivity, they broke up and rolled away towards the West, recovering as best they might their homes in Mesopotamia and Syria. The reign had been brief, extending only to the year B. C. 127. Nor might it be claimed that the Empire had, on the whole, been improved or strengthened by the agency and valor of the sixth of the Arsacid kings.

Phraates at the time of his death was still a young man. It appears that he left no son to succeed him. At any rate the crown was transferred to his uncle, Artabanus II. The latter, on coming to power, had to face the most serious responsibilities. The victorious Scythians and their Greek auxiliaries were still in the heart of Parthia. The native army had been almost destroyed. At the same time serious difficulties arose on the side of Babylonia. The satrap of this country had by his oppressions goaded the people into rebellion and war. But the clouded aspect of affairs soon gave place to a clearer sky. The Greeks, as we have seen, were more anxious to escape from the country than to continue the conflict. As for the Scythians, they in all ages were satisfied to stuff themselves with coarse food, to heat their blood with strong drinks, and to enjoy the ineffable sleep of barbarism. In the

present instance they plundered until they were satisfied, and then withdrew from the country, leaving the Parthians to reflect upon the costliness of refusing military pay to half-savages.

But while the Empire thus happily emerged from the dangerous local complications which had thickened around the last years of Phraates, another and more general peril came instead. This was the pressure which now began to be felt on the northern and eastern frontiers from the impact of human hordes bearing down out of the unknown regions beyond the Jaxartes. It were long to give an account of this extraordinary movement. In its origin, its character, and tendencies, it was one of the many irruptions of the barbaric upon the civilized or half-civilized races of men. The philosophy of such ethnic agitations is better understood as it respects the after-parts and results of the movements than with respect to their origin. The true beginning of the migration of tribes is a thing exceedingly hard to discover. After the war-like migrations have once been started, it is easy enough to note the process by which one barbarous nation after another is jostled from its seats until the last of the series is thrown across the borders of civilization. Again, we may say that the primal impulse is partly cosmic and partly ethnic in character. Time and again we have had occasion to remark upon the operation of those subtle forces in the natural world by which the human race is pressed westward through all continents and across all seas. Again, some races of men exhibit a peculiar aptitude for movements of this kind. It might be said with truth that they are most susceptible in their constitution to the influence of those far-reaching physical laws to which we have just referred.

But as we have said, the origin, the source, the fountain of the disturbance is hardly discoverable. The impulse rises far off in the regions of utter barbarism. Perhaps we might find it in the peculiar fecundity of certain tribes, in certain stages of their development. Such movements always precede the monogamic stage in the human evolution. At any rate, we may contemplate a certain spot in barbarism as overstocked with human beings, having the aggressive instinct and the nomadic character. Migration ensues, and the neighboring tribes are propelled in a direction a little to the south of west. This course is sought under the same influence which carries the colony of bees to its destination after leaving the parent hive. Europe has been many times troubled, and at least once extinguished, by a barbarian avalanche precipitated under the influences here described.

At the time of which we speak Asia, as well as Europe, began to feel the pressure. Bactria was the first to be smitten in the flank by the ram's-head of barbarism. About the time of the accession of Artabanus II. the Bactrian provinces were despoiled by barbarians of the nomadic order. A large part of the country was actually taken by tribes out of the North, breaking in as though they had been fired from a catapult. But Bactria was not the only part so threatened and assaulted. Arya was also invaded, and the Hyrcanian borders felt the pressure. All along the line of the Oxus, from its Caspian delta to its head-waters in the mountains of Upper India, the horde surged back and forth to find an entrance into the Empire.

The tribes were nameless and numberless. Their character has been depicted by Herodotus and Strabo. The nomadic habit was the dominant trait. The tribesmen had wagons and carts and the other apparatus peculiar to races of the woods and steppes; and the women and children of the race were borne in these vehicles from one station to another. The vocation was hunting, war, plunder. Domestic animals, especially cattle and horses, were carried along with the movement. The milk-drinking and cheese-eating appetite of the Scyths is known wherever Ancient History has been read. The social structure was based on polyandria, the sexual union being much the same in manner as that of the North American Indians.

The Asiatic barbarians were famous in their day for their skill in horsemanship and archery. Their weapons were the bow and arrow, the spear and the lance, the knife, or short sword,

and the battle-axe. These, as to their metallic parts, were of bronze. War was waged in the style of savages. Many usages which have been eliminated in civilized warfare prevailed. Arrows were poisoned with the venom of serpents or the diseased discharges of animal bodies. The enemy might be destroyed in any manner fatal to human life. Not only should the foe be slain, but his body might be cooked and eaten, as if it were the product of the chase. Nor did the cannibalism of the barbarians stop with devouring the fallen foe. Friends and kinsmen might be eaten if only the rules of the Scythian constitution should be observed. The young and middle-aged were not for food; but with the failure of the bodily powers in advanced life, the father or uncle of the polyandrian family was taken, killed by his household, and eaten with gratitude. Nor does it appear that the victims under such circumstances regarded their fate as a hardship. It was the usage of the nation. The hardship came in the form of disease which sometimes prevented the law from having its course in the final disposition of the body.

It was against such a race as this that Artabanus II. was called to contend. Nor was he slow to accept the challenge which came roaring out of the country of the Jaxartes. Soon after his accession to the throne he made successful warfare first upon those tribes that had already broken into his dominions. Bactria was expurgated of her savage contents, and the king then led his army victoriously into the enemy's country. The nation of the Tochari was turned back by battle, and the cohort of barbarism felt a sudden jar in its progress, at which the tribes were startled and stood still. But while Artabanus was thus carrying on successful warfare with the hostile races beyond his own borders, he was wounded in battle, and died from the injury. The event, while not at once decisive as to the general issue of the war, ended the campaign, and the Parthians receded from the barbarian countries. As for the crown, it was at once transferred to MITHRIDATES II., son and successor of the late king.

The volume of barbarism, like a stream of water, on meeting an obstacle turns to right or left, and makes its way into a devious channel. It appears that the war of Artabanus in the country north of the Oxus had had some such physical effect on the savage races. At least the new king found less difficulty than might have been anticipated in staying the further progress of the nomads. The beast of barbarism reared, plunged, and took another course. Mithridates II. had little trouble in re-establishing his northern frontier. The Scythic tribes were turned to the east, as if to make a detour around the Empire. The historical forces had been strong enough to deflect the cosmic forces, and to discharge the river of savagery far to the east in Afghanistan and Upper India. Bactria was wholly recovered by the king, and it was evident that the barbarians, finding a vent in another direction, would trouble him no further.

It was equally manifest that the kingdom of the Seleucidæ would not again send out an army to interfere with the natural course of events in the countries beyond the Euphrates. This condition of affairs invited the ambitious and capable Mithridates to enlarge his borders by war. Of the surrounding countries Armenia was at this time the most inviting. Thus far only a part—the smaller and less important part—of the country had been brought under the sway of the Parthian kings. Armenia Magna, as the country between the Euphrates and the Araxes was called by the Romans, still retained its independence. More properly, it had been included as a part of the kingdom of Syria, and had not been wrested therefrom by the Parthians. The country was of ancient renown. It had been an object of contention and conquest among the great conquerors. Alexander had taken it. Seleucus had received it. With the decline of the Syrian monarchy, Armenia attained a quasi independence. A branch of the House of Arsaces was recognized in authority over the Armenians. There had evidently been an uncertain war between the country and Parthia. The Prince Tigranes was, in his youth, a hostage at the Parthian court. Now, at length, the time had arrived when a great contention was to determine whether Armenia should be joined

in political fortunes with the East or the West—with the Empire having its seat beyond the Caspian, or with the Republic having its seat on the Tiber.

For Rome had now appeared. She had boldly put forth her claim to the mastery of Europe. One after another of the adjacent countries had yielded to her sway. Greece, in 196 B. C., had become a Roman province. Just fifty years later Carthage was finally obliterated. The countries of the Western and Central Mediterranean presented no further obstacle, and Roman ambition must pass over into Asia Minor and the still remoter East. As far back as B. C. 190, Antiochus III., of Syria, was ruinously routed on the field of Magnesia. He was obliged to accept what terms soever the conqueror imposed. He was compelled to relinquish his authority over a large part of his kingdom; to give up his elephants of war; to surrender—or promise to surrender—the fugitive Hannibal of great renown; and to give his own son as a hostage for the fulfillment of the treaty. Thus did the Roman Republic succeed in obtaining a foothold in Asia, and it was the custom of that stern Power not to relinquish what had once been acquired. As soon should we expect the She-wolf nurse of the Twin Robbers to give up her prey through the possession of sentiment.

SULLA.

We pause not in this connection to narrate the progress of events among the States of Asia Minor whereby Rome and Parthia were first brought into relations. At the first the connection brought friendship rather than antipathy. Mithridates V., king of Pontus, had suddenly risen to great power, and about the close of the second and the beginning of the first century B. C. had constructed an Empire out of a petty kingdom in Asia Minor. He had made himself and his armies a terror in all the countries west of Armenia. A part of that kingdom was added to his dominions. Half of Paphlagonia was snatched away. Galatia was overrun and conquered, and Cappadocia was threatened by his ambitions.

The king of Armenia was at this time that Tigranes whom we have mentioned above. He seems to have favored the project of the king of Pontus, and to have made an alliance, political and matrimonial, with him. Now it was, namely, in the year B. C. 92, that the Roman Proconsul Sulla was sent with an army into Asia to thwart the Pontine monarch in his plans. It happened that the Eastern army with whom the Consul first came to battle was the Armenian contingent. This force was routed by the Romans, and Cappadocia was saved from the grip of Mithridates V. As for Tigranes, king of Armenia, he had in the meantime renounced any ties of friendship or political relation with the king of Parthia. He had gone to war with that personage, and had succeeded for the time in making himself master of so much of Armenia as had belonged for nearly a century to the Parthian Empire. Thus did Tigranes become an enemy to both Mithridates II. and Rome.

He who is the enemy of your enemy is, in politics and war, your friend. It thus came to pass that an amicable relation was established between the Parthian king and the Roman Proconsul in Asia. The former sent to the latter as his ambassador a nobleman named Orobazus, bearing a proposal for a league between Parthia and Rome. The well-known policy of the Roman Senate of reserving all treaty rights to itself, forbade Sulla to do more than to entertain the Parthian ambassador and to encourage by friendliness the overtures made by his master. But before any positive treaty could be effected between the leading powers of Europe and Asia, the ambitious and aggressive Tigranes was able to work much havoc along the western borders of the Parthian Empire. A war of nearly ten years' duration, extending to the year B. C. 83, ensued, in the course of which the Armenian king was almost uniformly victorious. He made successful campaigns into Upper Mesopotamia, and tore away no inconsiderable territory from the dominions of Mithridates. He established and consolidated his kingdom on an independent basis. For a

season he exercised sovereignty without the slightest obeisance in the direction of Antioch or Ctesiphon or Rome.

Mithridates II. went down to death six years before the conclusion of his war with the Armenians, in which his unsuccess was so conspicuous as to cast some shadow on his title of "The Great," won in his youth by victorious battle with the Scyths. His reign covered a period of about thirty-five years, and was principally noted in its latter days on account of the contact and first relations of the Empire which he ruled with the Roman Republic.

It happens in the history of most nations that after what may be called the first Imperial epoch a period of distraction and decadence ensues. Success to a nation brings the same trials and dangers which it brings to the local society or to the individual. The exercise of power and the means of gratification entail perils and plant pitfalls, and rarely do a people escape the one or avoid the other. There now supervened in the history of the Parthian Empire such a time of retrogression and confusion. This was manifested, first of all, on the dynastic side. The reader will have observed with what regularity the crown had thus far passed to the ninth prince of the Arsacidæ. No break or serious disturbance had occurred in the Dynasty. But a time now fell out when obscurity came to the royal house, and it is not known positively who was the next king in order after Mithridates II. It is believed, however, that a prince of little reputation, bearing the name of MNASCIRAS, probably the son of the late monarch, came to the throne. Neither from the Behistun inscriptions nor from the Parthian coins are we able to know definitely the course of the succession. The events of the years extending from B. C. 89 to B. C. 76 are so obscure that one may almost pass the gap as though it were not.

In the latter part of this period, however, the light returns sufficiently to enable us to see men as trees walking. In B. C. 76 a new king, named SANATRŒCES, whom we may consider as the eleventh of the Dynasty, came to the throne, and the administration, whatever it had been, was quickened into greater activity. It is known that the new monarch was already an octogenarian on his coming to power. It is also known that he had been for a great time a prisoner, or possibly a hostage, among the Scythians; and it is believed that his accession to the throne of the Empire was effected by the aid of a body of Scythian warriors who returned with him in his old age from the country beyond the Oxus. From this circumstance we get a glimpse of a condition which had evidently come to pass in the Empire. Civil war had ensued, and part of the people had no doubt joined in the recall of Sanatrœces. At any rate, the aged hero gained the crown, and did something before his death to restore the fortunes of his country.

The period at which we have here arrived might almost be designated in Asiatic history as the age of the Armenian ascendency. We have seen above with what vigor Tigranes, the Armenian king, son-in-law of Mithridates II., had followed his ambitions and added to his conquests. By him Armenia Minor was conquered and absorbed. From Parthia the great and valuable province of Northern Mesopotamia was taken. Adiabêné also, including, according to the current organization, the ancient Assyria, was in like manner torn from the Empire by conquest. Parts of Media were added to the Armenian dominion, insomuch that Tigranes sent the dread of his name into all the surrounding countries.

While thus by successful war Armenia was advancing to the rank of a first-class Power in South-western Asia, Rome was strengthening her position and advancing her interests in all the hither parts of the continent. The army of the Republic and that of Tigranes were face to face, and it was only a question of time when one or the other must go to the wall. The king of Parthia had cause to fear each and both of these tremendous forces as they rose on his western borders. He was in doubt whether it were best for him to take his chances by allying himself with the Armenians, and thus recognizing the violence by which Tigranes had taken away a portion of the Parthian Empire, or to make a union with Rome. In his embarrassment he dealt doubly with the question, holding out to each party the promise and expectation of favor.

It is said that Lucullus, the Roman Consul, now engaged in war with Tigranes, was so much offended at the uncertain course taken by the Parthian king, that he contemplated the abandonment of the Armenian war until what time he should make an expedition beyond the Tigris and teach Sanatrœces the folly of temporizing with Rome. This, however, was not done. Tigranes at length fell back before the Roman legions, and Parthia was delivered from her peril. The reign of Sanatrœces ended with his life, about the year 67 B. C., when he was succeeded by his son, PHRAATES III.

Pompey the Great had now come into Asia, and with him the new king was obliged to deal. The Roman was engaged in a war with Pontus, but he solicited and gained the friendship of Phraates, to whom in return he

ROMAN LEGIONARIES.

pledged the restoration of the provinces which had been conquered by th Armenians. By this means the Parthian king was induced to make an alliance with Rome. At the same time he became deeply involved with Armenia. In that country civil dissension had come as a paralysis to Tigranes. His son, bearing his own name, had entered into a conspiracy and become leader of a rebellion against the throne. The insurrection soon came to naught, and the young Tigranes fled to the court of Parthia for refuge and protection. Phraates espoused his cause, and being under promise to Pompey to prevent Armenia from joining Pontus in the field, the Parthian king now fulfilled his promise by taking up the quarrel of the refugee prince and marching into Armenia to support him against his father.

For the time this movement was successful. The elder Tigranes fled to the mountains for safety, and the younger was proclaimed king. But on the withdrawal of Phraates into his own dominions, the tide turned, and the rebellious prince was defeated in battle and obliged to save himself by flight. By this time, however, the Romans had ended the war with Pontus, and turned with crushing force against Armenia. Tigranes was obliged to yield to the Proconsul and to accept his arbitration in the affairs of the East. It thus happened that by battle and diplomacy Pompey managed with Roman energy and skill to gain a place from which he was able to balance up Armenia and Parthia, the one against the other, in such manner as to make the hostility of either of little account as it respected his own purposes in the country. It has been conjectured that the Roman contemplated an immediate war on Parthia as the stronger and more dangerous of the two Powers with which he must ultimately contend. But he was deterred from such an undertaking, and chose to employ craft and talent rather than the sword in holding his position as arbiter of Western Asia.

Meanwhile in Parthia a deplorable civil condition followed in the wake of Imperial greatness. The time had arrived when the polygamic system and the personal passions of the royal princes brought in the age of conspiracy and murder in the king's house. A condition supervened not unlike that which has disgraced the history of modern times in the courts of Persia and Turkey. Phraates III. was not permitted to end his reign in the order of nature. His two sons, Mithridates and Orodes, formed a plot which reached as high as their father's life. He was assassinated by them. The elder of the two took the throne in B. C. 60, and, like other murderers, found it desirable to obliterate the memory of his crime with the glory of foreign war.

The complaint which he had made against his father was the alliance of the latter with the Romans, and the tameness with which the late king had permitted himself to be robbed by the Armenians under the arbitration of the Roman Proconsul. MITHRIDATES III. therefore proceeded to make war on the Armenians for

the recovery of Northern Mesopotamia. He thus became a breaker of the peace. He was enabled, however, to gain his object, and the ancient boundary of the Parthian Empire on the north-west was restored. The Armenians were no longer able to meet the Parthians in battle. As for the king, arrogance came with conquest. His home administration at once revealed the essentially criminal character of Mithridates. He became jealous of his brother—brother by blood and brother in crime—and drove him from the country. Other measures of like character followed, and it was not long until the Megistanes, whipped into courage by the king's folly and wickedness, rose to the height of action and hurled Mithridates from the throne.

Orodes was now recalled from banishment and raised to power. As for the deposed monarch, he and his party were placated by conferring on him the governorship of Media; but his conduct made it impossible for Orodes to tolerate him longer, and he was expelled. He hereupon went over to the Romans, where he besought the Proconsul Gabinius, successor of Pompey, to aid him in recovering the Parthian throne. The Roman was about to accept his overture, and would doubtless have begun war on Parthia had not a dynastic complication arisen in Egypt which promised a fairer field and a richer reward for Roman interference. Mithridates was thus left to digest his choler in exile. Presently, however, he sought reconciliation with his brother, returned to Parthia, threw himself upon the mercy of the king, and was affectionately beheaded for his pains.

This event ended for the time the civil dissensions of the Empire, and enabled Orodes I. to exercise undisputed sway over the nation. The attention of the Romans had now been drawn away from the Mesopotamian border, and the Parthian king found opportunity to foster his ambitions and develop his plans. His abilities were of a large order. He aspired to become a great conqueror, like the early Arsacid kings. His fame grew, and he was presently able to gain sundry advantages in the way of detaching the petty princes on his western border from their allegiance to Rome. But the time had arrived when in the order of events, if not in the necessity of things, the growing animosity of the Republic and Parthia must be referred to the decision of battle.

Marcus Lucinius Crassus, member of the first Triumvirate of Rome, had now been sent out as Proconsul of Syria. He came to his province with the intention of a Parthian war. Arriving in the year B. C. 54, he deliberately formed his plans for the invasion of the Empire. He organized a great expedition, crossed the Euphrates, and began to overrun the country. Several of the Greek cities yielded without a conflict. Zenodotium, however, resisted his progress, but at length consented to receive a Roman garrison. This was admitted, and Crassus continued his campaign. But the people of the city rose on the garrison, and put them to the sword. The Proconsul then turned about, destroyed the city, and sold the inhabitants into slavery.

Thus far the Parthians had kept at a distance. With the coming of winter there had been no serious conflict. On the whole, the Parthians had cause to congratulate themselves on the small progress and success of the Roman army. It appears that Orodes came to the conclusion that little was to be feared from the invasion. He conceived a contempt for Crassus, and sent to him an embassy with such proposals as might well have aroused the animosity of an Oriental, to say nothing of a Roman Proconsul. Among other things Orodes referred with mock sympathy to the *advanced age* of Crassus, and promised in certain contingencies to deal with him as he would with a dotard. The interview might well be made the subject of a drama. Crassus enraged, but still restraining himself, replied that *on his arrival at Seleucia* he would send an answer to the Parthian king. Hereupon Vagises, ambassador of Orodes, tapped the palm of one of his hands with the forefinger of the other, and exclaimed: "O Crassus, the hair will grow here before ever you come to Seleucia!" Such were the amenities of the winter season, when neither party could verify in the field the threats and hatreds of the council.

For the Roman commander the situation had become embarrassing. He had projected

his campaign centrally across Northern Mesopotamia. In different parts of the country he had been obliged to establish garrisons of occupation. Each remove reduced the number of his effective forces. Added to this was a certain want of knowledge of the enemy's country, which confused the Proconsul in determining his line of advance. It was finally determined that the route of the expedition should be through Upper Mesopotamia. This country had already been entered by the army in the preceding summer, but had been given up for the winter. This course would bring the expedition into supporting distance of Armenia, and it was expected that the Romans would receive from that country a large accession of force.

Meanwhile Orodes had organized his army and thrown it forward to confront the enemy. His forces were under the immediate command of the Surena or Generalissimo, who in this instance—though his name has not been preserved—appears to have been a military captain of the greatest ability and courage. For many years he had been one of the principal stays of the Empire. Through his agency, indeed, Orodes had been confirmed on the throne. He had already recovered several important places, including the rebellious city of Seleucia. The army now sent out to meet the Romans under his command was composed entirely of cavalry. It had perhaps been foreseen that it was by this branch of the service that victory might be expected rather than from the Parthian infantry. The latter was no match for the Roman legionaries, whose valor had spread a wholesome fear throughout the civilized world.

The winter quarters of the Roman army had been on the Upper Euphrates. Here lay the province of Osrhœne, whose prince, Abgarus, though in alliance with the Romans, was secretly in sympathy and communication with the Parthians. He was intrusted by Crassus with a command of light-horse, and was assigned to the duty of scouring the country in advance of the army, and of determining the route across Mesopotamia. It has been asserted by Plutarch and others that this treacherous guide purposely led Crassus and his forces into a desert region, where water could not be found, and where every advantage would be on the side of the Parthians in battle. Perhaps the inhospitable character of the region was exaggerated. But at any rate the advance now lay through an open country little obstructed by rivers or hills, and well fitted for the operations of the Parthian cavalry. Of the character of the latter and its method of giving battle, sufficient has already been said in a former chapter.

At the same time of the advance of Crassus the Parthian army was brought to the front, and the two forces rapidly approached with every element of determination and passion on both sides. At length the conflict was precipitated on the River Belik, about midway between Carrhæ and Ichnæ. It was the 6th of May, in the year B. C. 54. The Parthian army, under the command of the Surena, was carefully stationed in half-concealment behind some woods and low hills in the neighborhood. The cavalrymen had been ordered to cover their arms with their garments or to keep them behind the horses, so that the blaze of weaponry might not flash upon the Romans in its appalling splendor until the moment of battle.

Crassus came on from the west. His army of about forty thousand men was composed mostly of Roman legions or heavy infantry. To this was attached a body of cavalry which the Proconsul had brought with him out of Gaul, where it had been organized by Julius Cæsar. All of a sudden the Parthian drums sounded the battle-note. Then the cavalry flashed into line, and the charge began. The Parthian lines came on at full gallop, but stopped short of the legions by the space of a bow-shot. Then began such a tempest of arrows as the invincible legionaries had never before been obliged to face. No armor could resist the stroke of these fiery missiles. The air was darkened by the discharge. The Romans could not come at their enemy. When they advanced the Parthians receded to a distance, firing backwards with the same facility as when they halted and faced the enemy.

Such battle had never before been known in the Mesopotamian plains. The Romans

strove with all their might to close with their elusive foe, but the latter pursued the established tactics, and could not be reached. At length the son of Crassus, bearing his father's name and commanding the Roman cavalry, put himself at the head of a squadron of six thousand men, and charged furiously upon the Parthians. The latter fell back from the onset as if in panic. The young Crassus pressed on after the enemy further and further, until he was out of sight, when all of a sudden the Parthian cavalry recovered itself, threw forward the wings, and completely surrounded the Romans. The latter fought with desperation. The Gallic horsemen dismounted, rushed among the enemy's horses, seized the spears, and stabbed the steeds to death. But no valor could avail. The Roman advance under

ROMAN SOLDIERS GOING INTO BATTLE.

the young Crassus was beaten down almost to a man. The commander himself was slain, and his head stuck on a pike.

Again the drums sounded, and the charge on the main body under the Proconsul was renewed. The head of Crassus' son was borne aloft in full view of the Romans, who now, shattered by the battle, began to recede from the field. The wounded were abandoned, and on the following morning were slain by the Parthians. Crassus the elder, with the remnant, succeeded in making his way to Carrhæ, where he stationed himself behind the ramparts and found a momentary security. It was hoped that he could hold his position until what time his ally Artavasdes, king of Armenia, could come to his relief. Perhaps this might have been done, as the Parthians were incompetent as besiegers. Nevertheless, they hovered around Carrhæ, and cut off the city from supplies.

It appears, however, that the Parthian commander preferred to take no risks as to the future. Nothing short of the complete discomfiture of Crassus and his remaining forces would satisfy. To this end the Surena now stooped to treachery. He plotted to inveigle the Proconsul into his power. It may not be certainly known whether he contemplated the destruction of his enemy's life by perfidy, but it is in the nature of bad faith to bring a more criminal catastrophe than was imagined at the outset. The Surena, whatever may have been his intentions, opened negotiations with the pent-up Romans. He rode with unstrung bow and outstretched hand into the open space before the city, and called out for Crassus to come forth and confer with him on the conditions of peace. The wily Parthian had prepared for the occasion by letting slip certain of the Roman prisoners, into whose ears false information had first been dropped to the effect that the Parthians were anxious for peace and friendship with the Romans, and that Crassus might easily come to an agreement with the Parthian king. These insinuations had been carried by the returning prisoners into Carrhæ, and the Roman mind was abused to the extent of accepting them as true.

Crassus, however, already beyond his sixtieth year, and well informed as to the disposition and character of the Asiatics, was slow to take the bait. But the legionaries were now thoroughly demoralized, and the

General was urged to avail himself of the opportunity. He accordingly went forth into the plain, where a conference was held between him and the Surena. Terms of peace were discussed and agreed upon; but the Parthian insisted that the stipulations should be reduced to writing, and to this end the Romans present were induced to mount Parthian horses and to ride off towards the Surena's tent. Scarcely, however, had they started, when Crassus and his friends, suspecting treachery, reined up the horses, and refused to proceed. The difficulty grew hot, and one of the Parthians was cut down with the sword. Weapons were drawn, and all of the Romans, including Crassus, were slain on the spot. Thus, far off on the Mesopotamian plain, was the rich Triumvir, who, with Pompey the Great and Julius Cæsar, had recently divided the world as a family inheritance, done to death on the treacherous sword of a Parthian warrior.

When the Roman soldiers in Carrhæ learned the fate of their General, they were in despair. Most of them surrendered to the Parthians. Some escaped. Altogether ten thousand were taken prisoners. These were transferred into the heart of the Parthian Empire, colonized and absorbed by intermarriage. Of the whole Roman army, numbering forty thousand, only about one-fourth succeeded in reaching places of safety. The disaster was overwhelming—wanting nothing to complete its magnitude or horror.

The immediate result of this, the first war of the Romans with the Asiatic Empire, was to restore to the latter all the provinces which she had possessed on the side of Mesopotamia. The Euphrates again became the western boundary. As for Armenia, that State also passed to the Parthian dominion. It will be remembered that Crassus, to the hour of his death, expected the Armenian king, Artavasdes, to come to his assistance; but that monarch had decided to accept a position subordinate to the King of Kings. At the very time that the Surena was bringing down the Roman eagles on the Upper Euphrates, Orodes himself was making an expedition into Armenia. This it was that determined the *friendship* of the king of that country. It was expedient for him to become friendly. In order to cement the ties thus formed, the Parthian king took for his son Pacorus the daughter of the Armenian monarch in marriage. Nor may we pass from the event without noting the manners of the age. While the festival was on at the Armenian capital—while Orodes and Artavasdes were witnessing the performance of one of the tragedies of Euripides—the news came of the overthrow and death of Crassus and the destruction of his army. As usual, in such cases, the head of the Roman Proconsul was brought along to confirm the intelligence. It happened that in the play the Greek actor had to represent a similar slaughter by the display of a mock-head on his thyrsus. By one of the happy inspirations of barbarism, he substituted *the real head* of Crassus! Doubtless the sensation in the royal boxes was sufficient.

In another direction, the drama was continued in the desert. The Surena, at enmity with Seleucia for her half-treachery to the Parthian cause, marched thither, to bring the citizens to a renewal of loyalty. He chose to spread the report in this direction that Crassus was not killed, but was a prisoner in the hands of the conqueror. To give verisimilitude to his fiction, he selected a Roman, like Crassus in personal appearance, clad him in the proconsular insignia, mounted him on a horse, compelled him to play his part, and sent after him into Seleucia a troop of mockers and abandoned women. Going into Seleucia himself, the Surena divulged to the Senate the horrid immoralities which he had discovered in the literature of the Roman camp—a revelation sufficiently disgusting to the people who were unable to recognize in themselves a society fully as abominable and more perfidious in its manners than that of the Romans.

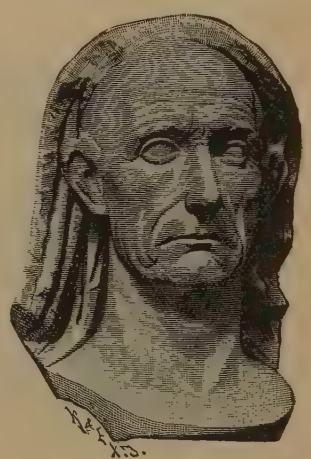
By this time, however, the Surena had reached the limit of his career. His success in the field had been so great as to make him, according to the judgment of Orodes, a person dangerous to the Empire. The great captain was accordingly seized and put to death. The command of the army was transferred to Osaces, who was presently sent to the Syrian frontier, to assist the prince Pacorus in a

desultory campaign, upon which he had entered in that quarter.

As a matter of fact, Syria and Asia Minor were at this time in a condition to invite conquest; not indeed that the Romans were unable to defend their possessions in the East, but the political distractions of Italy were such as to prevent unity of action. The destruction of the tripartite agreement—known as the Triumvirate—by the death of Crassus, had left the world to two masters, Cæsar and Pompey, the one a representative of the new democracy of Rome, and the other the representative of that ancient aristocratic order by which the Republic had been dominated for many centuries. At this time the orator Cicero was Proconsul of Cilicia, and knowing full well the condition of affairs in Asia, he hardly overstated the fact to the Senate when he declared that Rome had not a friend on that continent. The expedition of Pacorus made its way in the direction of Antioch, and gained possession of several important places. But after this the Parthians divided in different directions, one division being carried against Palestine, and the other led among the kingdoms of Asia Minor. If the invaders had had the skill to take cities as well as to win battles in the field, it would appear that they might have destroyed the Roman dominion in all the countries east of the Ægean.

But the Parthians did not avail themselves of the situation. At length, in B. C. 49, Pompey, being then hard pressed by Cæsar, made overtures to Orodes, with a view to securing his aid against his rival. The Parthian king offered to go to the rescue on condition that Pompey would deliver what remained of the kingdom of Syria to him. But the proposal was rejected. Soon afterwards came the battle of Pharsalia, in which the fortunes of Pompey and the aristocratic party were utterly swept away. At one time he seriously contemplated putting himself under the powerful protection of Orodes. But he was induced to change his mind, and presently took flight for Egypt.

Cæsar, now completely victorious, was fully informed of the condition of affairs in the East. He had known the disposition of Orodes to give aid to Pompey. In his own mind the vision of a Parthian conquest had for some years been settling into a purpose. But he was not yet ready to undertake so vast an enterprise. After Pharsalia, he returned to Rome, and took up the tremendous work of reorganizing society on a new Imperial plan, with himself at the head. It was not until B. C. 44 that he found himself sufficiently free from the tremendous complications of the West to turn his attention to the conquest of Parthia. Like the other designs of that greatest man of antiquity, the Parthian war took shape, and the first cohorts of the Roman army were thrown into Greece, preparatory to the great Asiatic campaign. Nor may we well pass over this historical hypothesis without conjecturing the result had Cæsar been permitted to pursue his purpose. Certain it is that the Parthians would have felt the stroke of the strongest hand which was ever laid upon the Empire. Crassus and Pompey and Trajan and Severus combined could hardly have represented the skill, the energy, the persistency, the adroitness in diplomacy and war of that matchless Julius, whose end was now at hand. His destiny had at last overtaken him. The Optimate Conspirators gathered around him in the Senate House, and stabbed him to death, on the Ides of March, in the very spring when the Parthian expedition was to be undertaken.



JULIUS CÆSAR.

Thus had Orodes the good fortune to witness the destruction of all three of the preeminent Romans who had constituted the first Triumvirate. The Surena had chopped off the head of Crassus in the desert. A bloody assassin had cut down Pompey on the shore of Egypt. The daggers of Brutus and Cassius

had dispatched Cæsar in the Senate House. Parthia for the time was freed from all apprehension on the side of Rome.

The reader of history will readily recall the dreadful civil war which followed the murder of Julius. He will remember the struggle of the conspirators to undo the great historical movement of the age. He will once more follow the complication which was presently cut with the sword of the victor at Philippi. In this civil war the Parthians bore a minor part. Bodies of Parthian horsemen were on several occasions found in the army of Brutus and Cassius. Marcus Antonius, who had received the East for his portion of the world, entered into relations with Orodes, and sought to join the king with himself in his war with Brutus and Cassius.

A CHARGE OF PARTHIAN CAVALRY.

But the Parthian preferred the other course. At length the battle of Philippi was fought, and the ancient aristocracy of Rome was hacked to pieces under the bloody swords of the avengers of Cæsar. Now it was that the three masters of the world were able to divide their inheritance. The Second Triumvirate was formed. Octavianus established himself in Italy. Lepidus became the cipher which made the other two figures significant. Antonius found food for his passions in Egypt.

It appears that Parthia postponed her struggle with Rome to an inauspicious occasion. Pacorus now availed himself of the help of the treacherous Labienus, recently envoy of Brutus and Cassius at the Parthian court, and organized an army for the conquest of the country as far as Antioch. They rushed to the field, and Saxa, the Roman governor of Syria, was defeated in battle. Labienus and Pacorus, having taken Antioch, led their forces, the one in the direction of Palestine, and the other into Asia Minor. Both were for awhile successful. Hyrcanus, the king of Jerusalem, was expelled, and his rival Antigonus set in his place under the authority of the Parthian Prince. Labienus carried his victorious arms through Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria. Thus, by the close of the year 40 B. C., nearly the whole of Asia Minor was overrun.

It was in the nature of Antonius to make love and war by turns. He was equally fierce in the chamber and the field. Learning of the condition of affairs in the East, he was roused to wrath, and resolved to teach the Asiatics a lesson not to be forgotten. In 39 B. C. he sent forward his lieutenant Ventidius with orders to crush Labienus and the Parthians. On his arrival in Asia, Labienus was taken by surprise, and was obliged to recede before his enemy. Pacorus was called to the rescue, but both together failed to stay the progress of the Romans. Labienus was defeated, pursued, taken, and put to death. The Parthians receded into Northern Syria, and attempted to hold the pass of Mount Amanus, but Ventidius succeeded in securing the place, and in driving the Parthians into Mesopotamia.

Pacorus, however, was not willing to relinquish the countries which he had so easily conquered. In the following year he renewed the war by crossing the Euphrates, and engaging in battle with the Romans. It was in the nature of that soldiery to learn from the enemy. The method of Parthian warfare had now become well understood. Ventidius had prepared for the emergency. It was no longer the story of Crassus on the Belik. When the Parthians came on to battle, they found the Romans well posted to receive them. On

rushing to the charge, and before reaching their favorite distance of a bow-shot, they were assailed by the slingers of Labienus, and a shower of singing stones rained upon them, knocking them dead from their horses. The battle raged furiously, but at length the Parthians gave way. Pacorus himself was slain. The Romans succeeded in securing the bridge across the Euphrates, and the retreat was cut off. The Parthian army was scattered in all directions. The authority of Orodes in the West and South-west was completely and finally obliterated. All the Western provinces were recovered by the Romans. The Euphrates once again became the boundary between the two Empires; but from either side the hostile powers glared at each other, neither satisfied with the issue.

We may now turn for a moment to note the condition of affairs at the capital of the Empire. Orodes had grown old. His reconciliation with Pacorus, who at one time had been in rebellion against him, was complete. Perhaps the aged monarch felt a Parthian pride in the military successes of his son in the West. The death of the latter, therefore, fell heavily upon the king. He became half-insane on account of the loss of his son. True, he had thirty other sons, children of various wives and concubines, but none of them might well take the place of the warrior prince who had perished in battle. The king, however, felt it expedient to determine the succession before his death. He accordingly designated Phraates as his successor, and the choice was ratified by the Megistanes. Orodes then abdicated the throne in favor of his son. The latter, jealous for good reason of some of his half brothers who were born of a princess, conspired with his mother, who was a common concubine, and had the princes whom he feared put to death. The aged father hereupon rebuked his son, and was himself murdered for his interference.

Thus, in B. C. 37, came PHRAATES IV. to the throne of Parthia. Like other royal murderers, he was obliged to go forward in the bloody path which he had chosen. One after another, his half brothers and other relatives were assassinated. In the next place his jealousy fell upon the nobles, of whom many were slain, and others fled. A body of them, headed by a certain Monæses, made their way to Antonius, and represented to him the condition of affairs in Parthia. Monæses besought the Roman to enter the country and support a counter-revolution in his favor, promising to accept the crown at the hands of Antonius, and to hold it as a subject of the Roman Republic.

The bait was tempting. Antonius had

ROMAN ARMY CROSSING THE TIGRIS.

sufficient cause for making war on the Parthians. Time and again they had entered and ravaged the Roman provinces in Syria and Asia Minor. Ambition also led him on. He accordingly gathered his forces on the Euphratine frontier, and made preparations for an invasion. Phraates, informed of these movements, took the alarm, and sent for Monæses to be restored to honor. Antonius permitted him to depart, but sent with him an embassy, demanding of the Parthian king the restoration of the Roman standards taken from Crassus, and the liberation of all prisoners who still survived. These demands were not complied with, and Antonius continued his preparations for war. His aggregate forces amounted to a hundred and thirteen thousand

men. The army was made up of the legions, sixty thousand strong, of thirty thousand Asiatics who had joined his standard, of ten thousand Gallic horsemen, and a considerable force out of Armenia. Artavasdes, king of the latter country, long balancing his interests between Parthia and Rome, had at last assented to a league with Antonius, and promised his support in the ensuing war.

This alliance enabled the Roman to enter the Parthian Empire by way of Armenia, and in that direction the expedition was undertaken. Antonius, after traversing the friendly districts, entered the hostile territory in Media Atropatêné; and here the war began. The Romans advanced to the capital and besieged the city. Several unsuccessful assaults were made; but the place could not be taken. Winter came on, with the siege undetermined. Meanwhile the Parthian army got upon the flank and rear, and captured or destroyed the siege-train of the Romans. The soldiers became discouraged, and winter bellowed around with hurricanes of sleet and snow. Antonius was obliged to fall back. He made an effort to negotiate, but the enemy laughed at his calamity. Nevertheless, Antonius was not Crassus. The Proconsul had no notion of losing his army or his life. Instead of retreating by the expected route, he sought a directer course through a mountain pass back to the River Araxes, and by this way he managed to reach a place of safety. His losses, however, had been very great. About forty thousand of his men had perished by battle or the severity of the season. Parthia might well congratulate herself that the retreat of the Roman army through the winter snows, for a distance of three hundred miles, was the beginning of the end. Such indeed it might have been but for the treacherous condition of all political dependence in the countries concerned.

For no sooner was Antony repelled than the Median governor of Atropatêné quarreled with the king about the division of the Roman spoils. Suspicion followed suspicion, and the Mede concluded that for him the way of safety was in an appeal to Antonius. He accordingly sent an embassy to Alexandria, whither the Roman had retired to spend the winter with Cleopatra, and tendered to him an alliance offensive and defensive against Parthia. Antonius readily accepted the overture. He had become angered at his ally, the king of Armenia, who had abandoned him in the day of his peril, and was anxious to find a new confederate on the border of the Parthian Empire.

Early in B. C. 34 the Roman general returned to the army in Armenia, and presently succeeded in gaining possession of Artavasdes, the king. His son and successor was defeated in battle, and obliged to fly to the Parthians. As for the king of the Medes, Antony cemented the union between that personage and himself by marrying the daughter of the prince to his son Alexander, offspring of his amours with Cleopatra of Egypt.

During this year nothing was done in the field. The attention of Antony had been drawn to Europe by the threatening attitude of Octavianus. The long accumulating difficulties between the two Roman leaders was rapidly coming to the arbitrament of the sword. Antonius was obliged to return from Armenia into Asia Minor to counteract the movements of his rival. Hereupon Phraates, in B. C. 33, renewed the war, and succeeded in making the king of Media his prisoner. The Armenian monarch, Artaxias, recovered his throne. The Roman garrisons were expelled from the countries which they had occupied within the limits of the Empire.

By this time, however, the civil dissensions in Parthia were renewed, and an insurrection against the king, headed by a certain Tiridates, was for the moment successful. Phraates fled to the Scythians, solicited their aid, returned with an army, and quickly restored himself to power. The usurper escaped to Octavianus, who was at that time in the East, and took with him to that distinguished Roman the son of the Parthian king. When Phraates demanded the restoration of his son and the giving up of the rebel Tiridates who had conspired against him, Octavianus refused the latter request, but agreed to the former on condition that the Parthian would surrender the standards taken from Crassus and liberate the sur-

viving Roman prisoners. This demand had now become habitual with the Romans in all their dealings with Parthia. In the present case Phraates received his son with gladness, but refused to give up the standards or to set the Roman prisoners at liberty.

The reader of history knows full well the story of the final conflict between Octavianus and Antonius. Hereafter, in the history of Rome, we shall record at length the vicissitudes of the long struggle which culminated at Actium. Hereby the peaceable accession of Octavianus to the Imperial throne was made easy and inevitable. Antonius, following the seductions of Cleopatra, fled once more to Egypt, and there, after additional defeat and humiliation, stabbed himself and died in the presence of the woman for whom he had lost the world.

By these events Parthia was again liberated for a season from the fear of Roman invasion. But Augustus—for by this title Octavianus is henceforth known—was little disposed, peaceable as were his general intentions, to permit the affairs of the East to remain in their present indeterminate state. After spending the first ten years of his reign in regulating and establishing the Imperial Government, after the pattern given by Julius, the Emperor found himself ready to settle finally the issue between himself and the Parthian king. Accordingly, in B. C. 20, he went in person into Asia, and, partly by menace and partly by diplomacy, induced Phraates to surrender the Crassian standards. However humiliating the act may have been to the King of Kings, he nevertheless yielded to the inevitable and gave up the trophies which signified so much to the half-barbaric pride of himself and his subjects. The Roman prisoners who still survived were permitted to return to Europe, and an amicable relation was established between the emperors of the East and the West.

It can not be doubted that at this time it was definitely agreed that henceforth the River Euphrates should be observed by both Powers as the true inter-imperial boundary. Such agreement was in harmony with the well-known theory of Augustus that the Roman Empire had now expanded to its natural limit, beyond which neither sound policy nor military ambition could safely carry it. To this the Parthian king, troubled with dissensions in his own dominion, was glad to assent, and thus a condition of stability and peace was reached in the closing years of the Ancient Era.

Henceforth for a long time amity existed between Ctesiphon and Rome. Phraates selected the City of the Tiber as a place for the residence and education of his four sons. These were Vonones, Seraspadanes, Rhodaspes, and Phraates.

Once and again, however—and that with respect to the troublesome kingdom of Armenia—did hostilities break out between the two Empires. The question at issue was the old one as to the relative and preponderating influence of Rome or Parthia with the Armenian king. Augustus found it necessary to send his son Caius Cæsar to the East with an army. The Roman prince came to the Euphrates and was about to begin an invasion, when the Parthian monarch, taking counsel of his fears, yielded to the inevitable, and a new treaty was made by himself and the young Cæsar on an island in the Euphrates. The settlement was definitive. The supremacy of Rome in Armenian affairs was acknowledged, and henceforth Parthia abstained from aggression in this direction. Soon after the treaty was concluded, Caius Cæsar, going into Armenia, and being obliged to besiege a town, was slain by a missile from the walls. But events went forward to their logical conclusion. Armenia passed under the protectorate of Rome, and all beyond was left to the undisputed sway of the Parthian kings.

Meanwhile the reign of Phraates IV., fifteenth of the Arsacidæ, had ended with his life, in the year B. C. 2. The crown descended to his son PHRAATACES, offspring of an Italian slave-girl, whom Augustus had sent as a present to his friend, the late king of Parthia. To him, rather than to any of the elder sons long resident in Rome, the throne passed without dispute. But it was not long until the Parthian nobles, hating the mother of their new sovereign and despising the race to which she belonged, rose against Phraataces, drove him

from power, and took his life. Having succeeded thus by insurrection in undoing the existing order, the Megistanes proceeded to elect to the throne a certain ORODES, of whom little is known except that he was one of the Arsacidæ. We may conjecture that he was a descendant of Orodes, fourteenth monarch of the line.

At any rate, about the year A. D. 12, he was called home from exile, and given the crown. Almost immediately, however, he displayed such qualities of cruelty and vice as sickened the nobles with their own work. A company of them accordingly inveigled the king into a hunting excursion, and availed themselves of the opportunity to put him to death. An embassy was at once despatched to Rome, to call home VONONES, eldest son of Phraates IV. The prince complied with the requisition, returned from his long absence, and accepted the crown. But it was soon found that his residence in Rome had unfitted him for the Parthian throne. He came back essentially a Roman, and in a short time the alienation between him and his makers was complete. Vonones was permitted to reign for about three years; but in A. D. 16, or possibly the following year, the nobles again went into insurrection, deposed Vonones, and elected a certain ARTABANUS, who at this time was viceroy of Media Atropatêné, to the throne of the Empire. By a strange vicissitude, Vonones escaped into Armenia, and was made king of *that* country.

The action of the Armenians, in accepting the refugee Arsacid for their king, could but arouse the animosity of Artabanus, and he at once undertook to prevent the recognition of Vonones by Rome. In this he was successful to the extent of obliging Vonones to fly to the Roman governor of Syria for protection. It became necessary for Tiberius, who had now succeeded Augustus in the Imperial rank at Rome, to send the brave and talented Germanicus to the East, to regulate the Armenian succession. The latter, on arriving at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia, cut the complication by raising a European nobleman, named Zeno, to the throne, with the title of Artaxias. On the whole, this action was pleasing to the Parthian king, who in the next place requested Germanicus to banish Vonones into foreign parts. This request was complied with; but Vonones, attempting to defeat the arrangement by flight, was pursued, overtaken, and slain.

In A. D. 19 Germanicus died, and Lucius Vitellius was appointed to succeed him in the government of Western Asia. It was believed by Artabanus that Tiberius was in his dotage, and that Vitellius was not the equal of his predecessor. The Parthian, therefore, imagined that he might once more with safety attempt the restoration of his influence and authority in Armenia. Tiberius, when informed of the purposes of the king, sought by an intrigue to stir up a rebellion among the Parthian nobles, and in order to encourage such a movement, sent the young Phraates, a brother of Vonones, to the Mesopotamian border. The prince reached Asia, but the change in his manner of life brought on a disease of which he presently died.

Meanwhile, Artabanus had destroyed one or two of the leading conspirators against himself. Being relieved of present apprehension by the death of Phraates, he sent the Roman Emperor an audacious letter, in which that personage was openly charged with all the crimes, vices, and corruptions in the catalogue of human sin. In retaliation for this insult Tiberius ordered Vitellius to interfere again in the affairs of Parthia, and in particular to maintain his ascendency in Armenia. In that country a desultory war occurred in the years A. D. 35 and 36. At one time it appeared that the armies of Parthia and Rome would be brought to decisive battle, but Vitellius succeeded in inciting an insurrection before which Artabanus fled into Hyrcania.

In the meantime, Prince Tiridates, son perhaps of Rhodaspes, at Rome, was sent into Asia as the candidate of Tiberius for the vacant throne. The prince entered Mesopotamia, and was well received by the Greek cities. He was even crowned in Seleucia, and entered upon his duties as King of Kings. But the movement was delusive and farcical. The nobles, native and to the manner born, could have no sympathy with a sovereign who had

been reared in Rome. They accordingly went into Hyrcania, found old Artabanus with his bow and hunting shirt, and induced him to head the counter-revolution against Tiridates. The latter was obliged to fly. His following melted away, and he was glad to find himself once more in safety beyond the Euphrates among the Romans.

In the fourth decade of the first century the condition of affairs above described continued to prevail. Petty hostilities on the side of Armenia recurred constantly, but no general war. The empire became involved in hostilities with the Jews of Babylon—one of the many complications in which that people, now dragging on to the close of their national existence, were involved. But the details, though sufficiently bloody and disgraceful, are of little interest to the reader of general history. Events passed in the usual order until the year A. D. 40, when Artabanus was a second time expelled from the throne, and died after a two years' banishment and a reign of twenty-six years' duration.

The reader will have noted the utter absence among the Parthians of royal rank of those family ties and affections whereby in modern times the kindred of one blood are held in unity and trust. On the contrary, the court of this ancient people was constantly stained with blood poured forth by parricidal or fratricidal violence. On the death of Artabanus III. his sons contended for the throne. At first the eldest, GOTARZES, was given the crown. But it would seem that his hereditary right was soon forgotten on account of his atrocious conduct. Scarcely had he risen to power until he seized and put to death his brother, Artabanus, together with his wife and son. It was evident that, after the Oriental manner, he purposed, according to his passion and jealousy, to destroy all his kindred. It can not have passed attention that for the last half century the Megistanes had increased their power and exercised their rights more freely than at a remoter age. In the present instance they accepted the challenge and drove the king from the throne. His brother VARDANES was called home from a distant province and given the diadem. Gotarzes was abandoned, and obliged to fly to the country of the Dahæ, where, according to the precedent in such cases, he put himself under the protection of the Scyths.

Vardanes came to power without battle so far as his brother was concerned, but was obliged to take arms against the city of Seleucia. That important metropolis had never lost its Grecian character—had never been in political or social sympathy with the Parthian nation. We have heretofore remarked upon the quasi independence of the city and its government by a local Senate of three hundred. Just about the time of the accession of Vardanes there was a municipal revolt, and the authority of the king was wholly discarded. In the year A. D. 42 he brought an army against Seleucia and laid siege to the place, but it was nearly seven years after the revolt before he succeeded in its suppression.

COIN OF VARDANES I.

In the meantime Gotarzes, fretting in banishment, induced the Scyths to support him in making war on the king. He accordingly organized an army, advanced into Hyrcania, and was joined by malcontents until the movement became formidable. The two brothers approached each other for battle; but Gotarzes, learning that the National Council was about to depose both of them, sent word to Vardanes, and the two were reconciled. The king remained in authority, and Gotarzes was made governor of Hyrcania.

It appears that the Parthians were forgetful of the danger with which they were ever menaced from the side of Rome. Notwithstanding his treaty stipulation, the king now attempted to reässert his power in Armenia. That country had accepted its place as a vassal of the Roman Empire. Vardanes, believing himself able to revolutionize the Armenian Government, sought the alliance of the governor of Adiabêné, but that personage opposed his projects, and remained loyal to Rome. Hereupon the Parthian monarch went to war with him, but before a result was

reached, Gotarzes arose again in rebellion, and with a Hyrcanian army, attempted to gain the throne. The king marched against him and defeated him in several battles. But the nobles presently afterwards enticed Vardanes into the chase, and put him to death.

This murder opened the way for GOTARZES, who, in A. D. 46, was recognized as king. The character of that prince, however, soon revealed itself, and the nobles sent an embassy to Rome, requesting that the prince Meherdates, son of Vonones, be sent to them for the royal honor. The Emperor Claudius, who now occupied the throne, yielded to the request, and Meherdates was sent to Mesopotamia. He soon found himself at the head of a rebellious army, and advanced as far as Media Adiabênê. At this point, however, his forces began to desert him, and he was obliged to recede before the king. Before escaping from the complication into which he had rushed, he was betrayed into the hands of Gotarzes, who treated him with contempt rather than cruelty.

The king, however, did not long survive his triumph. In A. D. 51 he died. The crown was transferred to an Arsacid prince named VONONES, who is believed to have been a half brother of Artabanus III. No events of any importance occurred during his reign, or at least the record of none such has reached posterity. It is believed that his occupancy of the throne did not exceed a year in duration. Nor is the manner of his death referred to by the ancient historians. All that is known is that about A. D. 51 or 52 the crown was transferred to the king's son VOLAGASES I. In entering on his reign, the latter appointed his brother Pacorus to a provincial governorship, and then undertook the conquest of Armenia, in order to procure a province for his other brother named Tiridates.

It appears that at this juncture the Romans were less jealous than usual concerning Parthian intervention in Armenian affairs. At any rate, Volagases was permitted to organize an expedition, and to advance into the coveted territory. He gained therein a footing, and raised Tiridates to the governorship. Having done so much, the king sent an embassy to Nero to acquaint him with his motives and purposes. The Roman Emperor was angered at the thing done, and Corbulo, a noted general, and Ummidius, at that time Proconsul of Syria, were directed to recover the lost possessions of the Empire. The commanders gathered an army on the Armenian frontier, but presently opened negotiations with Volagases, and the difficulty was adjusted without battle. Strangely enough, the Romans conceded the Armenian kingdom to Tiridates; and the Parthian monarch was permitted to retire from the country without punishment.

These events occurred in the year A. D. 55. It was fortunate for Volagases that he was able so easily to extricate himself from the difficulty on his western border. All of his energies and resources were now demanded in an effort to suppress a rebellion which in his absence had been fomented by his son Vardanes. Civil war now ensued for the space of three years, and the insurrection was suppressed. Finding himself no longer opposed, the king turned again to Armenia, and demanded that the Romans should make still further concessions in regard to the government of that country. But the latter seized the opportunity to recover the ground already lost. Corbulo occupied the years A. D. 58–60 with a war against the Armenians, or rather against the Parthian party, headed by Tiridates, and expelled that prince finally from the country. The Roman rule was restored in full, and Volagases was obliged to content himself with an Armenian administration established by his rival.

By this time the Parthian nobles had come to doubt the infallibility of their monarch. They charged him with inefficiency in permitting Armenia to slip from his grasp. The king, resolving to regain public confidence, sought to do so by organizing a third expedition for the purpose of restoring Tiridates to the Armenian throne. But the expedition was unsuccessful, and an armistice was declared until what time the Parthian embassy despatched to Rome might return with the decision of Nero. The latter sent out as his representative and general in the East Lucius

Pætus. The latter came into Syria, and joined his forces with those of Corbulo.

Both generals soon entered the Parthian country, Pætus making the invasion of Armenia. Winter came on, and the Roman commander established himself in a poorly fortified camp. Volagases hurried forward with a large army, and the position of Pætus became perilous. He was surrounded by the Parthians, and obliged to capitulate on condition of retiring from the country. The wrecks of his forces were joined with those of the prudent Corbulo, to whom the maintenance of Roman interests in the country was now intrusted. It was in vain that the Parthian king sought to induce Corbulo to come to an accommodation. The Roman, with the opening of spring, advanced into Armenia, and reoccupied the territory held in the previous year by Pætus.

COIN OF VARDANES II.

Volagases was now thoroughly alarmed, and reöpened negotiations. Tiridates was obliged, on the site of the old camp of Pætus, to pull off his royal garments and lay them down before a statue of Nero. It was agreed, however, that the deposed prince should go to Rome and receive again his crown at the hands of the Roman Emperor. This was accordingly done. While Tiridates was permitted to reign in Armenia, it was with the consent and virtually under the authority of Rome.

The reign of Volagases was now long and peaceful. It is believed that he held the throne from A. D. 51 to about A. D. 78, a period of twenty-seven years. He reached a good old age, and died, bequeathing the crown to his son Pacorus.

During the remainder of the first century of our era, but few important events occurred in the history of the Parthian Empire. After the troubles of Volagases with the Romans, no further complications with that people arose for a considerable length of time. It seems, however, that the Parthians, like other barbarian nations, were not more prosperous in peace than in war. It may be conceded that war is the natural condition of a nomadic State, just as peace is the normal condition of an industrial State. So long as the soil is not extensively cultivated, so long as commerce does not spring and flourish, so long as manufacturing industries are not created, a people must procure for themselves the objects of desire by the spoliation of their neighbors.

Of all the ancient peoples none fulfilled this condition more perfectly than did the Parthians. As a result, the coming of peace was the coming of inaction, sluggishness, and decay. There were, moreover, during the reign of Pacorus, which extended to about A. D. 108, many internal disturbances which tended to the disintegration of the Empire. It appears that the old feudal principle not only held its own against the consolidating forces, but gradually prevailed over them. In times of peace feudalism, as illustrated in the local governments of the provinces, was rampant to the extent of making the feudatories virtually independent. Rawlinson has pointed out the fact that the history of this period is confused by the presence of coins bearing the images and superscriptions of sovereigns unknown to the Grecian and Roman authors. Thus we find a Vardanes II., and afterwards, between the years 62 and 78 A. D., an Artabanus IV. and a Volagases II., as though such sovereigns had reigned between Volagases I. and his son Pacorus. Further on there is a coin of Mithridates IV., for whom there is no place in the line of the Arsacidæ. Doubtless the explanation is to be found in the fact that many of the local governors carried their independence to the pitch of coining money and putting their own effigies and inscriptions on the coins. It might thus happen that three or four provincial mints were at work in different parts of the Empire at the same time.

COIN OF MITHRIDATES IV.

On the death of Pacorus, which is assigned to the year 108 A. D., the Megistanes again asserted their authority by putting aside the two sons of the late king and choosing his

brother CHOSROËS instead. A reason for this action may be found in the youth of the princes and in the military experience of the king-elect. It might be supposed that by this time the Parthians had learned by experience the unwisdom of intermeddling with the affairs of Armenia. It may be confessed, however, that the last compact with the Romans was of a kind to encourage the belief that Arsacid princes should henceforth wear the Armenian crown. Tiridates had been accepted in that relation, and reigned to the end of his life, at the close of the first century. Pacorus, at that time king of Parthia, had raised his son Exedares to the vacancy, assuming either that Rome would offer no objection, or else that he should be able by arms to enforce his will and authority.

For the time it appeared that the former supposition was realized, and that Exedares would be permitted to reign in peace. The Roman Emperor Trajan was at this time hotly engaged in his war with the Dacians on the Danube. This work occupied his attention until the year 114 A. D., when Dacia was subdued. Trajan now found time to turn his attention to the affairs of the East. A great expedition was accordingly organized and sent into Asia, to impress upon the Parthians the truth of their forgotten lesson. As the army advanced, Chosroës sought to stay the coming storm by sending out an embassy, which met the Romans at Athens. The Parthian proposed that Exedares should abdicate the Armenian throne, and that his brother, Parthamasiris, should be chosen for the place under the auspices and with the consent of Rome. The proposition might well have satisfied the Roman Emperor, but the latter had determined to reëstablish his authority in the East on a new basis, disregarding all antecedents, and aiming only at a permanent and undisturbed supremacy. The Parthian ambassadors were accordingly sent back to their master, and the expedition was carried into Asia.

Nevertheless Parthamasiris went to the Roman camp, presented himself to the Emperor, and laid down his crown before him. Trajan, however, instead of replacing it on his head, retained the prince, and presently informed him that Armenia was destined henceforth to be a Roman province. As for Parthamasiris, he was permitted to leave the camp, but was pursued by a band of Roman horsemen, who, doubtless with the privity and instigation of the Emperor himself, recaptured him and put him to death. Chosroës was either unable or unwilling to hazard interference with the purposes of the murderer of his nephew. Armenia was yielded up, and a Roman governor was appointed to exercise authority over the country in place of the Arsacid prince.

With a high hand and outstretched arm Trajan proceeded to overawe all the neighboring nations and to instill the fear of his name. At least two of the Western provinces of Parthia were torn away and added to the Roman dominion. Everything was settled according to the Emperor's will, and he then repaired to Antioch, where he established his head-quarters for the winter. Scarcely, however, had he planted himself in the city when it was shaken into ruins by one of the most disastrous earthquakes recorded in Ancient History. The Emperor himself barely escaped from the falling building in which he had taken his residence. All the Syrian cities suffered injury, greater or less, from the disturbance. The Eastern Mediterranean and the Ægean sea were tossed and heaved by the shock, and some of the Greek towns were thrown down.

It appears that Trajan, while in the East, in the preceding year, namely, in A. D. 115, had made up his mind to attack Parthia itself. His plans in this particular were matured in the following spring. A Roman fleet was sent *on wagons* across the desert to the Tigris, where the vessels were reconstructed and launched. It was determined to make Media Adiabêné the point of attack. Against this country the expedition was now directed, and Chosroës found himself unable to defend his province. He was obliged, by the internal condition of the Empire, to hold aloof from the contest and see one of the most important countries under his authority overrun by the Romans.

The passion of Trajan was now thoroughly aroused. From his conquest of Adiabêné he

marched against Ctesiphon, and took the city. He traversed Mesopotamia, and captured Babylon without fighting a battle. Seleucia revolted, and, following her immemorial preference, fell willingly into the hands of the conqueror. The Parthian king retired from his capital cities, and went far into the interior, drawing after him the Roman army. It appears that not even the discerning mind of Trajan was able to apprehend the danger to which he exposed himself in his lengthening march to the East. When he had advanced to a great distance in that direction without being able to bring the enemy to battle, he was suddenly startled with the intelligence that the provinces and cities behind him were rising against the Romans. City gates were shut on every hand. The soldiers began to suffer. The Parthians rallied and returned in the wake of the retreat. Not without serious losses, vexations, and humiliations did the Roman army finally succeed in reaching a place of safety. The Parthians recovered everything except Adiabêné, Upper Mesopotamia, and Armenia. Trajan himself scarcely survived his repulse. He died in 117 A. D., and was succeeded in the Imperial authority by Hadrian.

Each party in the conflict, thus ever renewed on the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire, had now learned a lesson from the other. Hadrian was not slow to perceive that the vaulting ambition of Trajan had overreached itself and fallen on the other side. He immediately changed the policy of the Empire with respect to Parthia, choosing the method of conciliation and concession. Upper Mesopotamia and Adiabêné were restored to Chosroës. The daughter of that monarch, whom Trajan had captured and sent to Rome, was returned in honor to her father. In the year A. D. 122 the two emperors met on the disputed border and personally adjusted the affairs between them. The Parthian king lived to about 130 A. D., when the throne passed to VOLAGASES II. But the relations of the latter to the Arsacid line are uncertain. Most authors have made the descent regular from father to son, but in this instance the testimony of the coins and the accepted narratives of the Greek and Roman historians are in conflict; for which reason the place by descent of the second Volagases in the diagram of the Arsacidæ has been indicated by the line of doubt.

The new reign was one of peace. The agreement between Hadrian and Chosroës was on the whole well kept. It seems, moreover, that at this time the feudatories were less troublesome—less disposed to advance their own claims to independence—than they had been during the preceding half century. In only one instance was the peace of the Empire under Volagases II. seriously broken. At this time a certain Pharasmanes, king of the Iberians, had become in his own esteem an important personage in Western Asia. Himself a feudatory of Rome, he dared to treat Hadrian and his authority with contempt. Towards Volagases he held a similar insolent attitude. At length he instigated the barbarous nation of the Alani to pass the Caucasus and plunder Cappadocia and Atropatêné. The first of these States belonged to Rome; the other, to Parthia. Volagases found cause to complain to Hadrian of the conduct of his vassal. The Roman governor Arrian soon drove the Alani out of Cappadocia, but neglected to expel them from Atropatêné. The Parthian king for his part—being no warrior—was constrained at length to purchase the retirement of the barbarians with much gold.

Volagases reigned until A. D. 149. Hadrian had died eleven years previously. The latter was succeeded in the Imperial dignity by Titus Aurelius, first of the Antonines. Soon after his accession, a passing gust of ill feeling was created between the two Empires by the attempt of the Parthian king to recover the golden throne of his ancestors which Trajan had captured in Ctesiphon and sent home to Rome. It was claimed by the Parthians that the amicable relations now existing between the East and the West warranted and demanded the surrender of the trophy. But neither Hadrian nor his successor was willing to give it up.

As for the Parthian succession, that fell to VOLAGASES III., son of the late king. He was destined to the longest reign which had ever

yet occurred in the annals of the Arsacid kings. At the beginning of his reign his ambitions incited him to hostility with Rome. He made preparation for a war, but a remonstrance and rebuke from Antoninus Pius prevented the outbreak. Nevertheless the Parthian cherished his purpose, and in A. D. 161 he began a war by invading Armenia. The Parthians had never been satisfied with the protectorate of Rome over that country. They had always sought, when the opportunity was present, to restore their influence by establishing on the Armenian throne a prince of the Arsacidæ, to the end that the two countries should be and remain in political and military sympathy.

An opportunity to reässert the ancient claim was afforded by the death of the first Antoninus and the accession of his son, the justly celebrated Marcus Aurelius. The Parthian king was successful in his Armenian campaigns, and a certain Tigranes, his kinsman, was made king. Hereupon Severianus, prefect of Cappadocia, accepted the challenge, and marched against the Parthians. Crossing the Euphrates, he was met, near Elegeia, by the army of the king, was driven into the city, besieged, and in a short time destroyed with all his forces. The Parthians now assumed the offensive, and made a great campaign into Syria and Palestine. Such high-handed proceedings roused great animosity at Rome, and an army under command of Lucius Verus, brother of the Emperor, was sent at once to the East. On his arrival in Asia, terms of accommodation were offered to the Parthians, but were rejected with scorn. The lieutenants of Verus then threw forward the army from Antioch, and in A. D. 163 Volagases was routed in the battle of Europus.

Meanwhile, a revulsion took place in Armenia. Statius Priscus and other generals of the Roman army marched into that country, and Tigranes was driven from the throne. It could not be expected that after thus hurling back the Parthians into their own country the Romans would forbear to follow up their successes with invasion. Cassius received from the Emperor the appointment of Captain-general, with instructions, or at least permission, to carry the war into Parthia. The advance was begun under favorable auspices, and a battle was fought at Sura, in Mesopotamia, in which the Romans were victorious. Cassius then advanced on the great city of Seleucia, which he besieged, took, and destroyed. Ctesiphon met the same fate. The king, his government and his army were obliged to fall back into the interior. Media was overrun by the conquerors, and for the time it seemed that a greater than Antonius or Trajan had come.

At the crisis of the war, however, when it seemed that the Parthian Empire was about to be overthrown, a strange and terrible pestilence broke out in the Roman army, and the soldiers began to die by hundreds and thousands. Superstition contrived for the malady a supernatural origin. It was said that a cell in one of the temples at Seleucia had been broken open by the soldiers, and that a spirit of death had issued forth to punish the sacrilege. Terror and disease combined to ruin the expedition. The army receded from Asia into Europe, spreading the pestilence in its wake. Only a few of the soldiers survived, and Italy was so greatly infected as to lose a large percentage of her population.

Thus in disaster ended the most successful campaign—so far as its military progress was concerned—which the Romans had ever made into Parthia. It would appear that the Parthians were not foolish enough to underrate the injury which they had suffered. They were intelligent enough to perceive that the pestilence rather than their own valor had saved the Empire from conquest and perhaps disruption. Volagases, therefore, was satisfied to have peace by the cession to Rome of the province of Osrhoëne, which remained henceforth a part of the Roman dominion. Parthia was obliged to accept the humiliation. Her two great cities had been leveled to the ground. Her army was no longer able to contend with the legions of Rome, even when the latter were commanded by lieutenants. Civil contention had tended powerfully to weaken the monarchy. The method of mutual assassination among the Arsacid princes had prevailed so long as to become a precedent of

political action. More than all, the vice of race had prevented the emergence of the people into the higher forms of civilization. Neither literature nor art had appeared with its regenerating influence to renew, vivify, and enlighten the nation. It would seem that the spirit of Volagases himself was humbled or broken. After the destruction of his capital, he reigned for fully a quarter of a century, but gave little sign of those ambitions which had fired the energies of his youth. Only in a single instance did there appear a likelihood of the renewal of war with the Roman Empire. Cassius, great in the recollection of his Asiatic campaign, became an insurgent in Syria, where he was in command, and in the year A. D. 174 proclaimed himself Emperor in that country. Between him and Volagases hostilities were imminent, when the Roman army out of Europe arrived in Syria, and the revolt of Cassius was put down with a strong hand. The Roman Emperor, always inclined to peace, readily accepted the overtures which were now made by the Parthian king, and the long existing amicable relations between the two Powers were fully restored.

PARTHIAN CAPTIVES BEFORE MARCUS AURELIUS.

With the death of Marcus Aurelius, in the year A. D. 180, the Roman throne went to his son Commodus, infamous in the annals of the Empire. Volagases survived his contemporary for eleven years, dying in the year 191, and bequeathing his crown to his son VOLAGASES IV.

The reader of history will readily recall the course of events at this epoch in the West. Commodus was murdered, and the Imperial throne was presently claimed by several competitors. In the East, Pescennius Niger set up his banner and claimed the diadem. In the West, Severus was acknowledged at Rome. Other claimants arose in the persons of Albinus and Julianus. When Niger perceived that he must take by the sword the crown to which he aspired, he sought the aid of the Parthian king. The latter was wary of the proposed alliance. One of his dependents, however, the satrap of Hatra, joined his fortunes with the Roman pretender, and sent to

him a body of troops. On the whole, however, the Parthian nations were disposed to take advantage of the civil war in the West, and to expel the Romans from Mesopotamia. They seized the places which had been occupied for generations by Roman garrisons, and demanded that all Europeans should retire from the country.

Meanwhile, Severus triumphed over his enemies, and at once undertook to restore the Imperial authority beyond the Euphrates. This work was accomplished with comparative ease. Not only was Mesopotamia overrun, but Adiabênê was entered and occupied. By the time this work was accomplished, however, namely, in the summer of A. D. 195, a new complication had arisen in Italy, and Severus was obliged to hurry to the West.

It was hoped by Volagases IV. and his subjects that the retirement was final, and hostilities were immediately renewed. Not only in Adiabêné, but in Mesopotamia also, the Roman garrisons were attacked and either destroyed or expelled from the country. Syria was entered and terrorized; but Severus had by this time restored order in the West, and hastily returned to prosecute the Eastern war. The Parthians were hurled from Syria. In A. D. 197 a Roman army was sent into Armenia, and the protectorate of the Empire over that province was reëstablished. The Parthian king had a personal conference with Severus, and gave his sons into the hands of the Emperor as hostages.

It seems, however, that the Parthian king was no longer able to control the destinies of his Empire. The Mesopotamian provinces and cities were hostile to the Romans, and Severus had to send detachments of his army to bring them into subjection. One after another the hostile parts were invaded and subdued. Ctesiphon, which had in the mean time been rebuilt and reëstablished as the capital, was the next object of attack. The Romans carried the city by assault, and Volagases saved himself from capture by fleeing into the interior. The city was plundered by the invaders, and a great part of the inhabitants put to the sword. Again it appeared that the Parthian Empire was at the verge of extinction; but the supplies of the Roman army failed, and it became necessary for the Emperor to retire. In doing so he sought to take, *en route*, the city of Hatra. But in this project he was unsuccessful. The Parthians rallied, and Severus found it expedient to retire into Syria. In this case, however, the Parthians did not pursue. The damage done to Volagases and his Empire had been so great that he did not dare to follow his retiring antagonist. Severus remained in the East until the year A. D. 201, having in the interval restored order in all the countries to the limits of the Roman Empire.

As for Volagases IV., his reign extended to the year 209, while that of Severus continued for two years longer. It was the misfortune of the Parthian sovereign to leave a disputed succession. His sons Artabanus and Volagases contended for the crown. It is believed that *both* of these princes reigned as contemporaries in different parts of the Empire. But VOLAGASES V. was displaced about 216 A. D., and the sole dominion remained to ARTABANUS IV. The latter was recognized as king by the Romans.

In the West, Caracalla succeeded his father Severus in the year 211. At that time civil war existed in Parthia between the two brothers who were contending for the crown. The new Roman Emperor was ambitious, from the day of his accession, of winning fame by war, and since the opportunity did not offer in the West, he turned his attention to Asia. Not satisfied with having Osrhoëne reduced to a Roman province, he sought to bring the ancient and oft-disputed kingdom of Armenia into like relation with the Empire. He managed by treachery to seize the Armenian king and his family, whereupon the subjects of the captive monarch took up arms. Fighting with desperation, they succeeded in winning a victory over the Roman lieutenant who was sent to subdue them.

Nevertheless, Caracalla continued his exactions and oppressions, and sought a quarrel with the Parthian king. He himself went to Antioch, and established there his capital. Soon afterwards he opened with the Parthian monarch negotiations of an extraordinary kind.

The student of Roman history is well aware of the desperate character of Caracalla, and is prepared to expect all manner of treachery at his hands. In nothing, however, was the deep-seated perfidy of his nature more fully revealed than in the transaction in which he now engaged with Artabanus IV. He sent an embassy to that sovereign bearing a letter in which the Roman traversed at length the relations existing between the two Empires, and ended by asking the Parthian to give him his daughter in marriage. By this means the two great Powers of Europe and Asia would be united in a common destiny. The surrounding barbarian nations could be easily reduced by war, and thus the two great Powers of Europe and Asia be brought under a single scepter.

The Parthian king was staggered by this astounding proposal, but seeing that war was intended in case of a refusal, he first temporized and then yielded to the demand. The Roman Emperor hereupon set out in great state, with a strong military force, to visit the Parthian capital and receive his bride. On arriving at Ctesiphon he was received with corresponding pomp in the plain before the city. But while the ceremonies were preparing, and the conference of the sovereigns no more than begun, a signal was given, and the Roman soldiers rose with drawn swords upon the Parthians. The latter were butchered by thousands. The king himself barely escaped the common fate. Ctesiphon was taken and plundered, and the Romans, laden with spoils, set out on the return through Babylonia. On the way Caracalla directed his march through the ancient necropolis of the Parthian nobility at Arbela. Here the Romans paused and tore open and ravaged the tombs. Thence they continued the march to Edessa, where the Emperor established himself for the winter of 216–17. In the following spring he made preparations to renew his barbarous and wanton war, but in April of this year he was assassinated in the temple of the Moon-god, at Carrhæ.

So far as Caracalla possessed the right to the Imperial diadem of Rome, the same was now transferred to Macrinus, who to the vices of his predecessor added a cowardice of his own. He would fain have come to an accommodation with the Parthians, but the latter were now angered to desperation. In the negotiations that followed Artabanus made such demands as could not be accepted even by a poltroon. Macrinus was accordingly obliged to put forth his army and take the hazard of battle. The hostile forces came together near the city of Nisibis, at this time the metropolis of Mesopotamia. Here the

SACK OF CTESIPHON BY THE ROMANS.

question was finally decided whether the power of Rome should be extended over the Great Plateau of Iran, or whether the line of demarkation which Augustus had pointed out should remain as the *thus-far* of Roman domination in the East.

Both armies as they came together were at their best; but the Parthians were the more ably commanded. The battle began with a local struggle between divisions of the two forces for the possession of a stream which was to furnish water. A hard-fought engagement terminated indecisively, and the armies rested for the night. On the following morning the conflict was renewed, and all day long the battle raged with fury. One division of the Parthian army was composed of a body

of soldiers mounted on camels, and armed with long spears against which it was difficult for the Romans to stand. In falling back, however, they sowed the ground with *tribuli*, which, piercing the camels' feet, ended the charge. Again night came on with the battle undecided.

On the third day, however, the Parthians began to gain. Their cavalry wings were extended right and left, and seemed to envelop the legions. These were obliged to thin ranks in order to confront the enemy. Hereupon, by rapid evolution, the Parthians concentrated their forces, charged after their furious manner, and drove the Romans from the field. The latter sought safety in their camp, and were in peril of destruction. But the Parthians, as well as their foe, had suffered enormous losses, and when Macrinus opened negotiations, Artabanus was willing to grant more liberal terms than might have been expected from such a victor on such a field. He, however, demanded and received a sum equal to about seven and a-half million dollars as an indemnity for the injuries inflicted on his people and provinces.

Such was the end of a conflict which had extended through nearly three centuries of time. The Romans and the Parthians fought no more battles. Of all the outlying countries of Europe or Asia, only the Parthian Empire had been able to interpose an immovable bulwark against the aggressive ambitions of the race of Romulus. It might well appear that now, when the conflict had been finally decided against the Romans by the sword—when the Emperor Macrinus himself had been obliged to fly from the field of Nisibis in order to save his life—the Parthians would revive from their depression and enter upon a new career of development. Destiny, however, had written it otherwise. That which a foreign enemy had been unable to accomplish was now to be brought about by internal violence. Through the whole history of the Empire, the disruptive forces had been at work. The provinces had been held together with the greatest difficulty. Time and again we have referred to the fact that no stronger political tie than the Feudal principle had been discovered wherewith to bind the nations and peoples, brought under a single dominion by Mithridates, into one great community, having common interests and common conditions of life. This circumstance was the element of weakness which had ever menaced the stability of the Empire, and out of this was now to spring the great catastrophe by which the Parthian dominion was to be subverted.

It remained for Persia—that is Persia Proper—to become the agent of disruption. The reader will remember that it was under the auspices of Persia that the former great Empire had been created on the Iranian Plateau. With the conquest of Alexander, the ancient Power was destroyed, and Persia became a tributary kingdom in the new dominion established by the Arsacidæ. It appears that the Persian kings had had, during the Parthian ascendency, a show of respect, a degree of importance, which might not be paralleled among the other feudatories of the Empire.

There were, however, serious causes of discontent among the Persians. The tradition of their old-time glory, the memory of the deeds of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis still lingered among the people. Outside of the Greek cities no other province of the Empire was comparable with Persia in culture and refinement. The ancient religious faith tended to pride of race and contempt for the Pagan States. The Imperial Government had for several centuries pursued a tolerant policy in matters of religion, granting no exclusive favors to any particular faith. This policy was a matter of great grief to the Persian Magi, who had all the haughtiness and bigotry of Asiatic Pharisees. To be placed on a level with the servants of the other gods of the Parthian Empire was a thing intolerable to the Persians of the ancient sacerdotal order. The secular offices within the limits of Persia were generally filled by Parthians as against the claims of native warriors and statesmen. Notwithstanding their great lineage and glorious history, the Persians were unable to see that they enjoyed any advantages—civil, religious, or social—over the rude and half-civilized nations of the Northern provinces. The reasons for

rebellion were thus deep-seated in the constitution and history of the State, and nothing but opportunity was wanting for a great insurrection.

At the time of the battle of Nisibis the under-king of Persia bore the famous name of Artaxerxes. He appears to have been a man of extraordinary ambitions and great force of character. It is believed that he was himself a Magus, profoundly instructed in the mysteries of the ancient faith, and deeply devoted to the religion of his countrymen. It were impossible to tell, in the absence of contemporary evidences, the precise motives by which the Persian king was influenced in raising the standard of revolution. Certain it is that one of the leading impulses of the rebellion was the hoped-for restoration of the ancient Zoroastrian faith, which had for so long a period been reduced to the level of a pagan cult. But we may well believe that the Persian under-king was influenced in hazarding his fortunes on the issue of civil war by political and warlike ambitions, as well as by his religious zeal. He perceived in the Parthian situation a great opportunity. A pretender to the Imperial crown, named Volagases V., had appeared in the field. He claimed to be a representative of the Arsacid dynasty, and was not without a considerable support in different provinces. It is believed, moreover, that Hyrcania had already fallen away from its allegiance to the Empire. Many other circumstances, the nature of which it is difficult, after so great a lapse of time, to apprehend, were doubtless potential in exciting and directing the revolutionary movement which now broke out in Persia, under the leadership of Artaxerxes. To him it now remained, in the same year of the final repulse of the Romans, to raise the standard of successful revolt against Artabanus.

It would seem that Artabanus had suffered so greatly from his recent Roman wars with Commodus, Caracalla, and Macrinus, as to be unable to bring into the field against the revolted country an army of sufficient strength and resources for the work. At any rate, when the two forces—the insurrectionary on the one side, and the Imperial on the other—came together on the plain of Hormuz, the king's army was beaten in battle, routed, and driven to the four winds. Artabanus himself was slain, and the victory of the Persians was so complete that there was little hope of reviving the national cause. Some of the Arsacid princes sought to restore the fortunes of their House, and desultory fighting continued through another year; but the army of Artaxerxes triumphed more and more, and he was soon enabled to compel the last representative of the ancient dynasty to submit to his will. Thus by conquest and a complete reversion of political relations was the Empire founded by Arsaces, and developed and defended by the great kings of the second century B. C., crowded to the precipice, and hurled down into darkness and oblivion.

The causes of the subversion of the Parthian Power are easily discoverable, even from the rapid survey here presented of the history of the Empire. In the first place, the existence of feudalism in its Asiatic form had prevented the complete union of the many provinces and dependencies constituting the Imperial dominions. Time and again we have pointed out the disastrous results of the loose confederative system on which the Empire was founded. The different peoples thus vaguely combined under a single government retained too great a measure of independence and sovereignty for the welfare and stability of the central administration. The feudatories never coälesced to the extent of forming a consolidated union. The Empire was merely a league of States ranging in character from half-barbaric to civilized and refined. Over these difficulties of government a common language, common institutions, and a common spirit could not well prevail.

In the next place, the family of the Arsacidæ branched out into subordinate sovereignties, any one of which might aspire to the hegemony of the Empire. The Arsacid princes, in the second century B. C., felt no longer the strong tie of kindred. They were not sufficiently advanced in statesmanship to understand that the interests of each were subordinate to the interests of the dynasty as a whole. The diverse motherhood of the princes often aggra-

vated the existing condition; for when have the two mothers of the sons of a common father forborne to quarrel and hate and murder in the supposed interest of their own offspring?

Doubtless, moreover, there was, to a certain extent, a dynastic decay in the Arsacid family; but this was little noticeable in the general condition at the beginning of the third century. Artabanus fought valiantly, and was victorious over the Romans. Even after him Prince Artavasdes, who sought to shore up the falling monarchy, struggled hard to sustain the fortunes of his House. But the effort was in vain, and the Empire went down headlong to ruin, under the impact of the Persian Rebellion.

In the course of the present Book the reader's attention has been carried forward from the time of the destruction of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great to the overthrow of the last of the Arsacid kings, and the revival of the Persian Power under Artaxerxes Ardishir, founder of the Sassanian Dynasty. He is now asked to retrace his course to the point of view which he occupied at the beginning; to stand again on the field of Arbela; to note from that point of observation the conquerors rather than the conquered; to cast his eye to the far West in the direction from which those conquerors came—to Macedonia, to the Ægean archipelago, to the main-land of ancient Hellas—and to take up, as his next great lesson in the progress of human history, the story of those Hellenic peoples, to whom, without reserve, the heroic praise may be accorded of the most intellectual, the most witty, the most fascinating, the most artistic, and the most poetic race of men.

FRIEZE OVER DOORWAY OF TEMPLE, HATRA. (After Ross.)

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SPORTS OF GREEK GIRLS.

Book Eighth.

GREECE.

CHAPTER XXXVI.—THE COUNTRY.

GREECE, the eastermost of the three peninsulas which from the south of Europe drop into the Mediterranean, was in her palmy days the scene of the most extraordinary activities ever displayed by the human race. The name GREECE was not given to the country by the Greeks themselves, by whom the land was immemorially called HELLAS, and themselves HELLENES. The words Greece and Greeks were brought into use by the writers of Rome, who for some reason adopted the name of the petty tribe called the *Græci* as an appellative of the whole race.

A sketch of a land so noted as Hellas can hardly fail of interest. The country lies between parallels thirty-six and forty of north latitude, and the meridians twenty-one and twenty-six of longitude east from Greenwich. The length of the peninsula from Mount Olympus to the southernmost cape is two hundred and fifty miles, and the breath from Attica to Acarnania one hundred and eighty miles. The area—though difficult of exact determination—may be fairly estimated at thirty-four thousand square miles—a district but little larger than the State of Indiana; but this estimate does not include the many Greek islands, proximate or more remote from the main-land, which, inhabited by the same race and running the same course in history, might well be included in the aggregate measurement.

The peninsula is sharply defined on the north by the OLYMPIAN and CAMBUNIAN mountains. These have a general course from east to west, and extend from the Thermaic gulf to the promontory of Acroceraunia, on the Adriatic. But the country lying south of this range includes not only Greece Proper but also Epirus on the west. The transverse range, which constitutes the fundamental fact in the geological structure of the peninsula, is called the PINDUS, which, starting from the southern slope of Olympus, stretches southward, and dividing and branching and sinking in elevation, straggles through the Isthmus and finally terminates in the cape or headland of Tænarus. Epirus and Thessaly in the north are thus divided by a lofty chain.

On the east side of Pindus, below Thessaly, the spur-range of OTHRYS strikes off to the

coast, thus inclosing between itself and Olympus the Thessalian Plain. Further to the south the range called Œta departs to the east and reaches the sea at the Eubœan strait. At the eastern extreme of this elevation is the pass of Thermopylæ. From the branching off of Œta the Pindus chain begins to divide. One range stretches to the south-west across Ætolia, and descends to the level at the Gulf of Corinth. The other branch runs to the south-east, and numbers among its heights the famous peaks of Parnassus, Helicon, Cithæron, Ægaleus, and Hymettus. In Peloponnesus the descending heads of Pindus are known by the names of Olenus, Panachaicus, Pholoë, Erymanthus, Lycæus, Parrhasius, and Taygetus. It only remains to note that the eastern prolongation of Olympus is known as Ossa and Pelion. The range here drops away to the south-east of Thessaly, and after disappearing under the sea rises in the ridge of Eubœa, and then breaks into the Cyclades, of which Andros, Tenos, Myconos, Naxos, and many others are but the uplifted heads of submerged mountains. Taken all in all, Greece is, in respect of geological formation, one of the most mountainous countries in the world. The so-called "chains" which traverse the region south of Olympus are scarcely chains at all, but rather a mass of elevations branching off laterally and turning from their course until the whole land seems but a multitude of heights, promiscuously arranged, not very aspiring, sinking in green slopes to the level of the surrounding seas.

In such a country lakes and small rivers are likely to abound. Of the latter the Grecian streams most noted are, first, the Peneius, which drains the plain of Thessaly, and, carrying a considerable volume of water, makes its way between Ossa and Olympus into the Ægean sea. Next may be mentioned the Acheloös, which, taking its rise on the slopes of Pindus, divides Ætolia from Acarnania and falls into the sea of Ionia. The third is the Euenuus, also a stream from the side of Pindus, making its way into the same sea at a more easterly point of the coast. In Bœotia the two rivers are the Cephisus and the Asopus, neither of much importance, scarcely maintaining a flow of water during the summer. Through the state of Elis flows the Alpheius, which also drains Arcadia, being of a more respectable volume. In Messenia the principal stream is the Pamisus, which, though small, is perennial. Near Argos flows the Inachus, and Attica is watered by the Cephisus and the Ilissus, both scant in waters and by no means justifying the descriptions and poetical enthusiasm of the ancients.

Of these rivers the only one that carries down to its mouth a noticeable quantity of fertilizing material is the Acheloüs, which in high water lays a fair deposit on the valley-lands near the Ionian sea. A great majority of the streams which the Attic patriots honored with the name of "rivers" are little more than brooks, dry to the bottom during the hot months of summer.

Lakes, also, are a necessity of the conformation of the country. In many localities are natural basins compassed with hills, and in such situations, unless nature has provided a subterranean outlet, the waters gather, forming a marsh or lake. Of these there are two in Thessaly, the Nessonis and the Bœbeïs, both of considerable size. In the region between the rivers Acheloüs and Euenus lies Lake Trichonis, which appears to have been a more extensive body of water in ancient than in modern times. In Bœotia the river Cephisus forms, in one part of its course, an extensive marsh called Copaïs, and lakes Hylike and Harma are also found in the same state. The Copaïs is drained by a famous natural subterraneous channel known as the Katabothra, through which the overplus of waters found a way to the other side of the hills. Many other examples are found in different parts of Greece, especially in Peloponnesus, of a like contrivance of nature for the escape of confined bodies of water. The calcareous limestone of which the hills are mostly composed was specially favorable to the formation of such passages.

For the coast-line of Greece the geography of the world can scarcely present a parallel. Around the whole extent of the peninsula there seems to have been a war between sea and land as to which should more impenetrate

MAP IV.
ANCIENT GREECE.
From Thalheimer's Ancient History, by permission.
Scale of Miles.
50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 mls.
A. VON STEINWEHR, DEL.
Aegean Sea
Ionian Sea
Sea of Crete
Propontis
Thessalia
Epirus
Macedonia
Thrace
Peloponnesus
Lydia
Caria
Lycia
Pisidia
Phrygia
Mysia
Troas
Aeolis
Bithynia
Crete
Rhodus
Lesbos
Lemnos
Thasos
Samothrace
Euboea
Corcyra
Cephallenia
Ithaca
Zacynthus
Leucas
Paxus
Cythera
Melos I.
Siphnos I.
Seriphos I.
Paros
Naxos
Andros I.
Tenos I.
Gyaros
Myconus
Icaria I.
Delos I.
Patmos
Leros
Calymna
Cos
Syros I.
Cythnos I.
Amorgos
Astypalaea
Ios
Thera I.
Carpathus I.
Posidium
Lindus
Ialysus
Camirus
Cnidus
Telos
Chersonesus
Rhodia
Halicarnassus
Cerasus
Myndus
Miletus
Samos
Ephesus
Magnesia
Alabanda
Mylasa
Cibyra
Laodicea
Colossae
Apamea Cibotus
Celaenae
Eumenia
Synnada
Dorylaeum
Cotiaeum
Abassus
Mordiaeum
Philadelphia
Sardes
Magnesia
Smyrna
Clazomenae
Erythrae
Chios
Teos
Colophon
Ephesus
Phocaea
Aegae
Larisa
Pitane
Gambrium
Pelopia
Gordus
Atarneus
Pergamus
Myrina
Lesbos
Methymna
Antissa
Sigrium
Cisthene
Coryphantis
Adramyttium
Gulf of Adramyttium
Antandrus
Dardanus
Scepsis
Chryse
Tenedos
Troy (Ruins)
Scamander R.
Mt. Ida
Abydus
Lampsacus
Sestus
Limnae
Imbros
Paesus
Parium
Cyzicus
Proconnesus
Besbicus I.
Heraclea
Ganos
Perinthus
Selymbria
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Nicaea
Nicomedia
Libyssa
Astacus
Apollonia
Oricum
Amantia
Phoenice
Dodona
Torone
Elpheus
Ambracia
Nicopolis
Actium
Gulf of Ambracia
Gulf of Corinth
Gulf of Torone
Gulf of Singus
Gulf of Strymon
Gulf of Therma
Gulf of Pagasae
Gulf of Malea
Gulf of Argos
Gulf of Messenia
Gulf of Laconia
Gulf of Cos
Gulf of Ceramus
Gulf of Iasus
Gulf of Hermus
Gulf of Smyrna
Gulf of Adramyttium
Gulf of Saros
Gulf of Melas
Gulf of Lysimachia
Gulf of Nicomedia
Gulf of Astacus
Gulf of Nicaea
Gulf of Chrysopolis
Gulf of Byzantium
Gulf of Chalcedon
Gulf of Heraclea
Gulf of Ganos
Gulf of Perinthus
Gulf of Selymbria
Gulf of Thasos
Gulf of Strymonian B.
Gulf of Therma
Gulf of Pagasae
Gulf of Torone
Gulf of Singus
Gulf of Malea
Gulf of Argos
Gulf of Messenia
Gulf of Laconia
Gulf of Cos
Gulf of Ceramus
Gulf of Iasus
Gulf of Hermus
Gulf of Smyrna
Gulf of Adramyttium
Gulf of Saros
Gulf of Melas
Gulf of Lysimachia
Gulf of Nicomedia
Gulf of Astacus
Gulf of Nicaea
Gulf of Chrysopolis
Gulf of Byzantium
Gulf of Chalcedon
Gulf of Heraclea
Gulf of Ganos
Gulf of Perinthus
Gulf of Selymbria
Gulf of Thasos
Gulf of Strymonian B.

the other. All the way around, from the Thermaïc Gulf to the borders of Epirus, is an almost continued succession of peninsulas and bays. Sometimes, as in the case of the great island Eubœa, the sea is completely victorious, and a portion of the shore is cut off by straits and channels. Again, as on the west of Peloponnesus, the land for a distance presents a tolerably regular outline of coast. Notably, however, near the middle—in the waist, as it were, of her body—is Greece almost divided. Here, on the east the Saronic Gulf running up under Attica, and on the west the Gulf of Corinth, press inland towards each other until only a narrow barrier of rocky isthmus remains between. So nearly does Peloponnesus come to being an island. Thus by a long and infinitely varied coast-line was laid in nature the antecedent of the maritime supremacy of the Greeks.

The general division into a NORTHERN, a CENTRAL, and a SOUTHERN GREECE is most obviously marked in the geographical features of the peninsula. The part of the country which lies between the Corinthian Gulf and the Olympian mountains is subdivided into two parts by the approximation of the Ambracian and Maliac gulfs. A line drawn from the one to the other constitutes the lower, as the fortieth parallel constitutes the upper, boundary of Northern Greece. From the line of the two gulfs to the Isthmus of Corinth is Central Greece; while Southern Greece is obviously conterminous with the Peloponnesus.

It will be seen at a glance that the northern division of the country, as here defined, includes Thessaly and Epirus, but excludes Macedonia. The latter is a country of highlands, entirely different in characteristics from the regions lying to the south. It consists in large part of circular valleys hemmed in by ranges of hills, with few slopes towards the sea; while, on the other hand, Greece Proper, though mountainous to the extent of secluding in a great measure the districts from each other, tends in nearly all parts to the shore.

It will readily be inferred, from the geographical conditions here presented, that the climate of Greece is exceedingly varied. Such is true to an astonishing degree. Beginning at the north, next the range of Olympus, and proceeding to the south, first into the valleys of Central Greece and thence into Peloponnesus, there is presented to the traveler almost every variety of atmospheric condition. The general aspect of nature changes like the scenes of a panorama, until almost every disposition and hue of her wealth, and even of her caprice, has been displayed.

Passing from Northern to Central Greece, a new order of structure is observed. The landscape becomes more complex. The mountains in many parts fall into hilly ranges. The country is described by Curtius as "so manifoldly broken up that it becomes a succession of peninsulas connected with one another by isthmuses." In the western part, Mount Tymphrestus rises to a height of more than seven thousand feet, and the range of Parnassus reaches a still greater elevation in the eastern portion of the peninsula.

In Peloponnesus still greater changes are observed. Here, around a kind of center in the state of Arcadia, arise high bulwarks with spurs projecting from every slope into the surrounding districts—Messenia, Laconia, Argolis. Some of the scenery is Alpine in its wildness. The eye is surprised in every part by striking landscapes, secluded spots of beauty, marvelous contrasts of hill and wood and valley. It is, however, in considering the political divisions of Greece, that the marked local peculiarities of the land may be best presented.

Ancient Greece was divided into a multitude of states, the foundations of which were laid in nature. In other countries lines have been drawn, for mere convenience of government, between province and province. In Greece the lines were laid when the peninsula was thrown into form. Beginning next the Olympian range we have in Northern Greece the two extensive states of THESSALY and EPIRUS. They are, as already said, divided from each other by the range of Pindus. The former is the largest political division of all Greece. It lies from north to south between the Cambunian mountains and

Thermopylæ, and stretches east and west from the Pindus slope to the Ægean. The greater part of the country is a plain, which, at its north-easternmost extremity, is broken by the Vale of Tempe, celebrated from remote antiquity as one of the most lovely spots of earth, a sylvan solitude, a chosen haunt of Apollo. The Thessalian plain was the largest productive district in Greece, and was greatly prized for its agricultural resources. It was thought by the inhabitants to have been in former times the bed of a lake, having its outflow through the Peneus, whose sinking channel gradually drained it into the sea. Thessaly was subdivided into four provinces, known by the names of Thessalaotis, Hestiæotis, Pelasgiotis, and Phthiotis — a division retained until a late date in Grecian history.

Epirus was in geographical position most remote, in extent second, and in character most barbarous of all the states of Greece. It was bounded on the east by Pindus, on the north by Illyria, on the west by the Ionian sea, and on the south by Ætolia, Arcarnania, and the Ambracian Gulf. Its two rivers were the Acheron and the Cocytus. The country was rugged and less attractive than most of the other states, and was by the Greeks themselves regarded as a kind of foreign region inhabited by people of another race. The things for which Epirus was most noted was Dodona with her oaks and the ancient oracle of Jupiter; Canope and Buthrotum, with their harbors; Ambracia, the capital of King Pyrrhus; and Nicopolis, built by Augustus Cæsar, in commemoration of his victory at Actium. The Epirotes had some share in the stirring history of Greece, but are generally disparaged by the Greek historians.

Passing into Central Greece, we find in the eastern half the states of Doris, Phocis, Locris, Malis, Bœotia, Attica, and Megaris; and in the western half Acarnania, Ætolia, and Ozolian Locris. Doris was in the heart of the country, and was the smallest state of all Greece. It was bounded on the east by Phocis, on the south by Ozolian Locris, on the west by Ætolia, and on the north by Malis. To the westward rose Mount Œta. The whole district was mountainous, and it was not in nature that it should contain a great civilization. Nevertheless, the part which the Dorians played in Grecian history was sufficiently conspicuous to make their country an object of interest.

The state of Phocis was bounded on the north by Locris, on the east by Bœotia, on the south by the Corinthian Gulf, and on the west by Ozolian Locris. At one point it reached the brine, in the channel of Eubœa, and possessed the harbor of Daphnus. The surface of the country is exceedingly mountainous, being traversed by the range of Parnassus. South of this chain are several fertile districts, the most extensive being the plain of Crissæa. The principal river is the Cephissus, which in a considerable part of its course forms an exuberant valley. The most striking of the local interests which, during the Grecian ascendency, and indeed ever since, have attracted the attention of mankind, were the city and oracle of Delphi, the latter being the most famous seat of alleged inspiration in the world.

Locris, in the most ancient times, extended across the entire peninsula from the Corinthian gulf to the strait of Eubœa. By the encroachments of the Phocians and the Dorians, however, the state was cut in two, the central part being appropriated by the conquerors. The Locrians were thus confined to two narrow districts, both maritime; the eastern or Locris Proper, lying upon the strait, and the western or Ozolian Locris, being on the gulf of Corinth. The former extended along the coast from the Pass of Thermopylæ to the mouth of the Cephissus; and had the same general character as Phocis, which bounded it on the south. The Ozolian Locris, bordering the gulf, was a rugged and somewhat barren country, one of the poorest in Central Greece. The name Ozolæ, or *Stinkards*, was given to the people from the fetid odors of the sulphur springs which abounded in several parts. The principal towns were Naupactus and Eupalium.

The small state of Malis is sometimes omitted from the political geography of Greece, but should be included. It lay immediately north of Doris, and at the western

extreme of the Malian gulf. The little district so named produced no important effect upon the course of Grecian history, nor were there either Malian cities or citizens of such note as to attract the applause of their boisterous countrymen.

Not so, however, of the state of BŒOTIA. Bounded on one side by the channel of Eubœa and on the other by the Corinthian gulf, lying between Attica at the extreme of the peninsula and Phocis on the north-west, this country held a position in every way favorable for a large influence in the affairs of Greece. Geographically, Bœotia is a sort of basin, surrounded by the ranges of Cithæron and Parnes on the south, Helicon on the west, Parnassus on the north-west, and the Opuntian chain on the east. Within this basin lies Lake Copaïs, forty-seven miles in circumference, formed, as hitherto said, by the overflowing of the river Cephissus; also the plain of Thebes, and the valley of Asopus.

Of all the Grecian commonwealths the most important was ATTICA. The name means the *Shore* or *Coast*. The land so called was the extremity or foot of the long peninsula which constitutes the eastern part of Central Greece. In shape it is a triangle, bounded on the north-west by Bœotia, on the east by the Ægean, on the south-west by the Saronic gulf and Megaris. The area of the country is eight hundred and forty square miles, and yet in this small district were exhibited the most marvelous energies ever displayed by the human mind. In Attica several mountain ranges sink down to the coast. Several plains, as the Eleusinian, the Athenian, the Mesogæan, and the Paralian, intervene between the hill-ranges or along the shore. The first named contained the sacred city of Eleusis. The second was watered by the two principal rivers of Attica, the Cephissus and the Ilissus, both insignificant streams, sinking into dry beds in summer. Attica was the native seat of the Ionic race, and at a very early date attained a precedence among the Hellenic commonwealths, which she held alike by prowess in battle and the acuteness of her people.

From the instep of the Attican peninsula and extending across through a narrowing isthmus into Peloponnesus, was the little state of MEGARIS. The boundaries on the north were Attica and Bœotia; on the south, the sea; on the west, the Corinthian gulf. The whole area is but one hundred and forty-three square miles. The surface is rugged and hilly. The principal mountain is Cithæron, which rises on the border of Bœotia. Across the southern part of Megaris from sea to sea extends the Geranean chain, through which three passes afford land routes from Central Greece into Peloponnesus. The first is the Scironian pass close to the Saronic gulf, which is the direct road from Corinth to Athens. The second is near the Corinthian gulf, and leads from Peloponnesus into Bœotia. The third was about the center of the range, and as a thoroughfare had a less importance than the other two, which at their northern termini reached into the open country. Megaris contained but one small plain, and in that was situated the metropolis of the state. In the earliest times this district was considered a part of Attica, being then inhabited by Æolians and Ionians.

Passing into the western half of Central Greece, we come to ÆTOLIA, situated on the north shore of the gulf of Corinth. It was bounded on the east by Doris and Locris, and on the west by Acarnania. At its southern extremity it is divided by a narrow strait from Peloponnesus. On the north lay the district inhabited by the Dolopes. The principal river was a small stream called the Evenus, now the Fidhari. Ætolia was a rough region, larger than most of the states of Greece, but so little civilized as compared with those on the eastern shore as to perform but a minor part in Grecian history. Not until the times of Alexander did the Ætolians begin to display the energy of character for which their countrymen were so greatly distinguished afterwards.

The remaining Greek state north of the Corinthian gulf was ACARNANIA. On the east lay Ætolia, on the north the Ambracian gulf, on the west and south the Ionian sea. Like most of the other districts, the surface is mountainous, but presents considerable variety

of lake and valley and pasture. In character both the country and its inhabitants resembled Epirus with her half-savage tribes of semi-Grecians. The Acarnanians were for the most part a race of shepherds, who at times abandoned their pastures for the chase and war. At no time in their history—their peninsular position with the presence of good harbors seemed to suggest maritime enterprise—did they engage to any considerable extent in commercial pursuits. Like the Epirotes, they were somewhat contemptuously regarded by the more civilized states of the eastern coast, and were not much consulted in the great transactions of Grecian history.

PELOPONNESUS—meaning "the Island of King Pelops," by whom, according to tradition, the country was colonized—has an area of a little more than eight thousand square miles. It has the general shape of a maple leaf, the stem resting at Ægium, on the Gulf of Corinth. The country was divided politically into eleven states: Corinth, Sicyonia, Achaia, Elis, Arcadia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolis, Epidauria, Trœzenia, and Hermionis.

The first two, CORINTH and SICYONIA, were small districts on the east and west sides of the isthmus. They were so named from their principal cities, and embraced merely the surrounding plains and hills to the extent of a few hundred square miles of territory. In later times they were both regarded as included in the large state of ARGOLIS. EPIDAURIA, likewise, lying on the Saronic Gulf, was but the small district surrounding the city of Epidaurus, near the coast. This, too, was embraced in the territory of the Argives. The lower extreme of the same peninsula received the local name of HERMIONIS from the town of Hermione, which gave it its only importance.

The state of ACHAIA extended along the greater part of the northern coast of Peloponnesus, resting for sixty-five miles on the Corinthian Gulf. It was that part of the maple leaf which supported the stem. It had the general character of the other districts already described, being hilly and rugged, with occasional pastures intervening. The most important town was Patræ, which, under the name of Patras, is still known in Grecian geography. The country was first settled by the Ionians, but these were dispossessed by the Achæans, on the occasion of the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus.

ELIS lay on the Ionian Sea, from the promontory of Araxus to the river Neda. Its greatest breadth was thirty-five miles, and its area about one thousand square miles. The mountains in this western part of Southern Greece fall away in slopes to the sea, and Elis presents, for a country so limited in extent, a considerable amount of level land. The city of Elis occupied the largest plain, between the Alpheus and the Peneus rivers. The north-eastern portion, however, was as mountainous as any other district in the country.

ARCADIA was the only state of Southern Greece which had no sea-coast. Next to Laconia, it was the largest division of Peloponnesus, having an area of one thousand seven hundred square miles. Of all Greece this was the most picturesque region, nor would it be easy to find its parallel in the world. It was a country of mountains and forests and meadow-lands, fountains and water-brooks, glens and grottoes. Here rise Mounts Cyllene, Lycæus, and Erymanthus. Here the river Alpheus gathers its waters, and here Lake Stymphalis spreads its crystal sheet. Everywhere the eye is delighted with that endless vicissitude of beauty which never tires and never cloys. Without seaports, the country had no commercial enterprise.

The ancient inhabitants were Pelasgians, a race of rough shepherds and hunters, who were with difficulty transformed into more civilized conditions. They were, nevertheless, a peaceable, quiet tribe, given to music and dancing. It thus happened that in all polite languages of modern times the term "Arcadian" has come to signify either beauty of natural scenery or rusticity of manners. In the epoch of Greek heroism the inhabitants of this state became a brave and martial people, but none of their captains achieved in the field a great military fame. The four principal cities of Arcadia were Mantinea, Tegea, Archomenus, and Megalopolis, the

latter being built as a defense against the Spartans. The first three never rose to great importance, chiefly because of intestine disputes and quarrels, which, frequently amounting to violence, destroyed their prosperity.

To the south-west of Arcadia, washed on two sides by the sea, lay MESSENIA. Here, too, is a region of mountains. Only two plains of any importance are embraced within the territory. Of these the southern was called Macaria, meaning the *Blessed*, so named from its exuberance and beauty. Some of the valleys further inland are also exceedingly fertile, and the climate, being one of the mildest in the world, would have made life in this region present a benign aspect, but for the native boorishness of the original population and the oppressions of the Spartans.

Among the Messenian cities the principal were the seaport town of Pylos, Cyparissia, Corone, Methone, Abia, Deræ, Stenyclarus, and Messene, the capital. Besides these towns there were two important mountain fortresses, Ithome and Ira, the former being regarded as the stronghold of the nation. In the revolutions of the country the population of Messenia was twice transformed, first from Argives to Æolians, and then from Æolians to Dorians, who came in with the ascendency of their race in Peloponnesus. Messenia was in the course of her history the scene of some most heroic struggles, in which her own people and the Spartans were the principal actors.

LACONIA was the south-easternmost division of the ancient Peloponnesus. It was the largest state of Southern Greece, and, historically considered, by far the most important. It was bounded on the north by Arcadia and Argolis, on the east and south by the sea, on the west by the gulf and state of Messenia. At the lower extremity the country divides into two branching peninsulas, including between them the Gulf of Laconia, and terminating in the two capes of Tænarum and Malea, the most southern points of land in Europe. Within the limits of Arcadia the most important region is a long valley inclosed on three sides by mountain ranges and open on the south to the sea. There is thus prepared and fortified by nature that wonderful district in which Sparta had her native lair. Across the north of this valley stretch the Arcadian mountains, from which two ranges branching southward defend the two sides of the Spartan glen from almost every possibility of assault. These two lateral chains are known as Taygetus and Parnon, the former rising to the height of seven thousand nine hundred feet, and the latter to an elevation of six thousand three hundred and fifty feet. On the slopes of these mountains are forests of pine, evergreen, abounding in game, haunts of the huntress Diana. The valley is drained by the river Eurotas, famous in song and story. Into this stream smaller brooks, flowing down from the slopes of Taygetus and Parnon, pour their waters, forming an ever-increasing volume to the sea. On the banks of this river stood the invincible capital, known by its two names of LACEDÆMON and SPARTA—a town which has given to the valor of the world an imperishable epithet. A few others of smaller note were Amyclæ in the plain south of Sparta, the old residence of the Achæan kings; Helos, from which rose the Helots, situated on the gulf of Laconia; and Gythium, a naval station on the same coast. In the valley of the Eurotas there were considerable tracts of land susceptible of cultivation, but the soil was not sufficiently fertile to encourage husbandry.

The remaining state of Southern Greece was ARGOLIS, lying between the Argolic and Saronic gulfs. On the west it was bounded by Achaia and Arcadia; on the south the land-limit was Laconia. With the exception of the fertile plain of Argos the whole country is mountainous, some of the summits rising to the height of more than five thousand feet. Two small rivers, the Planitza and the Erasinus, are the only perennial streams. The coast is indented with many bays, rendering Argolis especially favorable to navigation and commerce. The state is one of the most ancient in the whole peninsula. In the earliest epochs of history the term Argive was often used synonymously with Greek, such usage extending even into the poems of Vergil. Argolis was divided into six petty king-

doms, Argos, Mycenæ, Tiryus, Trœzenia, Hermionis, and Epidaurus. By and by Argos became the leader, and absorbed all the rest. The names of these petty principalities, or rather of the cities which constituted their nuclei, will readily be recognized as those of the famous sites from which in our own day the antiquarian Schliemann has exhumed such priceless treasures illustrative of the history of the ancient Greeks. Argolis contains the larger portion of those marvelous ruins to which archæologists have given the name Cyclopean—a mass of huge walls of unhewn stone, laid without cement, said in legend to have been the work of the gigantic Cyclops, sons of Heaven and Earth.

Such, then, is a general sketch of the geography, physical and political, of ancient Greece. It will readily be seen that the country was formed for a multitude of segregated communities. In no other region of the world are the natural indications so deeply laid for petty states. The hills and mountains are just of such height and character as to break up all attempts at political centralization. Such a thing as unity was impossible in a race so situated. In many parts the people on opposite sides of a range were strangers for generations together. Local patriotism kindled a torch in every valley, and around its flame of light and heat were gathered the affections of a clan. Beyond the hill-tops there was nothing but distrust, aversion, hatred. It thus came to pass that the Greek communities were individualized to an extent unknown, perhaps impossible, among the great nations of the plain. In such a situation faction would prevail, politics become a profession, freedom the rule. The presence of a centralized despotism in ancient Greece would have been as much of an anomaly as a modern monarchy established among the solitude and snow-capped summits of the Swiss Alps.

It is not the place in this connection to do more than merely note the fact that in the broken and multiplex aspect and physical conditions of Greece were also laid the foundations of the wonderfully inflected mythology and matchless art of the race. The human mind here found itself under circumstances of such infinite variety that the interpretation and representation of nature flashed into forms as variable as the caprices of the kaleidoscope. Further on, considering the philosophy, mythology, and art of the Greeks, there will be necessarily a more amplified statement of these views. For the present it may suffice to add that in ancient Greece the conditions of beauty, whether in sky, or earth, or sea, were more abundant and intense than in any other country. The faculties and perceptions of the people were thus stimulated into a class of activities—the history, the poem, the oration, the subtle analysis of thought—in excess of what has been elsewhere accomplished even to the present time.

The traveler, the poet of to-day catches at once the indefinable charm which the bounty of nature has never withdrawn from the region between Olympus and the sea. Even the morose Childe Harold feels the warmth of a new inspiration under the cloudless heaven of Greece:

Yet are thy skies as blue, thy crags as wild;
Sweet are thy groves and verdant are thy fields,
Thine olive ripe as when Minerva smiled,
And still his honeyed wealth Hymettus yields;
There the blithe bee his fragrant fortress builds,
The freeborn wanderer of thy mountain air;
Apollo still thy long, long summer gilds,
Still in his beam Mendeli's marbles glare;
Art, glory, freedom fail, but Nature still is fair.

CHAPTER XXXVII.—THE PEOPLE.

AS already said in the preceding chapter, the people known as Greeks were by themselves called HELLENES—the descendants of Hellen, their ancestor. Though a primitive people, they were by no means as remote in their origin and development as were many nations of the East. Indeed, it is safe to say that the Hellenes were among the *younger* races who contributed to form the population of Old Europe, and that, as compared in age with the peoples of the Nile and Euphrates valleys, they were as of yesterday in their origin and development.

When the Phœnicians, themselves of Semitic descent, had peopled the eastern shore of the Mediterranean and begun their maritime discoveries, they came first of all upon Cyprus, and then by easy stages among the Cyclades. From one of these islands to the next was but a step until the south-eastern promontories of the main-land of Hellas were reached. In all the little isles anchored in these beautiful waters a people were found, numerous, active, well-formed, light-complexioned, quick to appreciate the advantages of commerce. Thus was opened up an acquaintance between the great maritime nation of the eastern Mediterranean and the Greek populations of the Ægean islands and the main peninsula of Hellas. In the further extension of their commerce it was found by the Phœnicians that a people of the same race occupied the shores of Asia Minor. These were the IONIANS, who, like the Phœnicians, were expert sailors, devoted to commerce and adventure.

These Ionian or Asiatic Hellenes were the oldest of the Greek populations. By them it was that bands of their countrymen, carried to the west, came upon the islands of the Cyclades and finally into Hellas, finding there others of their race already established. Thus it was that the Ionians became competitors of the Phœnicians in a half-friendly contest for a predominant influence in the islands of the Ægean and even in Greece Proper.

If we consult the Greeks themselves with regard to their origin, we receive ambiguous answers. In the first place they held strenuously to the tradition that they were *autochthones*, that is, born of the earth. There was no myth of a settlement by immigrant tribes from abroad. Their ancestors had always abode in Hellas from the time when Earth gave them birth. On the other hand, there were traditions in almost every state of Greece that the beginnings of arts and institutions had been brought in by illustrious foreigners, whose supernatural wisdom furnished a basis of social life. All of these wise strangers came from over sea, bringing from distant shores the dawn of civilization. Such legends are substantiated, moreover, by the Greek theology; for all of the gods of Hellas were the deities of foreign lands disguised in the fine drapery of Greek thought.[1] Nor is it conceivable that a foreign pantheon should thus have been established but by migrating tribes who brought with them their gods from distant homes.

The science of language has within the present century clearly determined the race-position of the Greeks. They belonged to the Aryan or Indo-European family of men, being thus allied with the Hindus, Medes, and Persians of Asia, and the Latin, Celtic, and Teutonic races in Europe. As already said, the tribal home of this wide-branching tree of human life appears to have been in the country of Bactria; but at what particular point in the tribal migrations the Hellenic stock

[1] The historian Curtius makes an exception of Zeus, whom he regards as native to the Greek imagination; but recent investigations in philology have established beyond doubt the identity of Zeus Pater with the Dyaus Pitar of the Vedic pantheon.

took its rise, it is perhaps impossible to determine. Be that as it may, the first formal developments of the Greek race into organized communities took place on the coasts of Asia Minor, looking out towards the Ægean. The people thus established flowed from the same source as did others who occupied the Sporades, and the Cyclades, and finally the whole of peninsular Hellas. All that may be certainly affirmed is that, regarding as Greek the whole community around the Ægean Sea, the eastern portions were settled first, the wave of population swelling westward into Hellas Proper and onward to the shores of the Ionian Sea.

Leaving, then, the matter of the prehistoric migrations as undetermined, and taking up the traditions of the Greeks regarding their ancestry, we have the well-known legend of their father HELLEN. He was the reputed son of Deucalion and Pyrrha. From him came all the Hellenes. He had three sons, DORUS, XUTHUS, and ÆOLUS, of whom the first and the last gave their names to their descendants, the Dorians and Æolians. Xuthus, like Joseph among the Israelites, founded no tribe himself, but his two sons, ION and ACHÆUS, became the head of the Ionians and the Achæans. Thus by tradition we have an account rendered of the four leading divisions of the Greek race. Nor was there ever any doubt among the Hellenes themselves of the accuracy of this matter-of-fact genealogy, which they received from their fathers. But the device of primitive nations in coining personal names as the explanation of the beginnings of their nationality is now well understood, and the easy-going story of Hellen and his sons signifies no more than that the Hellenes first awoke to tribal consciousness at the foot of Mount Othrys, where Hellen was said to have had his home; and the migration of his sons from the borders of Thessaly simply implies an attempt of some vigorous imagination to account for the presence in different parts of Greece of the Dorians, Æolians, Ionians, and Achæans.

The tradition goes on to elaborate. Æolus succeeded his father in Thessaly. But his multiplied descendants spread southward as far as the Isthmus of Corinth. Afterwards they peopled the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos, and founded on the coast of Asia Minor a group of cities known as the Æolian Confederacy. Of their dialect Greek literature has preserved but a few fragments, and these indicate an affinity with Doric rather than Attic Greek.

The race of Dorus appeared first in Macedonia, then made migrations, spread as far as the island of Crete, where they founded Tetrapolis, and then into Peloponnesus, where they became predominant in the three states of Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia. In manners and life the Dorians were sedate, dignified, and grave as compared with the other peoples of Greece, often displaying both in their deeds and institutions a severity in marked contrast with the milder habits of the Ionians. They spoke a less refined dialect, characterized by broad vowels and rough combinations of consonant sounds, and were a people of rude address, little given to speech.

The Ionians were the maritime branch of the Hellenic race. They had their original seats on the coast of Asia Minor, and from thence spread into the western islands. They were predominant throughout the Ægean, and were, as indicated alike by tradition and language, the oldest of the Greek tribes. The name of their reputed ancestor, Ion, seems to be associated with the Hebrew Javan, the Persian Yauna, the Egyptian Uinim, and the Indian Yonas—all names of mythical ancestors. It was these Ionian Greeks who at a very early date became first the rivals and then the superiors of the Phœnicians in the commerce of the Ægean and eastern Mediterranean. It was they who spread all around the shores of those waters, establishing colonies and trading posts at suitable stations, or sometimes in the heart of great cities, as in Alexandria and Memphis. It was they who constituted the body of that Greek population in the towns of Asia Minor, to whom reference has many times been made in the History of the Persian Empire.

The ACHÆANS had their native seat in Thessaly. Of all the Greek stocks they were the rudest. They were among the oldest of

the tribes and took so prominent a part in the Trojan war as to give their name, even in Homer, to the whole body of the Hellenes. It is evident that during the Heroic Period they were the dominant race in Greece, and contributed greatly to the warlike fame which for hundreds of years made Greek and victor synonymous.

Although the Greeks regarded themselves as autochthones, or indigenous to Hellas, yet they conceded to another people priority of occupation, at least in certain parts of the country. These were the PELASGIANS, of whose original seats history is still in doubt. It is certain, however, that in Attica, Argolis, Arcadia, Epirus, and several other parts of Greece, this people was established and civilized before the Hellenes took possession. It is said that the primitive name of the whole country was Pelasgia, and it is known that this race were distributed as far west as Italy, forming, in a sense, the bottom population of that country as well as of Greece. Nor do the Pelasgians appear to have been a people very dissimilar to the Greeks who displaced them. Their religion was similar to that of the Hellenes. Their chief god was Jove, to whom in Dodona the famous shrine was erected, which retained its reputation during the whole period of the Grecian ascendency. To what extent this people was driven out or extinguished, and to what extent incorporated with the conquering Hellenes, it is impossible to tell; but it is not unlikely that a large per cent of the primitive inhabitants were allowed to remain in a subject condition, and were gradually absorbed by the dominant Greeks.

Much space might be devoted to the personal character of the Hellenes. Their qualities of body and mind were such as to fix upon them the attention of their own and after times. In stature they were rather below than above the average of ancient peoples. They had not the height of the barbarians or the muscular development of the Assyrians and Romans. It was rather in symmetrical activity than in massiveness or gigantic proportions that they surpassed the other races of their times. In beauty of body they were peerless. In agility and nervous vigor they were the finest specimens of men that the world has produced. Not that hardiness and endurance were wanting. Not that the bodily life of the Greek was tender and unable to endure. Not that he was more susceptible to hardships and exposure, less able to endure fatigue and combat exhaustion: for his body was capable of a discipline and consequent endurance rarely equaled, never surpassed, in the ancient world. But he was more *alive* in his physical being, more highly developed, more complete in his nervous structure, than any other man of antiquity.

It was, moreover, in this high-wrought, perfectly finished physical manhood of the Greek that were laid the foundations of his wonderful mind, of his energy of thought, his reason, his imagination, his courage. Not only in the order of the world is the physical man planted in nature, not only is he, so to speak, an indigenous shoot of his native soil, drawing his saps and juices from that fecundity which is prepared by sun and air and rain, but the roots of the mental man are in like manner planted in his physical nature, drawing therefrom the sustenance of thought, the elements of combination, the juices of reason and imagination, the sap of hope or despair. In his perfect body the Greek had the foundation of his strength. Nature here, under the free law of natural selection, wrought out a finer organism than in other regions where her resources were fewer, her energies trammeled with restrictions. In Greece she accomplished the finest Motherhood of Man ever presented. In the Greek, with his fair complexion, blue eyes, beautiful body, and radiant face, she held aloft the best gift of her abundant love.

No other people, indeed, were ever gifted with so great personal beauty as the Hellenes, and no others ever so much adored the gift. At festivals and in public processions the fairest was the first. Prizes were given to the handsomest man, the most beautiful woman. In the Greek town of Segesta, in Sicily, a temple was built and sacrifices offered to her who was adjudged most beautiful. The homage thus paid to personal comeliness was sincere and universal.

The climate of Greece, free from extremes of heat and cold, coöperated with the habits of the people to produce perfect symmetry of form and feature. Solon, speaking with pride of the youth of his country, says: "They have a manly look, are full of spirit, fire, and vigor; neither dry and withered, nor heavy and unwieldy, but of a form at once graceful and strong. They have worked and sweated off all superfluous flesh, and only retained what is pure, firm, and healthy. This perfection they could not attain without those physical exercises and the regimen that accompanies them."

The men of Greece, though not above the medium height, were graceful and vigorous. Their chests were arched, their limbs straight, their carriage erect and indicative of great agility. The complexion was fair, but not white; for the Eastern origin of the race, combining in influence with the constant outdoor exercise and the free exposure of their bodies to the air and sun gave a tinge of bronze to the person which was admired rather than avoided. The neck was round and beautifully molded, and on this was set a head which for symmetry and proportion has never been equaled. The nose descended in a straight line with the forehead, and the lips were full of expression. The chin was strong and round, but not unduly prominent. The whole form and features glowed with an intellectual and spiritual life—an ideal expressiveness which shone upon the beholder like the sunlight.

The female face and figure were still more elevated and refined. Here nature surpassed all art and gave to the world an imperishable ideal. The hands and feet of Greek women were modeled to the finest proportions of which conception or fancy are capable. The face was full of grace and modesty. The original type was a dark-blonde, the hair auburn, the eyes blue; and this type was maintained until intercourse with surrounding nations and the intermixture of foreigners from every city of the civilized world modified the features and complexion and brought into favor other styles of beauty. It was the Greek maiden and mother, with their native charms and graces, that gave to the art of ancient Europe those classic models which have been, and are likely ever to remain, the inspiration and the despair of the chisels and brushes of the modern world. Not only the men and women of Athens thus surpassed in strength and loveliness of person, but the people of the other Greek states as well entered into the rivalry of beauty. The girls of Bœotia were as much praised for their comely grace as were those of Attica; and for the women of Thebes artists and poets alike were wont to claim a superiority of loveliness over all the daughters of Hellen. Nor should failure be made to mention the maidens of Ionia, who, alike in the royal courts of the East and in the free vales of the West, were regarded as bearing from an easy contest the palm of matchless beauty.

In mental qualities the Hellenes were still more strongly discriminated from the other peoples of antiquity. They had courage of the highest order. Nothing could daunt or dispirit the Greek. When aroused he went to war. Perhaps the cause was not worthy of the combat, but being offended, he fought. Arming himself with the best implements of war which an unscientific age could afford, he sought his enemy to slay or be slain. When a Greek fled the law of nature was suddenly reversed, and the clouds smiled at a caprice so exceptional as to be ridiculous! As a general rule his courage in battle was a thing so business-like and matter-of-course as to appear natural and inevitable. Before the career of his race was half run the enemy who stood before him in fight expected to be killed out of the nature of the thing. In the midst of the struggle his valor was first sublime and then savage; rarely cruel. To be brave was to be Grecian, and not to fight when insulted or wronged, even in trifles, was so little Greek as to be regarded a stigma in any son of Hellen who thus shamed his race.

In intellectual qualities, properly so-called, the Greek had an easy precedence of any and all competitors in the ancient world. If the word *man* be really derived from the Sanskrit root *to think*, then indeed was the Greek the highest order of man. He could think, com-

bine, reason. He could formulate and express his thoughts with a clearness and cogency never surpassed. He could excogitate, imagine. In an age when the coarser senses and more brutal instincts of human nature were rampant and lay like an incubus on the spiritual faculties of man, the Greek mind rose like a lily above the pond. It opened its waxen cup. It gathered the dews. It drank the sunlight by day and the starlight by night. It gave its fragrance first to its own place and then to all the world, and then bequeathed its imperishable beauties and perfume to the immortality of art.

Out of the mind of the Greek were produced the loftiest concepts of philosophy. In a time of universal darkness there was light in Hellas. It is not intended in this connection to sketch an outline of the work done by the great thinkers of Athens. That will appear in another part. From the streets of that city, from her walks, her groves, her Academy, a luminous effulgence has been shed into all the world. In the highest seats of modern learning the reasoning of Plato and the formulæ of Aristotle still in some measure hold dominion over the acutest intellects of the world. Nor is it likely that the truth which they evolved from their capacious understanding will ever be restated in a form more acceptable and attractive to the human mind than that to which themselves gave utterance. They are to-day in all the world,

"The dead but sceptered sovereigns who still rule
Our spirits from their urns."

Besides the general intellectual superiority of the Greeks they possessed certain peculiarities of mind for which they were specially noted. They were witty. However wit may be defined, the Hellenes had it. They were able to discover far-fetched analogies. They could juxtaposit the heterogeneous and produce an electrical shock by the touch of contradictories. They liked that flash of light which scorches its victim. The paradox was always a generous nut to the Greek who found it. To him the bitterly ridiculous was better than a jewel of fine gold. An impossible verity was his delight. A pungent untruth made true or a luminous and startling lie was to him a joy forever. A joke, even at the expense of the gods, was better than the richest banquet flowing with wine.

Then came subtlety, leading to craft in action. All the fine lines of possibility in a fact and its relations were discovered by the Greek intellect as if by intuition. To perceive with delicacy the exact conditions of the thing considered—an impossible task to the sluggish perceptions of most of the peoples of antiquity—was to the Greek but a process of healthful exercise. He knew more than his enemy. He beat him and laughed at him. He was the most capable animal of all antiquity. He was Reynard in the ancient Kingdom of the Beasts. He planned and contrived while others slept. His were the trick and the stratagem. He held up a false appearance, and smiled at his foe for being fool enough to believe it real. He found more pleasure in setting a trap than in taking a city. He set a snare and stuck a spear-head through the loop. He made cunning a virtue, and recounted a successful wile with the same pride as if reciting the brave exploits of heroes. To succeed by craft was nothing if it succeeded, and success without superior skill was more shameful than defeat. The Greek met the enemy with ambiguous speech. He attacked him with a riddle. He swept the field with a device, and slew the flying foe because he did not understand! He entered the treaty-room with a dilemma, arranged the terms with a subterfuge, and went out with a mental reservation.

In the midst of his keen wit, his happy perception of the ridiculous and his profound subtlety, the Greek retained in the highest degree a sense of the beautiful. He loved and appreciated the delicate outlines of form and color to the extent of adoration. In a beautiful land he awoke to consciousness. He saw around him a living landscape, and above him a cerulean sky. He held communion with all the nude simplicities of nature, and under her delightful inspiration felt the flutter of wings within him. He would imitate her loveliness. He saw in his musings and even in his slumbers the outlines of radiant forms. He caught at the vision. His thought became

Apollo, and his dream was transformed into Psyche.

From the concurrence of such faculties as those possessed by the Greeks, certain kinds of activity were inevitable. Native energy would lead to vigorous achievement. From the first the Hellenes were adventurous. They tempted both land and sea. The voyage from one Cyclade to another fed a hunger and nurtured an ambition. The ocean was something to be overcome. Others, as well as they, desired possession. Hence war, struggle, victory, peace, commerce, the city, the state. Here the Greek found food. He planted himself in his peninsula and islands. He made enterprise. He took advantage of the adventure of others. He made nature his confederate. He filled his sails with her winds. He went abroad and colonized. He sought the world's extreme. He established his dominion in another peninsula in the Western seas, and called it *Great* Greece, as distinguished from his own. He undertook the carrying-trade for the nations, and spoke his musical accents in the marts of Babylon and Memphis and Carthage. He hired himself for gain to oriental despots whom he despised, and transported their armies in his fleet. He became a cosmopolite, and learned among the swarming millions of foreign lands the lesson of fearlessness. He believed—and not without good reason—that a Greek spear and a Greek stratagem were more than Egyptian cohorts, more than the hosts of Persia. He became self-confident in his activities, arrogant in success, reckless even when his capital was in ashes and his family in exile. He was dauntless, imperturbable, courageous even to the doors of desperation and death.

As to moral qualities, the Greeks were not so greatly preëminent above the other peoples of antiquity. They had, like the Assyrians and the Romans, many of the robust virtues, but it can not be said that the moral perceptions of the race were, in delicacy of discernment between right and wrong, equal to the keenness of their intellectual faculties. The morality of Greek social life was as high, perhaps higher than the age. Woman was still a slave, but her condition in Greece was greatly preferable to that exhibited in any Eastern civilization. The conditions of her life were much improved by the influence of Greek institutions, and Greek motherhood and sisterhood were esteemed at something like their true valuation. Nor was it possible in a country where freedom was the rule that love should be absent or its fruit despised. The Hellenic family was maintained more by the action of natural laws than by the influence of the commonwealth, and the altar of domestic affection received its gifts from the hand of preference rather than from the enforcement of duty. Still, this natural freedom was by no means destructive of sacred ties, and although it was productive of much social immorality and abandonment, yet it gave birth to such an array of genius within given limits of population as can not be paralleled elsewhere in history.

Turning to the domain of ethics proper, and considering what may in general terms be called the fountain of right, namely, adherence to truth and principle, the Greeks were by no means above reproach. They had in this regard fewer of the heroic virtues than did the Romans of the Republic. With the average Greek the rule was that the end justified the means, and the majority adopted this rule without compunction. The natural disposition to adopt intrigue and deception as legitimate instruments for the accomplishment of certain results encroached in practice upon the better principles of action, to the extent of making treachery in private life and perfidy in public affairs much too common for the honor and reputation of the race. While, however, such was in general the ethical code of the Greeks there were among them not a few philosophers and teachers who alike in their instructions and examples were without doubt the best exponents of morality and personal worth that the world has ever produced. The greatness of Socrates stands unchallenged. The beauty and sublimity of his teachings have never been assailed except by bigots. The luster of his life and the heroism of his death have cast a mellow light through the centuries, and his steady belief in immortality has remained as the greatest protest of the

pagan world against the notion of the extinction of the human soul. While it is true that the Athenians on an important state occasion gave as a formal reason for the breaking of a treaty the statement that *it was no longer to their advantage to keep it*, and while in multiplied instances the pages of Grecian history are stained with the record of deeds perfidious, it is also true that the disks of Socrates and Plato shine above the fogs of this depravity with an immortal brightness.

Nor should there be failure to mention the redemptive virtue of Greek patriotism. It may be true, as has been urged by some philanthropists, that those local attachments of man to his own hill, his own province, his own country, which in the aggregate pass by the name of patriotism, are in the nature of a vice which will be extinguished in the higher developments of civilization. But such a proposition can not be established out of the history of the past, nor is it likely to be established in the immediate future. In general, the progress of mankind, as well as the average happiness of the world, has been fostered and sustained by the devotion of patriotism; and even in the present condition of the world, patriotism remains a fact and internationality a dream.

The Greeks were patriotic. Their land was of such a character as to nurture and stimulate local attachment. There seems to be more principle involved in fighting for a hill than for a brickyard. The human race fits to inequality of surface. It is difficult to be moved from such a situation. Beauty, sublimity, variety, every element which draws forth from man an affectionate regard for nature fired the Greek with enthusiasm for his country, his altars, his hearthstones, his gods. The masterful struggles at Marathon, Platæa, and Salamis are but the attestation of the vigor and invincible force of the patriotism of the Greeks.

They loved liberty. Freedom had her birth among the hills of Greece. Here it was that political rights were first debated, and the duties of government limited by statute. There was something in the Greek mind which could not tolerate the exactions of arbitrary authority. What they could not consent to they resisted. They quaffed freedom as from a cup. Their patriotic impulses led to the acceptance of the doctrine that the man existed for the state; but the spirit of liberty made it dangerous to be the state. Hellas was an arena. Contention, party strife, the conflict of opinion, the counter currents of interest, the inebriety of the demagogue, the factious outcry, the excited assembly, the uproar, the ostracism—all these were but the concomitants of that wonderful agitation in the painful throes of which were born the liberties of the people. With the growth of the Grecian commonwealths popular consent became more and more the necessary antecedent of action. The voice of the new-born fact called political freedom cried in the streets. There was a clamor, not wise but loud. It was as a sound in the tree-tops—the voice of democracy—a voice never to be stilled unto the shores of time and the ends of the earth.

SOCRATES, NAPLES.

In thought and action the Greeks were the best individualized of all the peoples of antiquity. The nations of the East were masses. Egypt was a mass. Babylon was a mass. Assyria, Media, Persia, Lydia—what were they but vast aggregates of humanity undistinguishable in member or part? But the Greek was differentiated. He passed out of the nebulous condition and became stellar. He counted one. Every other Greek counted one. The units stood apart. The nebulæ of antiquity broke into stars in the sky of Greece. A new force was felt henceforth among the nations of the earth. The lessons of individuality and freedom reflected from almost every page of Grecian literature were caught here and there by the brighter intellects of antiquity. The far-reaching gleam shot its arrow

of light even into the darkness of the Middle Age, and the patriots of every civilized country of the world have found their precedents among the liberties of the Greeks.—How these qualities of body and mind and moral nature in the Hellenic race will work in the elaboration of a national career will be exhibited in the chapters to follow.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND ART.

BY far the richest speech of Ancient Europe was the Greek; and among the languages of Asia it had no rival except the Sanskrit. The genealogy of this famous tongue has already been referred to in the notice of the origin of the Hellenic race. Indeed, the tribe-origin of the Greeks could never have been known but for the science of language, which has become the torch-bearer of ethnology in every quarter of the earth. The race-history of every people is recorded in its language, and if only that language has been crystallized into a national literature, there is little trouble in tracing out the prehistoric career of the people by whom it is spoken.

Greek, then, is one of that great group of languages known as Aryan or Indo-European. It has for its cognate tongues, Sanskrit and Persic in Asia, and Latin, Celtic, and Teutonic in Europe. It is now understood by scholars that in the migration of nations to the West the Celts, the Germans, and the Slaves preceded the other members of the European group. In a later movement came the two remaining branches of the family, the Greeks and the Romans. These were closely allied in ethnic and linguistic affinities. Any one at all familiar with the Latin and Greek tongues will recall their fundamental identity in both vocabulary and grammatical structure. The two peoples by whom these languages were spoken held together for a long time after their separation from a common parent stock, and only at a comparatively late period began to differentiate into peculiarities of race and speech. The one people settled around the shores of the Ægean, and the other in the Italian peninsula.

In the former situation, Greek was a spoken tongue as early as the fifteenth century before our era. At a later date the language spread with the adventures and colonizations of the Hellenes, until their accents were heard from the coasts of Asia Minor to Sicily, and from Thrace to Cyrenaica. At a still later time it became the prevailing tongue in the Macedonian, Syrian, Egyptian, and Byzantine empires. In modern times fragments of the language are spoken in parts of Southern Italy, and even in one of the cantons of Switzerland. In Greece, at the present time, an abridged and simplified form of Greek is the language of the people, and this Romaic tongue differs less from the language of Demosthenes than does the English of today from the tongue of Chaucer.

The history of the Greek language has been divided by scholars into three periods, the first of which embraces its literary development from the time of the composition of the Epic poems to the establishment of the common speech by the historians and philosophers of Athens. The second includes the period of diffusion, during which, from its inherent excellence as a medium of communication, Greek became first the language of scholars in all civilized countries, and was then contracted, by the gradual decline of the Roman power, to its original seats. The third division embraces the degeneration of classical Greek, and the rise out of the same of the vulgar or common tongue spoken by the descendants of the Hellenes.

The tribal divisions of the Greek race on its settlement in Hellas soon gave rise to dialectical differences in speech. It was not

long before the Dorians employed one kind of vocalization and accent and the Ionians another. Thus arose the three primitive forms of Greek, the Doric, the Ionic, and the Æolic. At first the Doric was most widely spoken, being the form of speech prevalent in Northern Greece, in Peloponnesus, in Crete, and in the colonies of the Dorians in Southern Italy and Sicily. The chief authors who have preserved this ancient dialect in their works are Pindar and Theocritus.

The Ionic variety of Greek prevailed on the coast of Asia Minor, in most of the Ægean islands, in the peninsula of Attica, and in the foreign colonies established by the Ionians. It was developed at an early day as the language of poetry, and in this tongue were achieved the literary triumphs of the race. Ionic had itself a threefold development—the Old Ionic, the New Ionic, and the Attic. The first is the language of the epic poetry, and is rendered immortal in Homer and Hesiod. The New Ionic is the speech of Herodotus; while the Attic, being the language of Athens, contained the great body of Greek classical literature. It was the tongue of the scholars and philosophers—the chariot of fire in which the lightnings of Demosthenes were driven through smoke and tempest upon the enemies of his country.

Again the Attic dialect was itself divided, according to its three eras of development—the Old, the Middle, and the New. The Old Attic differed but little from the Ionic. It was the language of Thucydides. After his time there were large additions of Doric and Æolic words to the vocabulary, and thus was formed the Middle, and finally the New, speech of Attica. In this spoke the great orators and wrote the philosophers of Athens in the epoch of her glory.

The Æolic variety of Greek was scarcely limited to any definite territory. It was interfused with the other dialects, and was rather a modifying element than a distinct type of speech. It was the oldest form of Greek, and was not much inflected from that primitive tongue which was the mother, not only of all the Hellenic dialects, but also of the Italic languages. It thus happened that Æolic, being in a measure a prehistoric type of language, was not fully represented in literary productions. Before the dawn of Greek literature, the Doric and Ionic dialects had become the prevalent forms of speech, and the poets adopted these, instead of Æolic, as the vehicle of their expression, for the same reason that Chaucer wrote English in preference to Anglo-Saxon.

The Greek of Athens became, *par excellence*, the language of the Hellenic civilization. To speak it and write it became the ambition of the educated in every quarter of the world. Its forms and structure became fixed by law and usage. Perhaps no people ever had so refined a language, or spoke it with such purity and grace, as did the Athenians. For several centuries it retained its structure unimpaired. Not until the age of Alexander, when it had, by agency of his conquests, become the spoken language of Macedonians, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Syrians, and of many other nations, did a difference begin to appear between the classical Greek and the vulgar tongue of the people.

It is of interest, in this connection, to note the antecedents of that style of Greek which, prevailing in Alexandria, became the vehicle of interpretation between the Jewish oracles and the western nations. It appears that primitive Macedonian was a form of speech different from Hellenic. The affinity seems to have been with Illyrian rather than with Greek. The early Grecians and Macedonians could not understand each other without an interpreter. Nevertheless, in the court of Philip and Alexander, Greek was the medium of communication. It seems, therefore, that the vernacular Macedonian had been discarded by the upper classes of the people, and the language of Hellas adopted in its stead. Albeit, Alexander and his court spoke Greek like foreigners, and incorporated therewith, many Macedonian words and idioms. This, then, was the speech which the Conqueror carried with him into Egypt. The term "Hellenistic," therefore, as applied to the type of Greek employed by the Seventy in the translation of the Scriptures, is a misnomer, and should be replaced by "Macedonian."

In all the countries brought under the sway of Alexander, the language of the Greeks became the language of the governing class and of the philosophers. In every such country was a gradual and perhaps inevitable corruption of the speech thus imposed upon native tongues. From the third century of our era, the departure from the old standard of purity and elegance became so great that the Greek authors were no longer understood by many of the peoples pretending to speak their language. Meanwhile, the transfer of the capital of the Roman world to Constantinople introduced a large element of Latin into the heart of Hellenism, and then the pilgrims and crusaders from the West brought in their importation of Gallicisms, until the degeneration of Greek was well-nigh complete. Still, in the hands of purists and scholars, it continued to be the vehicle of literature until, surviving the barbarism of the Middle Age, it became a potent factor in the revival of learning.

Turning to the structural forms of the language of the Hellenes, as distinguished from its historical development, we find much of interest. The original Greek alphabet consisted of sixteen characters, which were reputed to have been brought into Hellas by the Phœnician CADMUS. He was a mythical king of Thebes and brother of the monarch of Phœnicia. The whole matter is legendary, but perhaps contains some grains of truth. It is probably true that the Greek letters had a Phœnician origin, but it is more likely that they came in a regular way from the contact of the Ionians with the scholars of Sidon than that they were the beneficent contribution of a traveling philosopher. As to the date of the introduction, modern antiquarians are divided in opinion, some holding it to have been as early as the fourteenth, others as late as the eighth, century before our era. The addition of several letters to the sixteen given by Cadmus is ascribed to PALAMEDES; but others think that twenty-two of the characters were derived directly from Phœnicia, and that only the letter *hypsilon* was of a truly Hellenic origin. At any rate, the number of characters in the Greek alphabet proper is twenty-four. It happened, however, in making up the list, that two of the letters, the *vav* and the *koppa*, were discarded, but their places were filled with two others, the *phi* and the *chi*. The other modifications were the addition of *psi* and *omega* by the Ionians, and finally the introduction of the aspirated *e*, called *eta*, to serve the purpose of *e* long. The alphabet thus completed was officially adopted in Athens, B. C. 403.

Of the seven vowels employed in Greek, two (*η*, *ω*) were long, two (*ε*, *ο*) short, and three (*α*, *ι*, *υ*) common. Every initial vowel was written with a breathing (᾽) (῾) above it to indicate whether it was to be pronounced with a smooth utterance, as in the case of an initial vowel in English, or be given with an aspiration, that is, with the sound of *h* preceding. Marks were also employed to show the accentuation of words. The circumflex accent (῀) might be placed on either of the last two syllables of a word; the acute (΄), on either of the last three, without respect to the length of the vowel in the syllable so accented; the grave (`), on every syllable not otherwise marked, but was not *written* except on the last.

In the earlier ages of Greek literature the characters employed in writing were what is called *uncial*, that is, a kind of square, capital-like letters, much larger than the body of ordinary type. There was no cursive or modified style of writing differing from the established forms of the letters. Such a device as a running-hand of Greek was unknown until the second century before our era, when the scholars of Alexandria introduced the cursive system. The ordinary small letters, such as make up the body of a Greek page, were not adopted until about the middle of the eighth century, A. D.; at any rate, no manuscripts or inscriptions containing that style of letter are known to antedate the year 750 of our era.

In its grammatical structure the Greek language is one of the most complete, and, at the same time, one of the most flexible in the world. The noun preserves five cases out of the original eight belonging to the primitive Aryan. It also has three numbers; singular,

dual, and plural. By this means the discrimination of objects as it respects unity, binity, and multiplicity is easily carried out in speech. The language presents three genders; masculine, feminine, and neuter. The article (hŏ, hē, tŏ) accompanies the noun and follows its inflections. It also has an independent use, being capable of representing the absent noun as by a delicate innuendo. In its power of nominal combination no other language has equaled the Greek. There was practically no limit to the ability of a Greek author to form compound nouns, expressing the most complex ideas. The striking off of case-endings and the juxtaposition of radicals was a process so easy and natural as to suggest itself in the ordinary flow of speech, and the laws of the language were so tolerant of growth as to put no restriction on either the poetic imagination or the necessity of philosophy. A whole hexameter might flow in a word, if fancy suggested the combination.

The adjective was specially full and rich in its expressiveness. Each word of this class was capable of one hundred and thirty-five endings! Of course, many of these were duplicates of others, but the full scheme showed the number here indicated.[1] In general the adjective conformed to the mutations of the noun. There was thus established between fact and epithet the closest bonds of sympathy. The adjective did obeisance in its forms to the noun with which it was joined. It swayed to and fro with its master, followed his fortunes and vicissitudes, shared his wealth and his poverty.

But it was the Greek verb which most of all exhibited the fecundity of the language. Here was revealed the great force and perspicuity of the speech of the Hellenes. A double series of affixes, added or prefixed to the verb-roots, clearly distinguished the tenses as to the time and completeness of the action expressed by them. For past time the augment, and for completed action the reduplication, furnished delicate discriminations for which we should look in vain in Latin or in any other tongue ever spoken in Europe. The root of a Greek verb was thus subject to a kind of development by means of endings and prefixes until the exact notion of the time, its point and duration, and the completeness of the action, was expressed with a specific delicacy of which no other language has ever shown itself susceptible.

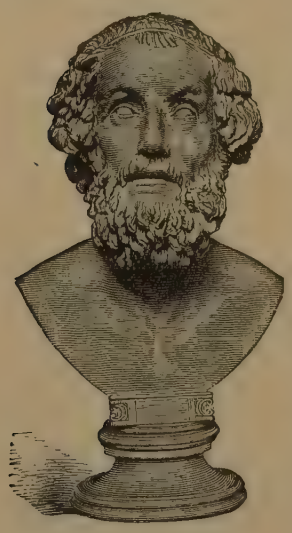
There was thus established among all the parts of the formal structure of the Greek tongue a kind of sympathetic union which moved the whole as one. A Greek sentence was agitated through all its length and depth by the stress of expression. The paragraph trembled from end to end when the thrill of life awoke in any part. The language, with its multitudinous endings, all in harmonious accord, lay like a rich meadow of stately timothy swaying and waving in the breezes of thought. Each stalk nodded to his fellow. The ripple of mirth danced over the surface like a scarcely perceptible breath of air. The shadow chased the sunshine, and the sunshine the shadow. A sigh came out of the forest and a deeper wave moved gently away to the distance. The thrill of joy, the message of defiance, the moan of the disconsolate spirit, the pæan of battle, the shout of victory, every mood and every emotion which the mind of man in his most vigorous estate is capable of experiencing, swept in rolling billows across the pulsating bosom of this beautiful speech.

The tongue of the Greeks was, in its kind, as preëminent as their literature. The one was the counterpart of the other. So wonderful in its completeness is the grammatical structure of the language that it has been made, not without good reason, the foundation of linguistic study in nearly all the universities of the world. The historian, Curtius, in summing up the structural elegance of Greek, thus assigns to its true place the speech of the Hellenic race: "If the grammar of their language were the only thing remaining to us of the Hellenes, it would serve as a full and valid testimony to the extraordinary natural gifts of this people, which, after with creative power appropriating the material of their language, penetrated every part of it

[1] That is, five cases multiplied by three numbers, by three genders, by three degrees of comparison = 135 adjectival forms.

with the spirit, and nowhere left a dead, inert mass behind it—of a people which, in spite of its decisive abhorrence of every thing bombastic, circumstantial, or obscure, understood how to accomplish an infinity of results by the simplest means. The whole language resembles the body of an artistically trained athlete, in which every muscle, every sinew, is developed into full play, where there is no trace of tumidity or of inert matter, and all is power and life."

It is not possible within the contemplated limits of the present work to discuss the literature of the Greeks under an exhaustive analysis. All that can be done is to note, with some degree of care, the leading branches in the literary art of the Greeks—the poetry and history of the Hellenic authors. On the very confines of the cloudy horizon of Greek history stands the sublime figure of HOMER. Myth or man—who knows? At any rate, he was a Being—one whose radiance has fallen on all the subsequent ages of man's endeavor. Even before him we have reason to believe that there were precursive bards of feebler wing who put into the lips of the primitive Greeks the chant, the pæan, the choral song, the merry roundelay of the singing girls and vintagers. But it remained for the deeds of the heroes of the nation to furnish the material of a loftier strain, and Scio's rocky isle to furnish the singer.



IDEAL BUST OF HOMER.
Sans Souci, Potsdam.

Here, then, was the beginning of EPIC POETRY—the song heroic which recounts the warlike deeds of the valiant and strong. The Blind Being chose for one of his themes the siege and sack of Troy—its causes, the outrage done to hospitality and trust, the counsel of the belligerent gods, the array of nations, the stratagem, the catastrophe; and for the other the wanderings of the brave and sagacious Ulysses, involving the social aspects of his own and foreign lands. Thus were wrought the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

The work was greater than the theme. The language was still plastic. Under the magical touch of genius the two great epics rose like exhalations from the new-made earth. They were chanted in the ears of all Greece. It was the beginning of the literary culture of the Aryan race. The influence of Homer's heroic songs was transfused, like a strong current of ancestral blood, into the whole body of Greek letters that rose out of this radiant dawn. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have remained the best in their kind among the works of the human genius; nor is it likely that the deliberate judgment of three thousand years will ever be reversed in the tides of time.

The Homeric poems have not reached us in their original form. At the time of their production the Greeks already possessed the art of writing, but that art was employed rather for the brief and business affairs of life than for literary composition. The ear of the early Greek was attuned to harmony. He would hear the music of verse recited by a living master. He would feel the thrill of enthusiasm which could be kindled by no lifeless tablet. The swaying form of the rhapsodist, his rapt visage, his flashing eye, his sonorous voice rising and falling like the sea—these were the elements of inspiration, these the coals that kindled emulation. Thus it happened that memory became the repository and the tongue the deliverer of the verse of Hellas.

It is likely that for several centuries together the poems of Homer, vast in extent as they are, were written only in the memories of men. Doubtless in this period many changes were introduced by the caprices of not too faithful rhapsodists—many transpositions of parts, and perhaps some total loss of sections or whole episodes of the epic. Finally, however, in a day of happy fortune for all the world, the poems were reduced to

writing. While Pisistratus was tyrant of Athens the work was undertaken at his instance and under his patronage. The Athenian grammarian Onomacritus was appointed to revise and arrange both of the poems, rejecting what appeared to him to be the interpolations of weaker bards and the manifest corruptions of the ignorant. Thus were the two greatest epics of the world, flung from the vigorous imagination of the Blind Being of Ionia, preserved and transmitted to after ages in nearly the forms which now they bear. Of the time at which Homer flourished only so much is known as that he lived in the mysterious epoch where history and fable blended, and when Greece was just beginning to awake to a consciousness of her power.

Around Homer grew up a race of bards called the "Cyclic poets"—like unto himself, but of less repute. They were like the group of English writers known as the Shakespearean dramatists, clustering about a greater light, in whose effulgence they were lost. Not only have the works of the Cyclic bards perished, but most of themselves have not even left behind the legacy of a name.

After the old Ionian bard came HESIOD. He was a Dorian, who flourished about a century after Homer, and dwelt at the foot of Mount Helicon, near Delphi. His fond countrymen set up their poet in rivalry with his great predecessor, and even invented a fiction that the two had once contested for the palm in song and that the award had been made to Hesiod. But the story was an impossibility, both in time and fact. The subjects selected by the Dorian bard were the fables of the gods. Instead of the stirring strifes of heroes he recited the history of the national religion. He also collected and reduced to verse the practical and proverbial wisdom of the people, in a rather tedious didactic poem called *Works and Days*. Between these productions and the living pictures of Homer there is, in both subject and treatment, the greatest possible contrast. Neither in Hesiod, their master bard, nor in his successors, did the Bœotian school in Grecian literature ever approximate the excellence and breadth of the Ionic and Attic authors.

After the epic—which ceased to be cultivated from the epoch of Homer and Hesiod—the next kind of Greek poetry which appeared was the LYRIC. In the form of elegy it became as the heroic songs of the masters. The elegy, like the epic, took its rise among the Ionian Greeks of Asia Minor. To them it seems to have been suggested by the *elegos* of the Phrygians. It was primarily a song of wailing, to be chanted with the accompaniment of a flute. Among the Greeks, however, the elegy took a wider range, and included in its subjects the stirring themes of patriotism and war. Even love and conviviality were made elegiac by the Hellenic bards, who, in alternate hexameters and pentameters, chanted the fiery charms of passion and the joys of the festival.

It was in the seventh century B. C. that the elegy of the Greeks achieved its greatest triumphs. Not infrequently the gravest affairs of state, the policy of cities, the conduct of war, were determined by a song. Thus the old decrepit TYRTÆUS, who was, in answer to an oracular call, sent in derision by the Athenians to be a leader of the Spartans, fired them to a pitch of unprecedented enthusiasm by a battle-lyric composed for the occasion. CALLINUS of Ephesus in like manner inspired his countrymen in their war with the Magnesians. SOLON himself disdained not the composition of a poem by which he induced the men of Athens to reconquer Salamis. The lyrics of THEOGNIS of Megara were collected and taught as a manual of wisdom and virtue. The praises of those who fell at Marathon were sung in immortal strains by SIMONIDES of Chios, while the poems of MIMNERMOS exalt the fleeting joys of life as the fairest and best to which mortality may aspire.

The next development of Greek verse—also lyric—was the IAMBIC or personal poetry. For the old Hellenic bard did not forbear to assail his enemy with caustic words as well as spears and javelins. This type of poetry seems to have been invented by ARCHILOCUS, who, taking advantage of the license conceded to all at the festival of Demeter to indulge in personal mockery and jests, introduced a new

style of verse, composed in alternate iambi and trochees, dipped in the bitterest wit and sarcasm, to the extent of driving to suicide (such is the tradition) those against whom the poisoned arrows were sent flying. Even greater and fiercer in invective was the poet HIPPONAX, who flourished about the middle of the sixth century, and is said to have satirized to death two sculptors who had caricatured his ugliness.

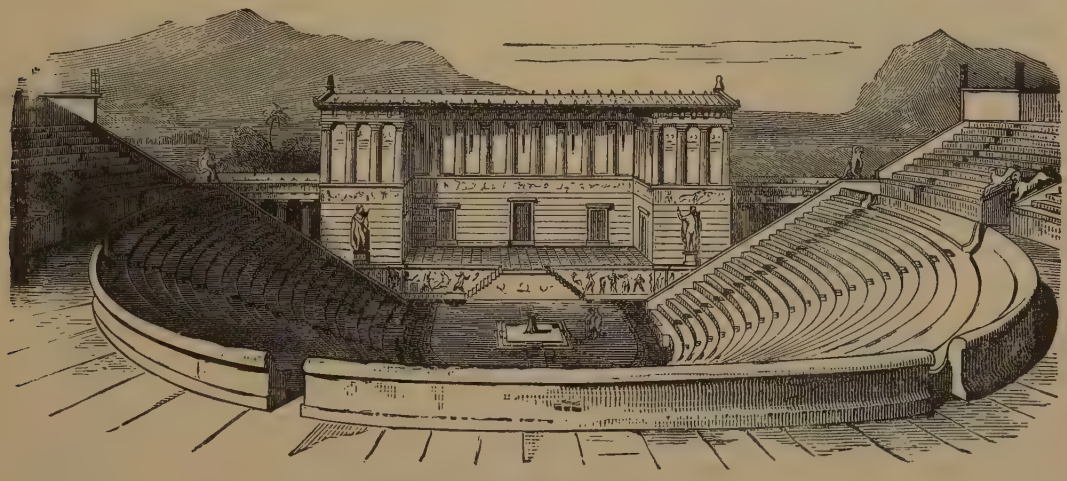
After the iambic came the MELOS, or song. This style of poetry was mostly cultivated by the Æolian and Dorian bards, who were celebrated for the tenderness of their emotion and feeling. In this species of verse the singer expressed his own joys and sorrows, his longings and hope. It was from Mitylene, the capital of the island of Lesbos, that the song proper took its rise. In Greece of the mainland it was admired rather than imitated. But there was a Lesbian school where this style of composition was encouraged and taught. Here flourished the aristocrat ALCÆUS, who, in his songs of love and hate, poured out the passion of his times. Here the great SAPPHO, the angel of unrequited love, achieved in her passionate and beautiful hymns the highest place among all the poetesses of Greece. The story of her suicide by leaping from the Lucadian rock because of Phaon's neglect seems to have no foundation in fact. She was a mother who loved her child and taught a school of maidens, instructing them in choral measures and the beauty of the dance. Her poems flow with a tender and glowing love, the truest and deepest passion, the most graceful and tuneful sentiments. After her came ANACREON of Teos, almost equally celebrated, but flourishing in a different atmosphere. He was an Ionian bard, and had the luxurious grace and abandonment of his people. Living at the courts of tyrants, and knowing little of the deep, pure charms of nature, he gilded artificial life and celebrated artificial love. Even in his old age, when the fires of youth were extinguished, he continued to sing in *words* the songs from which the *spirit* had long since vanished.

But by far the greatest of the Greek lyric poets was the Bœotian PINDAR. He was born in B. C. 522, and was thus a contemporary of Æschylus. His education was Attic, but the inspiration of his muse seems to have been caught from a predecessor, the Sicilian STESICHORUS, of Himera, who flourished near the close of the seventh century. Pindar's harp had many tones. He sang in manly cadences of public and private life; the struggles and vicissitudes of the one, the hopes and fears of the other. In his odes he rises to the highest flight. The victors in war and in the great games enacted in the presence of the assembled nation are made famous in his heroic song. The style is involved and difficult, but the spirit is the spirit of fire. He was the evening star of the lyric poetry of Greece. A change was passing over the national imagination, and the dawn of the drama was in the eastern sky.

The Greeks now demanded the poetry of action. The transformation from lyric to DRAMATIC was easy and natural—necessary. From the ecstatic song representing the joys and sufferings of others to impersonation was but a step. The Greek chorus belonged alike to lyric recitation and dramatic action. The transformation was gradual. THESPIS of Attica was the first tragic poet. His claim to be so regarded is based upon the introduction by him of an actor who came upon the stage and held discourse with the chorus and its leader. Then came Æschylus, who added a second actor to the dramatis personæ; and finally Sophocles, who gave a third, thus making the list of characters sufficiently extensive for complete and complex actions. The chorus, however, remained; for it was deemed necessary to fill the space between the acts of the drama with something which should sustain the interest of the spectators. But Dionysus and his Bacchic crew of singers and satyrs were banished from the stage. Instead of the revel and the feast the grave events of the national traditions and history were brought forward as the subject of the play.

Then followed the improvement of the theater. From the time of the Persian wars regular structures of stone took the place of the wooden buildings hitherto used for spec-

tacles. The form of the amphitheater was adopted. The auditorium at Athens was capable of seating twenty thousand people. The estimate was made for the whole male population of the city. Here was the stage upon which were presented the dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. The building was open to the sky. The semi-circular rows of seats were divided transversely with gangways affording easy exit and entrance. On the front row of benches sat the dignitaries of the state. Judges were appointed to determine the merits of the production. The orchestra was set in front of the players. On the walls surrounding the stage were painted scenes representing the country or place wherein the play was supposed to have been real. Triangular prisms were set up in the wings, by the revolution of which on their axes an easy change of scene could be effected. Nevertheless we should look in vain in the theaters of ancient Greece for that elaborate realism which is the boast of the modern stage.



THEATER OF SEGESTA, RESTORED.

Greek tragedy begins properly with the great name of ÆSCHYLUS. He it was who by the force of his genius gave form and life and nationality to the new type of literature. He was born in B. C. 525. In his youth he fought in the battle of Marathon. In his sentiments he sympathized with the old Athens of the aristocracy—the ancient *régime*—rather than with the growing democratic principles of the commonwealth. His subjects are lofty and pathetic. He stoops not at all. With him it is the work of the gods and of fate. The dark destiny of men is the underplay. Another drama is enacted on high, over which is bent the eye of the awful Zeus, calm, severe, omniscient.

Under the canon of criticism a tragedy in the time of Æschylus must consist of three pieces, based upon the same fundamental theme. There was thus produced what was called a "trilogy," the three parts being in some sense independent, but in another sense subordinate productions. Of these trilogies Æschylus produced two, the subject of the first, called the *Persæ*, being the great wars of the Greeks and Persians, the struggle of Europe and Asia. Out of this triad, the central piece, representing the lamentations in the palace of Xerxes, at Susa, has been preserved. The subject of the other trilogy, known as the *Oresteia*, was the murder of Agamemnon, with the fatal consequences which followed hard after, until the Eumenides were finally appeased. This work has been preserved entire, and furnishes the basis of the high estimate which all subsequent ages have put upon the tragic genius of the author.

The Greek drama was still further amplified by SOPHOCLES. Born in B. C. 495, he followed close to Æschylus, of whom he is regarded as the successful rival. Now it was that the chorus was abridged and a third actor sent upon the stage. The dialogue became

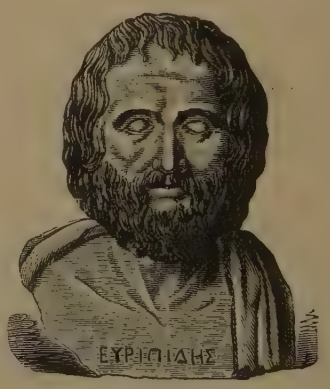
more varied and natural. Individuality of character was achieved. The always lofty and pathetic solemnity of the language of Æschylus was in some measure substituted with the language of common life. The men of Sophocles

SOPHOCLES.—Rome, Lateran.

are more human than those of his predecessor. In his themes, however, the sorrowful mysteries of being are still preferred. The dark riddle of fate, the unsolved enigma of life, the hard destiny of struggling man, beaten by adverse winds of duty and inclination, of necessity and preference—such are the mournful topics of his dramas. In the *Antigone* best of all are these qualities of the genius of Sophocles depicted.

The next evolution is presented in EURIPIDES. He is less ideal than his predecessor, but truer to nature. His drama is more of a reality. He takes his stand in the midst of human life as it is. His language is the language of the people. The heroes of his plays are more *possible* than those of Sophocles. They are redeemed with weaknesses, touched with folly, stained with tears. He has more variety in his action, greater freedom, more surprises and vicissitudes. Nor were the essentially tragic qualities of his genius less tragic for this descent towards the actual plane of human life. As occasion required, all the sublime force of tragedy is revealed by his muse. In the *Medea* the terrible passion of Phædra in revenging her slighted love has a terror hardly equaled in Sophocles and Æschylus. But with those who succeeded Euripides a decline in tragic qualities becomes immediately apparent. The Greek play is henceforth rather the roar of the court-house than a sublime conflict in the arena of gods and heroes.

Then came Greek COMEDY. Hellas laughed. She amused herself. She took Bacchus into goodfellowship. The wine-god was mirthful. In the autumn, when the lesser *Dionysia* were celebrated, the season was made hilarious with mummeries and jokes. Any one present might be the victim. The choral song was transferred into comic representation. Folly mixed a cup and poured it on the heads of revelers. For a great while the scene was enacted in the village, where rustics gathered for amusement. In the serious city, where the weighty affairs of state engrossed the attention of all, there was no time for reckless enjoyment. Not until the beginning of the fifth century B. C. did comedy make a public appearance in Athens, and not until near the close of that century was the new species of drama received with general favor.



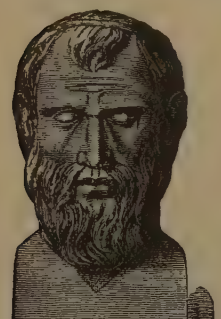
EURIPIDES.—Visconti.

Perhaps the early structure of Athenian society did not favor the development of such a literature. Freedom — the freedom of a democracy — was necessary to insure immunity, without which comedy can not flourish. When it did come it came with license. Nothing was too serious or sacred for the shaft of the reckless satirist. Man, woman,

all human affairs, the war, the state, the heroes, the immortal gods themselves writhed under the audacious irony and merciless sarcasm of the Greek comedian. Mockery, ridicule, derisive scorn, bitter invective, every weapon which the forge of conscienceless ingenuity could invent or imagine, was put into the quiver and swung behind the swaggering actor's shoulder. He shot right and left. He shouted when his victim fell. He made grimaces at the corpse. With him Olympus was no better than a stable for goats.

It may be observed, however, that notwithstanding this extremity of license the Greek comedy has always at bottom a foundation of morality. It is the cant of human nature, its sham pretense and folly, which received no mercy at the hands of the executioner.

Of all the Greek comedians of the old school only one was so fortunate as to have his works preserved to posterity—ARISTOPHANES, greatest of his kind. He was born in Athens, B. C. 452, and produced his comedies between the years 427 and 388. In richness of humor and quaintness of invention he stands without a peer. His imagination is as vivid as his wit is keen. His language is as free as his thought is audacious. He attacks the abuses of his times with a wild delight, and his personal satire is fierce in its vehemence. As the champion of the old *régime* he attacks the demagogues and sophists with an excessive bitterness. In his literary sympathies he is with Æschylus. He despises Euripides and his following. The demagogue Cleon, his contemporary, he brings upon the stage and covers him with opprobrium. In his *Clouds* he attacks the sophists with unparalleled severity. He pours upon them all the bottles of his scorn, and spares not Socrates. The folly of the Sicilian expedition is made immortal in the *Birds*, in which the war policy of the Athenians is mercilessly scourged. The lawyers of the city felt the castigation of his rod in the play of the *Wasps;* and in the *Frogs* Euripides is held up to public contempt.



ARISTOPHANES. (Monumenti dell' Instituto.)

After Aristophanes Greek comedy was modified to a great extent in the hands of the two principal authors of the Later School—MENANDER and POSSIDIPPUS. The license which the old comedians had used and abused was somewhat abridged, and the subjects of plays became less personal and partisan than hitherto. The scenes and incidents of private life—its follies, its misdirected loves, its grotesque adventures—are substituted for the weightier vices of society. Social intrigue, plot and counterplot, the knave, the fool, the coxcomb—such are the materials and characters of that New Comedy, which, prevailing to the times of Alexander, was transferred to Rome and became the model of invention in the works of Plautus and Terence.

MENANDER.—Visconti.

After the age of Homer and Hesiod, centuries elapsed before even the beginnings of a prose literature appeared in Hellas. The ear of generation after generation was filled with the rhythmic cadences of the bards ere the project of giving a literary dress to the common language of life was conceived or imagined. Perhaps, when at last the suggestion of doing so was entertained, it was with a certain dread lest the sacred mystery of letters should be profaned by the unhallowed tongue of prose. To the courageous and versatile Ionians must be awarded the palm for breaking the poetic spell and daring to commit to record their traditions and reflections in the natural language of history and philosophy.

Perhaps the first prose work produced by a member of the Hellenic race was a history of the founding of Miletus, written by the Ionian CADMUS, a native of that city. After him, a school of legendary chroniclers grew up in the Greek cities of Asia Minor. Some of them were travelers. They put down in prose

what things soever they saw and heard abroad. Others rewrote the rhapsodies and legends of the bards, but their work was childish and unworthy to survive.

Then came the great HERODOTUS, justly styled the Father of History. He was born in Halicarnassus, in the year B. C. 484. He was a Dorian by descent and an Ionian by education. His merit consists in this, that he, first of the great minds of the Aryan race, perceived that history should be stripped of poetic disguises, and yet given an artistic and philosophic form in the language of common life. Herodotus had the genius of the traveler, the curiosity of an antiquarian, the industry of an artisan. He sought companionship with the literati of foreign cities. He stored his mind with records of the East. He reflected not a little upon the nature and causes of events, and thus fitted himself for historical authorship to a degree not to be expected of his age. He selected for a theme the great struggle between his country and Persia. As his narrative proceeds and he finds himself in contact with other nations, he pauses with a natural grace to recount their annals, their customs, their traditions, their laws. Garrulous? Granted; but such garrulity! Would that the primitive world had produced more such charming gossips! To spare the one were to lose the quaintest monument of ancient literature.

HERODOTUS.—Visconti.

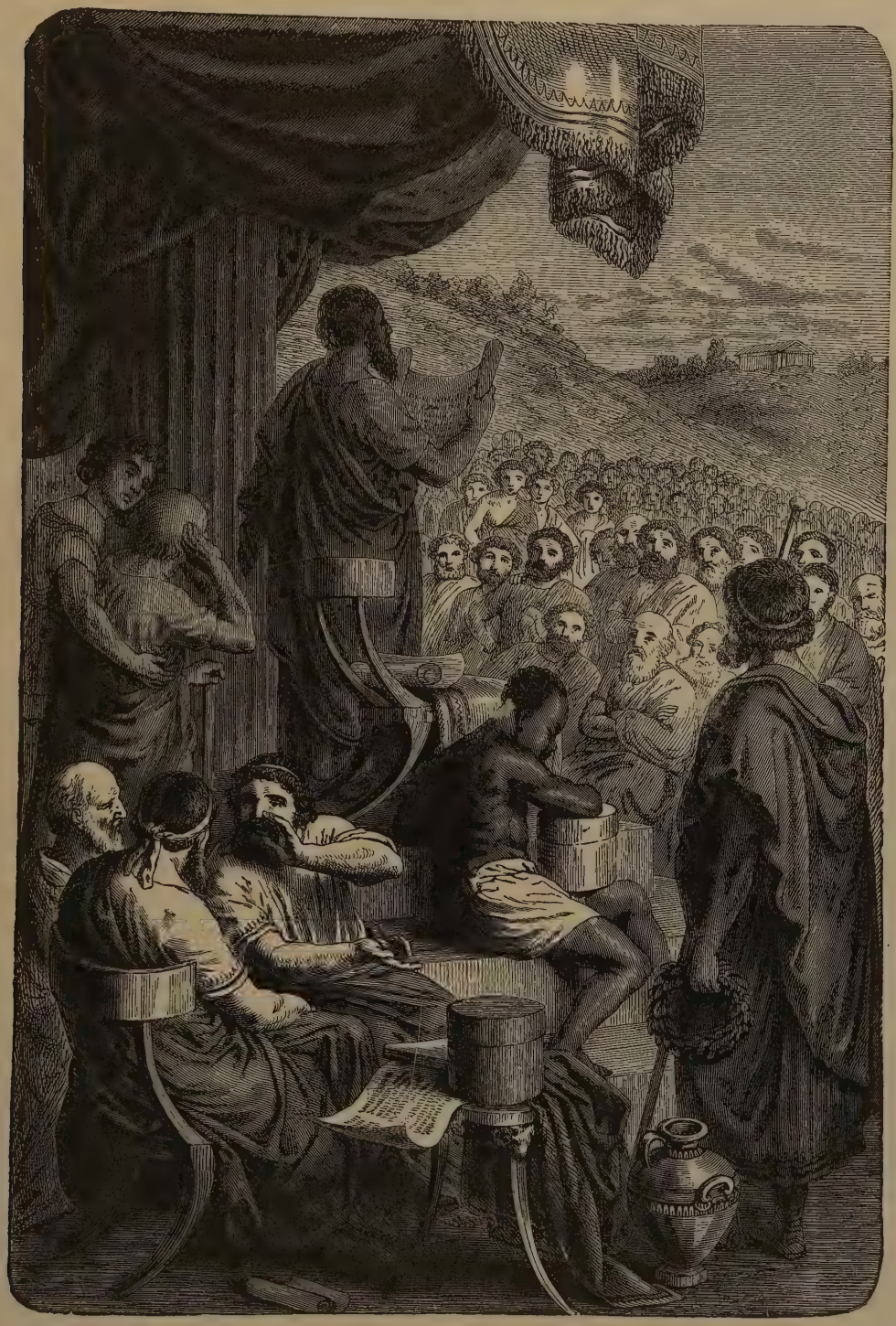
After him came the philosophic THUCYDIDES. He selected for his theme the then recent Peloponnesian war. He thus secured a unity of subject for which we should look in vain in the work of the Father of History. Educated in the political school of Pericles, under the full influence of the sophists and rhetoricians of Athens, by nature of a calm temperament, in which reason predominated over imagination, Thucydides came to his task fully equipped, both in himself and his discipline. True, his language is sometimes heavy and not always perspicuous. True, that many of his periods are inartistic and unmusical; but his is the history of reason and truth. The story is told without passion and with but few touches of prejudice. It is a story as if told by an impartial statesman who reviews with great breadth of vision and impartial judgment one of the most momentous epochs in the history of his people. The Peloponnesian war thus found an expositor equal in greatness to itself.

Then came XENOPHON—charming story-teller of the Athenians. In qualities of mind he was inferior to Thucydides. He had neither the elevated views nor the unbiased judgment of his predecessor. He was withal something of an adventurer. Out of sympathy with his own city and state, he drifted to the Spartans. As one of the leaders of a band of mercenary soldiers, he accepts pay from Cyrus the Younger and goes with that ambitious prince against Darius. He writes the *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, and afterwards the *Memorabilia* of Socrates. His style is above reproach, and displays the capabilities of the Attic tongue at its best estate. The purity of his diction gave him a reputation with his countrymen above the intrinsic merits of his works. As a model of Attic Greek, the *Anabasis* of Xenophon will ever hold a leading place; as a history it takes rank with the military records of Cæsar's *Gallic War*.

Then came Oratory—a necessary concomitant of the political freedom of the Greeks. The progress of Athens from an aristocracy to a democracy made public speech a prerequisite of leadership. The greatest debaters of the world were Athenian citizens, interested in the affairs of the commonwealth; advocates, partisans; men who espoused one side of a question with a passionate zeal that displaced all other considerations and made life a burden until the passion was liberated in utterance. From this it should not be inferred that all the Greek orators were

THUCYDIDES.—Visconti.

men of vehement manner in public address. In this respect there were two classes of speakers; the one represented by Pericles, who in delivery was calm and deliberate, using no gestures and exhibiting few marked changes of countenance; and the other by Demosthenes,



HERODOTUS READING HIS HISTORY TO THE ASSEMBLED GREEKS.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

whose fiery impetuosity and rapidity of utterance were the marvel of his age.

It has been disputed whether oratory is properly a division of literature. Be that as it may, certain it is that the orator, being by profession a man of affairs, is more intimately involved with the current of public life, and is therefore more properly a part of the secular history of his country than is the man of letters. It thus becomes proper to consider the orator and his work in connection with the civil and military affairs of the state rather than in a sketch of the national literature. This method will here be followed, and the account of Pericles, Æschines, Demosthenes, and the other great exemplars of Greek oratory, will be reserved for a future chapter where their relations to the state will suggest appropriate notices of their lives and influence.

Passing, then, to the consideration of the Art of the Hellenes we find materials of the profoundest interest. Long before the struggles of the Heroic Age awaked the conscious powers of the Greeks there had been in Hellas an epoch of art. A people had lived there who built structures as imperishable as those of Nineveh and Memphis. Of this sort may be mentioned the ancient reservoirs at Orchomenus in Bœotia, the so-called Cyclopean walls of Tiryns, and the massive ruins which have recently been uncovered by Schliemann at Mycenæ. All of these are prehistoric and all exhibit unmistakable proof of the architectural skill of some primitive people who dwelt in Hellas before the age of the Hellenes. The citadel of Agamemnon and the Gate of Lions at Mycenæ seem to establish the fact of an organized community, swayed by arbitrary authority, primitive but skillful, at a period long anterior to that in which the Greeks began the record of their own career as a people. There is thus in Greek art a mythical period corresponding to the age of fable and tradition. While the Hellenes were still in the shadows of legend and myth, monuments were reared in Argolis and Bœotia, whose presence was an enigma to the Greeks themselves, and the interpretation of which has been the puzzle of antiquarians.

The ruins of Mycenæ are primitive in structure. They are massive and peculiar. In the building of what is thought to have been the treasure-house of the king of the people, much artistic skill is displayed. In the center of solid masonry of hewn stone is a conical vault, the arch being produced by the narrowing of successive layers. The stones were formerly lined with plates of bronze, as were also the ornaments on the outside of the vault. The plates were hammered, and were held to their place on the face of the stone with rivets. Within this treasure-house Schliemann discovered vessels and utensils of gold, evidently belonging to a royal period in the history of some primitive race.

After this epoch most ancient in the art of Hellas several centuries passed with no development. It was an age of shadows, perhaps of decline. Not until the times just preceding the Persian wars was there the dawn of the true day of the art of the Greeks. Of the sixth century B. C. only a single temple has been preserved; but of the following hundred years the great columnar edifices of Selinus, Agrigentum, and Pæstum remain as immortal monuments of the age.

The nucleus of the Greek temple was the *cella*, where stood the statue of the deity. In the earliest times the statue was set in a grove; the thought of protection from the elements suggested the erection of a covering. The temple may thus be regarded as the house of the statue rather than the house of the god. At first the structure was no more than four walls inclosing a cell, with a roof to shelter the image. Then came elaboration. Columns were erected, first in front, and then on all four sides, and on the tops of these were placed the entablature. With the growth of artistic design the original idea of the temple was in a measure obscured. In the great structures of the classic age only faint reminiscences of the primeval edifice were preserved.

The origin of columns can never perhaps be ascertained. Long before Greece was Greece, the columnar structure had been employed in Egypt and in parts of the East. In the migration of the Hellenes from their

Asiatic home they brought with them a knowledge of pillared structure. It was not so much, therefore, as inventors that the Ionian and Dorian Greeks produced their respective styles of column, but rather as improvers and beautifiers of what already existed in a ruder and less perfect form. Side by side the two columnar styles appeared in the Hellenic architecture—the Doric and the Ionic—each perfect in its kind—each capable of the grandest effects known to the builder's art.

In their general structure the two orders of temple differed but little. The ground-plan and design in both were the same. Walled terraces were first constructed lifting the edifice above the profane level of its surroundings. Upon the platform thus produced the temple proper was reared. Around the *cella* were the four walls, and around these those sublime colonnades of fluted pillars which have remained the admiration of all after ages. The covered space of the Greek temple was thus greatly extended beyond the rectangle of the walls. On the capitals rested a decorated impost. This consisted of three parts: the architrave, the frieze, and the cornice. The roof rose over all in a gentle slope, presenting at each end a triangular space, called the tympanum. Upon this were set those immortal sculptures the parallel of which has never been seen in the world.

The interior space of the classic temple was lighted from above by an opening in the roof, called the *hypaithron*. In the background of this single hall stood the statue of the god to whom the edifice was dedicated. In some instances, when the temple was of great size, the inner space was divided by transverse rows of columns, and these stood sometimes one row above the other, forming a gallery around the hall. Such was the arrangement in the great temple of Neptune at Pæstum.

Not every thing in temple decoration was left to the artist's chisel, but much to the painter's brush. Column, impost, gable, and ceiling were all artistically colored. In strength and brilliancy of hue the pigments employed by the Greek painters of this age surpassed all rivalry. Whatever the brightest and richest tints of blue and gold and crimson could do to set the temple in a blaze of glory, radiant as the sunshine of the Grecian sky, that was added by the decorative skill of the artist to the already sublime work of the builder and the sculptor. Both the Doric and Ionic temples were thus improved with the beautiful effects of color deftly laid on under the guidance of the keenest artistic perception.

In Asia Minor and the Ægean islands the Ionic style of structure prevailed over the Doric, but in Athens and throughout Hellas Proper both styles flourished together. As already said, the two differed in the column—not in the general character of the edifice. The Doric pillar was imposing, massive. It gave a solemn grandeur to the building of which it was the principal feature. It added an air of seriousness and solidity. It was plain to the last degree of severity. It was baseless and virtually without a capital, having only a massive, circular disk upon the top to support the architrave. The diameter of the pillar was so great as to shorten its apparent height; the shaft tapered but little; it stood calmly in the repose of infinite strength. The Ionic column, on the other hand, was the pillar of beauty. Its height was augmented by the slender and tapering shaft. Elegance and grace and delicacy added each her charm to this fluted dream of Greek architecture. The Ionic pillar rose on a beautiful pedestal and was crowned with a capital ornate and airy. It was the poetry, as the Doric was the prose, of the magnificent temples of Greece.

Of such grand structures almost every Greek city could make its boast. These were the splendid edifices which were laid in ruins by the Persians. These were the grand structures which rose again with added beauty in the age of Pericles, when Grecian civilization shone with its richest luster. Then it was that the Acropolis became the seat of the guardian gods of the land, and was adorned as no other hill of the world. Temples and statues, the work of the best artists ever produced by the race of man, shone afar over

land and sea from the classical and splendid brow of Athens.

Now was finished the ERECHTHEUM, the great Ionic shrine of the gods of the people. On the site of the ancient temple of Athene the architect Ictinus erected the magical PARTHENON, the ideal of Doric grandeur, which the genius of Phidias adorned with a wealth of art never equaled before or afterwards. The PROPYLÆA were built by Mnesicles—beautiful colonnades surmounting broad flights of marble steps by which the Acropolis was ascended.

honored with the name of preservation. The masterpieces of Plynotus, of Zeuxis, of Apelles have sunk into oblivion; only their imperishable fame, transmitted by the foreign robbers who despoiled Greece of her treasures, has remained of what were doubtless the greatest achievements of the human genius displaying its powers on canvas. All that we can ever hope for is to see faintly reflected in the paintings of Herculanæum and Pompeii the borrowed glories of the pencils of the Greeks.

We are not, however, left wholly in the

GREEK ART.—FIGHT OF ACHILLES AND MEMNON.
From an Archaic Vase, Berlin.

The AGE OF PERICLES was the climax of Grecian architecture. The Peloponnesian war and the wild career of the democracy in Athens were unfavorable to further development, even if further development had been possible. The same great age witnessed also the highest achievements of the chisel and the brush. The art of the painter followed that of the builder. Unfortunately for the world the work of the former was less substantial than that of the latter. Not a single piece of Greek painting belonging to the period of development and greatest excellence has been preserved, unless indeed the traditions and reproductions of the Roman artists should be dark as to the actual power of the Grecian painters in the adaptation of color and design. Though every canvas of the great masters has perished, there yet remain the decorated vases of Athens and Corinth. From these we are able to determine with some degree of satisfaction and within the narrow limits of decorative art the skill in color and design displayed by the artists, or more properly the handicraftsmen, of Greece. In these works we see, as in other branches of the industry of genius, a gradual development from the mere linear decoration of the primitive pottery to the highly artistic designs of the classical period, when the figures of men and birds

and beasts are given with the best effects of ceramic art.

Of the great painters of Greece more is known than of their works. PLYGNOTUS, who flourished from B. C. 475 to 455, is regarded as the first of the masters. By him many of the public buildings of Athens were adorned with elaborate frescoes and splendid panels. He it was who is said to have painted Polyxena with such expressiveness of countenance that *the whole Trojan war flashed from her eyes!*

Then came ZEUXIS and PARRHASIUS. The first painted grapes which deceived the birds, and the other a curtain which deceived Zeuxis! Athens applauded the achievements of her favorite artists, and wealth poured her treasure into their laps. TITHMANES also shared their fame. He it was who in his *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, unable to depict as he would the grief of the father, *drew a veil over his face*, and left the rest to thought. This great artist belonged to what is known as the Sicyonian School, and to a time subsequent to the age of Pericles. PAUSIAS, also, was a member of this group. He had the reputation of possessing great realistic powers and extraordinary genius in the art of foreshortening.

But the greatest painter of the Greeks was APELLES, the court artist of Alexander the Great. He was an Ionian by birth, who followed the traditions of the Sicyonian School. He began his career in portraiture, and so great was his fame that Alexander would permit no other to paint him. The generals of the Conqueror and the beloved Campaspe were also the subjects of his art. From portraiture he proceeded to mythological themes, and in these achieved the highest honors. His masterpiece was a picture of *Venus Rising from the Sea*, executed with such wonderful sweetness and delicacy as to surpass all competition.

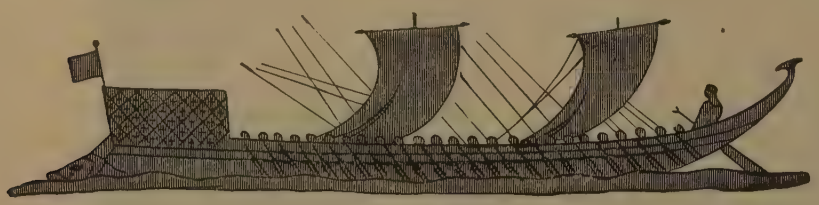
Helen. Menelaos.

GREEK ART.—CAPTURE OF HELEN OF TROY.
From an Archaic Vase, Berlin.

From the age of Apelles painting declined until its glory was extinguished with the glory of Hellas by the conquest of the country by the Romans. Nevertheless, in the period between the time of Alexander and the final destruction of Greek nationality, many artists flourished who under more favorable circumstances would have done honor to their country. Such was PROTOGENES of Rhodes and the realistic THEON, whose picture of the *Swordsman* gave him merited fame.

But the chisel of Hellas surpassed her

pencil. The plastic art of the Greek rose to a pitch of excellence which pictorial representation never could attain. Whatever competition the painters of modern times—notably those of the fifteenth and the sixteenth century—may claim with the painters of Greece, competition with the Greek sculptors there is and can be none. It is safe to set the names of Phidias and Praxiteles in a category by themselves; for none others have to an equal degree won the admiration of mankind. Like the painting of the Greeks, sculpture followed in the wake of the useful arts. Literary culture preceded it. Only when refinement and leisure had been attained by the industrial pursuits, only when war had aroused and poetry had soothed the spirit of Hellas, did she begin to give form to fancy and make her thought imperishable in marble.



FIFTY OARED GREEK BOAT.
From a vase.

Sculpture had its rude beginnings. The early Greek exercised his skill in carving wood and hammering metal. The art of casting in bronze, said to have been first practiced by two Samians, Rhoicus and Theodorus, also preceded the carving of stone. At the first sculpture was employed almost exclusively for temple decoration, but it was not long in being freed from such thraldom. The human form became the model. The gymnasia had taught the lesson of natural modesty, and imparted to the naked body all the exquisite grace and beauty of which it is susceptible. To reach out after this ideal of loveliness was the passion which seized the sculptors of Greece and gave them inspiration. So, beginning in Ægina, a class of artists arose who with consummate skill began to chisel in stone the beautiful lineaments of the human form.

At the first there was much that was rude and conventional, but the artist more and more threw off his fetters, until, by the middle of the fifth century, perfect freedom had been achieved. Then Myron and Polycletus arose, the one with his great works in bronze, and the other with his beautiful marbles. Myron it was who produced the *Ladas*, a victor in a foot race who died at the goal. The last gasp is on his lips. He pants. He is dead. The masterpieces of Polycletes were the *Doryphorus*, a young and beautiful spearman; the *Diadumenus*, a boyish figure, bound as to his brows with a wreath of flowers; and the *Canephoræ*, or maidens with their baskets.

Phidias was the chief glory of the administration of Pericles. To him was committed the work of making the Parthenon sublime. From his studio went forth trophy after trophy to adorn the crowning glory of the Acropolis. Indeed, it is not conceivable that one mind should have designed, much less one hand executed, the multitude of works which are ascribed to Phidias. It is more likely that a group of great artists, working under his direction and inspiration, contributed in keenest rivalry the wonderful decorations of the Parthenon. A description of the separate pieces would occupy a chapter. Around the *cella* was a frieze four hundred feet in length covered with bas-reliefs. The metopes were occupied with ninety-two sculptures representing the *Combats of the Centaurs*. The work on the frieze presents the great procession of the *Panathenæa*—a living panorama of the scenes which appealed most strongly to the imagination of the Greeks.

In statuary proper Phidias, if possible, surpassed the sublimity of his reliefs. His statues of *Athene* and the *Olympian Zeus* were regarded as the master works of antiquity—the latter being classified as one of the Seven Wonders of the world. Both this and the Athene were done in that magnificent style of art called *chryselephantine*, that is, wrought in ivory and gold. It was a revival and glorification of one of the most ancient artistic

methods known to the Greeks, namely, the overlaying of a statue with hammered plates of metal. But the rude works of the primitive artists gave but little prophecy of the splendors of which this style was capable in the hands of a Phidias. To him also was attributed the famous group of *Niobe*—that mother of anguish, smitten by the gods for her maternal pride.

After Phidias, PRAXITELES stands highest among the sculptors of the Greeks. His theme was passionate love. Venus was his ideal. In five statues he gave her the form of marble. His *Aphrodite Knidos* is preserved—in a copy—in the museum at Munich.[1]

At the head of the sculptors of the time of Alexander the Great stood LYSIPPUS. He introduced a new quality into statuary—that of an ideal refinement upon nature. His works show a delicacy in limb and member which could hardly be equaled in those of any other master. So great was the reputation of this artist that Alexander would be modeled by no other. His most famous work is the *Apoxyomenos*, now in the Vatican Museum.

After the time of Lysippus two schools of sculpture arose, the one having its seat in Pergamon and the other in Rhodes. The artists of these schools followed and imitated their predecessors; but their works in many instances exhibited original force directed by the hand of genius. The Pergamine sculptors were specially noted for the realistic effects at which they aimed in their productions, many of which are wonderful in fidelity. Such is the celebrated piece representing a dying Gaul in the Roman amphitheater—a work which evoked from the genius of Byron one of his finest stanzas:

"I see before me the gladiator lie;
He leans upon his hand—his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his drooped head sinks gradually low—
And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder-shower; and now
The arena swims around him—he is gone,
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the
wretch who won."

PHIDIAS IN HIS STUDY.

[1] The *Venus of Melos*, by an unknown artist, belongs to this period, and is regarded as *par excellence* the most beautiful piece of Grecian sculpture.

Of the Rhodian school of artists the work of greatest merit which has been preserved is the group of the *Laocoön*, the joint product of the three sculptors, AGESANDROS, ATHANADORUS, and POLYDORUS. This celebrated piece and the *Dying Gladiator*, just described, stand in the museum of the Vatican at Rome. A second work of Rhodian art, almost as celebrated as the Laocoön, is the group of the *Farnese Bull*, representing the binding of Dirke to a wild bull by Amphion and Zethus. It is the joint product of the sculptors APOLLONIUS and TAURISCUS. Such were the last productions of Grecian chisels down to the time when the freedom of Hellas was extinguished by the Romans. From that time forth, though the love of art continued, no artists arose to rival the great masters who had flourished before the days of spoliation and servitude. It became the policy of Rome, however, to foster for her own glory the genius of the Greeks; and under her liberal patronage were produced not a few of the celebrated sculptures to be hereafter noticed, such as the *Apollo Belvedere* and the *Venus de Medici*.

THE PARTHENON RESTORED.—Finished 438 B. C.

CHAPTER XXXIX.—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

THE life of the Greeks was preëminently a life of publicity. At day-break the people rose and went forth. Having broken his fast with some bread dipped in wine, the citizen sought the open place to take his part in the busy scene of public and private affairs. Even before this early hour the country folk had arisen and made their way to the markets. In the marts were exposed the products of the field and the garden. Here were vegetables and fruit and milk and honey. At the fountains were seen the water-carriers hurrying to and fro with their pitchers. The artisans and shopkeepers soon thronged the streets, and the city hummed with the noise of industry. Nor should the troops of boys hurrying to school be forgotten as an interesting feature of the life that filled the streets of Athens at early morning.

The public market of the city was a scene of hurry and, withal, of hilarity; for the Athenians were never morose. The buildings stood in the center of town, where the prin-

cipal streets crossed, affording ready entrance from all directions. Instead of the low booths which in modern cities so often pass for market-houses, the Greeks gave to their buildings used for this purpose much care, both in structure and ornamentation. The place was not only a market but a public promenade, where friend met friend, exchanged the usual civilities of life, and discussed the affairs of the state.

In the different apartments of the market the various products were exposed, each after its kind. Some sold wine; others, fruits; others, peas and lentils; others, flowers. For the Greeks never banqueted until they had wreathed themselves with flowers. It was the æstheticism of a natural civilization. The flower-girls of the Greek market-place were many times made the subjects of the painter's brush and the sculptor's chisel.

Not only were the daily needs of the people supplied from the market, but around this square of the city were arranged the principal buildings belonging to the other vocations: shops of artisans, physicians' stalls, artists' studios, places for loungers and gossips. Here the witty assembled. Here the doctors discoursed on the art of healing. Here Hippocrates prescribed for his patients. Here the popular satirist made the physician smart with his puns and epigrams. Of Dr. Hermas the bitter rogue said:

"Diophantes, sleeping, saw,
Hermas, the physician:
Diophantes never woke
From that fatal vision!"

Around the market were also gathered clowns and showmen, sellers of amulets and charms, venders of nostrums and ointments. In another part were the money-changers and bankers, domestic merchants and importers of foreign goods. The money-changers were the notaries who authenticated documents and certified the validity of contracts. They received deposits, charged commissions, issued checks and drafts. Before their benches were frequently seen many of the wealthiest citizens of the state.

The great majority of those who plied vocations in the Greek market were men. The exceptions were in the case of the sellers of bread and flowers. These branches were managed by women and girls. The ladies of Athens went not to market. But of men—old men, youths, striplings—all classes were here congregated from day to day. Here Socrates walked with his demure visage and far-seeing eyes. Here Diogenes carried his lantern. Here came the frivolous dandy with his new suit and cane. Only the public officers, who during market hours were engaged elsewhere in administrative duties, and the artisans plying their vocations, were not seen in the noisy but witty crowds about the public market.

There is little doubt that several traits of Athenian character—its rage for discussion, its whimsicality, its madness for politics—were in some measure traceable to the life of the market-place. Here grew and was stimulated that tendency to extremes for which the Greeks have been so much marked by soberer peoples. They were capable within the briefest period of feeling and exhibiting the highest pitch of enthusiasm and the lowest ebb of despondency. In the market one spirit fired a thousand. There bad news quenched hilarity and sent all to their homes in despair.

The citizens of Athens—and Athens is typical of all the free cities of Greece—were a populace. It was the native soil of the demagogue, the sycophant, the statesman. Whether a man would be one or the other depended upon his character and genius. Political parties could but flourish here. Athens was a lawyers' camp. Broils and litigation were the necessary results of that type of freedom which was claimed by the primitive democracy.

So vast was the activity and so keen the litigious instincts of the Athenians, that in the heyday of the city's power a fourth or fifth of her people attended court every day! Aristophanes, in his comedy of the *Birds*, declares that the cicada sings for a month, but that the Athenians buzz with lawsuits to the end of their lives. The satirist then makes two Athenians, tired out with the unceasing contentions of their city, go on high and found another commonwealth in the clouds. But

scarcely was the new city organized until the Athenian lawyers and sycophants rose in a flock and went to it!

While Athens remained under the aristocracy, courts were organized in ten different quarters of the city. When the government took on the democratic form, the judicial power fell into the hands of the whole body of the citizens. From all who were over thirty years of age six thousand were drawn by lot to act as jurymen. Of these one thousand were drawn out as talesmen. The remaining five thousand were divided into ten sections, and each section was assigned to hear causes in one of the ten judicial districts of the city. Except on the occasion of public festivals and holidays, these courts sat every day in the year. High benches were arranged for each of the great juries, and on a lower level in front was the arena where the suitors and their advocates appeared in the trial.

The proceedings were always public, and were attended by great throngs, who were anxious to witness what was done, and especially to hear the pleadings. The courts indeed were much more attended than was the Pnyx, where four times a year were held the meetings of the great assembly. The fee which was paid for presence at court was larger than that which was given for going to the Pnyx, and for this reason the magistrates had to adopt the measure of fining in order to secure attendance at the latter. Sometimes a rope smeared with red paint was stretched across the street and carried rapidly forward with a hustling crowd in front; for whoever was touched with the paint was punished with a fine. A sufficient crowd could thus be obtained to attend to the legislative affairs of the city. When the people were assembled on the terraces of the Pnyx and order had been secured by the bailiffs and policemen, any citizen might propose a measure and secure, if he could, its adoption. Any one might address the assembly for or against the proposed measure, and in doing so the speaker wore a crown as a badge of inviolability. So great was the concession to freedom of speech!

The edicts of the public assembly were carried into effect by the *Boulé*, or Council, a body of five hundred citizens, to whom was committed the execution of the laws. The meetings of this body were held in the *Bouleuterium*, a public building situated between the Acropolis and the market-space. The Council was divided into ten sections of fifty members each, and each section was assigned its turn in duty by lot. It was before this Boulé or Great Council that the international affairs of Greece were transacted. It had control in general of foreign affairs. It received ambassadors and made treaties. To be a member of this august body was the highest civil dignity to which an Athenian might aspire; and yet so complete was the reign of democracy that any one, however humble, might hope for a seat in the Bouleuterium. So great was the difference between the freedom of Greece and the absolutism of the oriental monarchies!

In entering the domain of the private life of the Greeks what first strikes the attention is their hospitality. It was a fundamental principle with the Hellenes that the stranger should be entertained. Though he were an enemy, Zeus Xenios required that he be received in a hospitable manner. No question might be asked of the stranger who came unannounced. He might take his seat at the board, and should be served with the best. *After* he had eaten and drank, his nativity and mission might be inquired. From the days of Homer the guest was received with courtesy. He was given a bath. Food and drink were placed before him. Servants attended to his comfort. A couch was spread in the hall. He rested. He went his way in peace.

With a development of Greek society, however, there was a necessary curtailment of patriarchal hospitality. Travel for travel's sake became more common, the demands upon social bounty more numerous. Still there never was a time when hospitality ceased to be the rule. There was something in the nature of the Greek analogous to what is seen in the modern Parisian. He was sociable. By preference he ate not alone. He either invited others or was himself entertained. He could not endure solitude. Life with him was defined as an opportunity to talk; and the best of life was with a group of friends at the table.

In the earlier times the Greeks lived frugally. The fare of the Homeric heroes was of the plainest. The meats were the flesh of the domestic animals roasted on spits. Home-made bread was passed from hand to hand. Nor did the ancient Hellenes, like the gluttons of Rome, eat to repletion and satiety. With the development of the means of living greater variety was introduced. Poultry and game were added to the meats. Fish and cheese became staple articles of food. Oysters and crabs and Bœotian eels came to be regarded as delicacies on the tables of the rich. Most of the vegetables peculiar to the north temperate zone where it slopes towards the tropics were abundantly served. Then came the wines, of which the variety and qualities produced from the vintages of Hellas and the Cyclades were superior to those of any contemporaneous country.

As a rule the preparation of the feast was intrusted to the supervision of the Greek matron with whom it was a point of honor that her lord and his guests should banquet in good style. Where the feast was of such proportions as to become a public reception rather than a private meal, the services of professional cooks were procured for the occasion. Though woman was then, as ever, the presiding genius of the *preparation*, she was allowed no place at the board. When, however, there were no invited guests, the husband frequently dined with his wife in the *gynæconitis* or woman's apartment of the house.

At nearly every meal, however, friends were invited; for in the gymnasia and market-place man met man, and the two went together to dine. Before the meal was begun all the participants carefully prepared themselves. They bathed. They perfumed themselves. They put on their best attire. When all was ready, they exchanged salutations. An ode was sung. The table was spread in the *andronitis*, or the man's hall of the house. The board was adorned with coverings and hangings. Couches were spread; for the Greeks reclined at the feast. The left arm rested on a cushion. The head was crowned with a chaplet of flowers. On each couch were two guests. The place of honor was next to the host. Each was assigned his place at the board. A slave spread the viands and brought the cups of wine. A spoon was laid before each guest. Plates there were none; neither knives nor forks. The meats were served already cut into bits, which the eaters took with their fingers. The drinking was reserved for the close. Then the wine was mingled with two or three parts of water: the Greek was by nature too much of an æsthete to drink fire at a banquet.

The servants of the table were the youngest and handsomest slaves. They crowned the heads of the banqueters with flowers, and garlanded their breasts with myrtle and violets. After the feast came the song and the dance, generally performed by the servants. The guests were many times heated with wines, and not infrequently the feast degenerated into a revel. It was, however, the excess of nature rather than the deliberately sought intoxication which the drinkers of the North indulged in for the sheer oblivion which followed. To the Greek, delight, exhilaration, exuberance of spirit, the joyous ecstasy of companionship, the thrill of elevated emotion, the forgetfulness rather than the oblivion of care and dread,—such were the motives of his abandonment to the pleasures of drink. So he and his poets praised the wine. Anacreon but expressed the common question of the Greek race in one of his odes:

> "Thirsty earth drinks up the rain,
> Trees from earth drink that again,
> Ocean drinks the air, the sun
> Drinks the sea, and him the moon.
> Any reason canst thou think
> I should thirst while all these drink?"

Such was the power and influence of the Greek feast that the greatest of the philosophers and sages forebore not to participate in its pleasures and to praise both it and its memories. So did even Socrates and Plato. When, in B. C. 416, the poet Agathon, on the day after his victory in tragic verse, gave a banquet to his friends, the greatest minds of the ancient world gathered in honor of the occasion; and the feast itself was made the basis of Plato's *Symposium*, one of the most

charming pieces of literature which ever proceeded from that tall spirit.[1]

During the night the streets of Athens were in charge of public slaves and policemen. For such offices Scythians were preferred. Armed with their bows and arrows, they patrolled the public places, and muttered broken Greek at the disorderly. About one thousand two hundred of these uncouth guards were nightly encamped on the Arcopagus. Their services were in constant demand to check and repress the uproar and riot of the unmanageable crew of young Athenians who poured through the streets in the reckless abandonment of mischief and the not infrequent perpetration of crime.

The women of the ancient Greeks had more freedom than among any other primitive people; and they repaid the gift with a munificent contribution of beauty and faithfulness. Alcestis gives her life as a ransom for her husband's. Antigone follows a father's wretched fortunes with all a daughter's love. Penelope for twenty years longs for her absent lord. What to her are suitors while *he* is far away? Andromache stands by Hector to the end. Even Helen is the victim of the intrigue of the immortals rather than the wayward and guilty wife, insomuch that, after her return to Menelaüs, she is regarded as a true and noble queen. Such was woman in the age of the heroes.

In the later developments of Greek civilization woman suffered. She became restricted in her freedom, and lost her ascendency over the minds of men. Perhaps the change in her condition and rank may be attributed to the constant encroachments of democracy, which, by making every man a participant in public affairs, while not conceding like prerogatives to woman, gradually drew off one of the sexes to the market-square and the Pnyx, there to discuss the many times factitious issues of politics, while at the same time the other sex was more and more restricted by domestic duties and limited by the horizon of home. It was the pernicious political discovery that each of the sexes has a "sphere"—a discovery which has cost the world centuries of retrogression.

In the Dorian and Æolian states, most notably in Sparta, the Greek woman came more nearly maintaining her old-time independence and consequent influence over men and public affairs than in the more highly civilized commonwealths of the Ionians. The Spartans continued to make a boast of their women long after the time when the philosophers, to say nothing of the politicians, of Athens had come to pass them by with indifference. The Spartan mothers retained the old-time flavor of heroism even as long as they had a country. They reared their sons and gave them to the state. The epitaph of Damaineta continued to find exemplification among the heroic daughters of that brave land—

> "Eight sons Damaineta to battle sent,
> And buried all beneath one monument.
> No tear she shed for sorrow, but thus spake—
> 'Sparta, I bore these children for thy sake.'"

The Ionian women of the classical age were less esteemed for heroic than for feminine qualities. The girls were for the most part secluded. On the occasion of public festivals they appeared and took part in the songs and dances. They were bred more and more to the indoor than to the outdoor life. Housekeeping, however, was not taught until after marriage. Then the care of the Greek home devolved almost exclusively upon the woman. In this relation she came to be disprized as something of a drudge. The poets and wits made her the object of innumerable satires. She was left to her beauty and grace for protection rather than to any chivalrous sentiment among the men. Nevertheless, with these many disadvantages, the women of Attica continued to be ladylike and noble. The Greek was rarely discourteous to his wife. Her modesty and dignity were not often shocked by rude language or base conduct. Her home was sacred from the intru-

[1] It will be remembered that it was at this feast of Agathon that the mad-drunk Alcibiades broke in unbidden, assumed the rôle of symposiarch, drank a great bowl of wine, put a garland on the big, brain-knotted head of Socrates, and declared that the reason why the old sage was not already drunken was because there was not wine enough in Greece to intoxicate him!

sion of strangers, and she was little annoyed by the recklessness of men.

In the matter of marriage the selection and contract were made by the parents. In making choice they were influenced not a little by those social considerations which the over-prudent father and mother have in all time been disposed to substitute for the preference of the parties most concerned. The prospective husband was not infrequently obliged to pay the debts of his father-in-law as a condition of betrothal. But as a general rule the selection of the husband or wife was made from the circle of friends and according to the wishes of the young people who were to be joined. Domestic happiness was, after all, the rule, and social misery the exception, in the households of the Greeks.

As it respects fidelity, the law was very severe with the women and very lax with the men. The discrimination in this regard was so great that in some stages of Greek society marriage was well-nigh at a discount in the presence of male abandonment. In the Ionian cities of Asia Minor and the archipelago, and more particularly in Corinth and Athens, a large class of women arose known as *hetæræ*, whose lives and influence were opposed to domestic ties and wifehood. Sometimes women of this class were accomplished to the last degree in the culture of their times. Such was Thargelia of Miletus, who, in her relations with the king of Persia, exercised an influence in favor of her country. Such especially was the renowned Aspasia, who by her association with Pericles became known and respected throughout all Greece. Such were her gifts and genius that both he and Socrates acknowledged their indebtedness to her for lessons in oratory and philosophy. Nor should mention be omitted of Laïs, who obtained an ascendency over the cynical spirit of Diogenes. The story of the Bœotian Phryne is well known, whose charms exposed before the judges saved her from sentence of death, and whose beauty was made the inspiration of Praxiteles when he modeled the Venus of Knidos, and of Apelles, when he painted the goddess rising from the sea.

TYPES OF GREEK WOMEN.[1]

Looking for the home of the Greek we find nothing but description. Not a single house of the classical age has been preserved for the inspection of modern times. No Herculaneum or Pompeii has laid its contribution of protecting ashes on a Greek town or village. But the descriptions of the ancient writers are abundant, and from these may be

[1] For types of Men, see "Heroes of the Trojan War," p. 510.

drawn a fair reproduction of the abodes of the Hellenes. Their houses belonged to the Southern rather than the Northern type of buildings. Instead of one great hall lighted from without and steeply roofed, the house of the South consisted of an inclosure about a rectangular court, from which the light is admitted into the various apartments. It was a house of this sort in which the Greeks of the Heroic Age made their dwelling. Whether the common abode of the peasant or the palace of the prince the type was the same, the structure being varied merely in its details and adornment.

The first distinctive feature of the Greek house within was the division into a man's and a woman's department—the *andronitis* and the *gynæconitis*. Above the first court was a second or even a third, according to the wealth and ambition of the builder. In villages and other situations where there was abundance of room, the ground-plan was a rectangle about twice as great in length as in breadth, but in cities where space on the streets was valuable the fronts of the houses were narrowed, and the depth and height of the buildings proportionally increased.

On the outside the houses of the Greeks were generally stuccoed and painted. In the second story front some small windows looked down on the street. Between two columns below was the door, which was guarded by a slave, and was opened at the signal of knocks. Between the door and the street were the apartments of the servants, arranged on either side of a passage.

The andronitis, or man's hall, was generally surrounded with columns. This apartment occupied the front of the dwelling. Here the man of the house attended to his private affairs, assisted by his steward and servants. Here he prosecuted his studies. Here were his parchments. Here he received and entertained his friends. Here was spread the banquet—of which an account has already been given. From the andronitis a passage leading to the rear entered the woman's hall or gynæconitis, where were arranged the various apartments for the female occupants of the house. Here the women lodged, washed the linen, spun and wove. From these rooms a second passage, closed by a gate, led into the garden in the rear of the dwelling, or into the street if the building extended the whole depth of the square.

In the center of the whole establishment was the court called the *Prostas*—a place sacred to religious devotions. Here stood the family altar. Here in the background was set up the statue of Hestia, the protectress of the hearthstone. Here were celebrated the festivals and anniversaries of the family. Here were offered the sacrifices and vows of religion. Here the marriage was celebrated. Here the new-born child was joyously welcomed into the household. Here at the altar of Hestia was the refuge of the slave and panting fugitive who fled thither for protection.

From the earliest times the Greeks took pride in decorating their houses. Already in the Homeric age ornaments of metal and ivory were beaten or carved for the adornment of the walls and cornice. In the most ancient ruins which have been uncovered—those of Mycenæ and Tiryns—the work of decoration is already fully displayed, even in the Treasure-house of Atreus. The work of the hammer and the chisel preceded that of the brush. So far as artistic painting is concerned, it was at first restricted to buildings of a public character. Alcibiades is said to have been the first to employ a painter to fresco and ornament his house with artistic figures in color. Afterwards, however, down to the times of Alexander the Great, this kind of decoration grew in fashion, especially in Athens, until all except the poorest houses bore some trace of the artist's skill. Even Zeuxis was many times called from his studio to honor with his brush the palaces and villas of the wealthy Athenians.

It is the peculiarity of modern times that mechanical skill has taken the precedence of art. One of the results of this interchange of faculties is the superior elegance and splendor of modern furniture as compared with that of antiquity. Still the latter was not wanting in many evidences of artistic taste, and especially in a certain Oriental magnifi-

cence. Of course, the couches and tables of the kings of the East were gorgeous to the last degree, but in democratic Greece the same class of motives did not exist for rich and costly trappings. Here it was merely the gratification of the æsthetic faculties that led to whatever elegance was displayed in the furniture of the Grecian dwelling. This taste led to a considerable variety of patterns and designs. The chairs, tables, and couches were frequently of costly workmanship. Sometimes the frames were cast of bronze, or when carved of wood were inlaid with silver and ivory. The feet and exposed parts of the frames of such articles of furniture were generally executed in imitation of the form of some animal or creature of mythology—the lion's paw, the dolphin's back, the half-developed form of a nymph. Many of the chairs, especially those of the women, were of great elegance, the backs being carved to fit the person, and the seats laid with ornamented cushions, upon which the deft fingers of the maidens of Greece had exhausted their skill.

The Greek couch consisted of a kind of bench for the mattress, guarded at one end with a head-board, but without a back. Over this, in the earlier times, were laid covers, but these at a later date were superseded with cushions filled with feathers. The bedstead, like the frame of the chair, was sometimes artistically designed, and sometimes plainly—even roughly—executed, according to the taste and means of the owner. The frame of the bed was generally concealed by drapery drawn around it, the same being ornamented with fringes, tassels, and gold and silver embroidery.

Preserved in chests in the gynæconitis were the articles of the toilet belonging to the women—a numerous array of caskets, cosmetics, and jewelry. Indeed, no people, whether ancient or modern, have given more attention to artistic care of the person than did the matrons and maidens of Greece. But the peculiarity of the latter was, to their honor, that their whole notion of personal attractiveness as heightened by art consisted in beautifying and not destroying nature.

Night divides the world with the day. What should the Greeks do in the darkness? It is matter of surprise that the great genius of the race did not more concern itself with the matter of artificial illumination. The problem of light was one in which neither they nor any other people of antiquity seemed to take much interest. The homes of the Greeks were lighted with oil-lamps with wicks, and the streets with torches. In the actual contrivance there seems to have been no advance from the first principles, such as are adopted by half-civilized races in illumination; but in the designs of the lamps it is easy to discover the peculiar and superior qualities of Greek taste. These have the most elegant forms, being of that flat, bowl-like pattern which the best modern art is proud to imitate. They were ornamented with an endless variety of designs, some in color and some in relief—vines and fruits and figures of animals and birds. The materials in most common use were terra-cotta and bronze, but the rich had their lamps of silver and sometimes of gold. They were designed for hanging or standing, and for the latter use were supported by candelabra of the slenderest and most beautiful styles. These were set by the couches in the andronitis, and here reclined the Greek in the evening and read. Near by stood the library, with its tiers of pigeon-holes, into which were inserted the cylindrical cases containing the rolls of manuscript.

The material used in writing was prepared papyrus brought from Egypt. Upon this the poem or disquisition of the philosopher was carefully copied by a scribe. The Greek manuscripts were generally executed with great care and exquisite finish as to neatness and accuracy. In the house of a prominent and influential man a small library of favorite authors might always be expected. In the age of the Macedonian ascendency, however, the library became a public rather than a private enterprise; and the example of Alexander in founding in Egypt and elsewhere vast collections of books was emulated by nearly all the great men of subsequent times. Book collectors were common in Greece, and the possession of rare or exquisite rolls was in many a rage, as in modern times. Of this

sort were the poet Euripides and the philosopher Aristotle, both of whom distinguished themselves by accumulating large libraries of valuable and rare works.

Other connoisseurs there were who turned their energies to the collection of articles of a non-literary character. Old things of quaint device and singular pattern were eagerly sought after by the dilettanti and hunters of bric-a-brac, just as the relics and fashions of the fourteenth century are now pursued by the fanciers of what is valuable for being out of date. Indeed, this taste for the rare and curious was as keen in the Greeks as in any of the monomaniacs of our day. The lyre of Orpheus was hunted as eagerly as the wood of the True Cross is now sought by those who believe in its virtues. One Greek carved an ivory chariot and four horses of such stupendous proportions that the whole could be covered by the wings of a house-fly, and another executed two verses of Homer on a grain of sesame! Art becomes ingenuity in Lilliput!

The care of the Greek household was largely intrusted to the slaves. These were owned by all families except the poorest. The morality of the institution was never questioned even by the philosophers. With them human freedom meant freedom for the Greek. Not even the author of the *Atlantis* seems ever to have troubled himself about the existence of slavery in his own country. The slaves were all barbarians, either taken in battle or purchased in the market. He who went to war with a Greek did it with a knowledge that he was running the risk of perpetual servitude with the chances greatly against him. Still, however, the condition he would be thus exposed to was far more tolerable than in any other ancient state.

The slave of the Greek, though subject to his master, was not as a rule treated with severity. He might marry and have a household of his own. In sickness and old age he was released from toil, and cared for with decency if not with tenderness. Ties of friendship and even of intimacy were not infrequently contracted between slave and master which survived all vicissitude and ended only with life. Albeit the condition of the Helots in Sparta—a subject race belonging to the soil and transferred with it as serfs—was an estate totally different from common chattel slavery as it presented itself in Athens and the other cities of Central Greece.

The slave-class in Attica was very numerous. In a population of five hundred and fifty thousand souls, fully four hundred thousand were slaves—being in the ratio of three to one of the free citizenship. This enormous element of population was distributed, as we have already seen, into the houses of the free Greeks and into the factories, quarries, mines, and indeed in all places where "naked human strength" was the thing required. In the house of any well-to-do Greek citizen a retinue of about twenty slaves, male and female, was required for the service. Upon them was devolved the entire labor, though not the superintendence, of the establishment. In the gynæconitis the mistress of the house and her daughters sat among the domestics and supervised and directed in all that was done. The householder meanwhile ordered his division of the servants to their various tasks, and then went to the market-place to talk politics and discuss the management of the war. There is little doubt that the institution of slavery among the Greeks was thus the blind complement of that factious democracy which, uncurbed by useful tasks of labor, inserted its idle talons in the breast of the state and tore out her vitals.—Such were the manners and institutions of the Hellenes in the times of their power and renown.

CHAPTER XL.—RELIGION.

A BRIEF sketch of the religion of the Greeks, considered apart from their system of mythology, will be appropriate before the traditions and civil history of the race are presented. When we consider the moral elvation of the Olympian hierarchy there is not much to admire. The gods who dwelt on that sublime height were of the same sort with the men who dwelt at its base. "Like men like gods," might well apply to the Greek family, whether terrestrial or celestial. There is not much wonder, therefore, that the former should not greatly respect the latter, since they saw them as beings of like passions with themselves.

Consulting the literature of the Greeks from Homer to Aristophanes one might well conclude that the Hellenes were a people devoid not only of the genuine religious instinct but even of a decent respect for their deities. Such, however, would be far from a true conclusion. Perhaps in many instances the fantastic legends of tradition were brushed aside by the lucid intelligence and skeptical disposition of the Greeks, but behind the fiction the substance of the thing remained in the imagination of the people: and the substance was adored with a sincere veneration.

The beings, then, whom the Greeks worshiped were regarded as the guardians of mankind and the avengers of evil. To them belonged the reward of virtue and the punishment of crime. They hasted not in their work, but their work was sure. They observed the minds and hearts of men, honored the upright, regarded the faithful, heard the voice of supplication. This was the groundfaith of the Greek, whether philosopher or peasant. Nor does it appear that the most skeptical spirit ever wholly shook it off. Socrates himself was in the habit of prayer, and disdained not to consult an oracle.

There was thus in the ofttimes frivolous nature of the Greek a sincere vein of piety. His earliest efforts in art were permeated with devotion. Homer's heroes believe most implicitly in the gods—pray to them, fear them. The Grecian states, taking up the theme, denounce impiety. He whose teachings seem dangerous, or whose life is sacrilegious, is banished or put to death. The memory of the impious is execrated. All this shows a deep-seated, though often misdirected, vein of religious sentiment in the people.

All the principal acts in the drama of Greek life were introduced with religious ceremony. The man of the house was the priest. He needed no other. He said his own prayers. He made his own offerings for himself and his family. When he prayed to the gods of the air he stood with upturned face and held his hands aloft. If he supplicated the deities of the deep, his hands were stretched to the sea. The birth of the child, the betrothal, the marriage, the funeral—all the chief events in the life of the household—were sanctioned with some religious rite.

As early as the days of Homer the Greeks raised the altar of sacrifice. Upon this the worshiper offered his gifts and victims. Of things without life those most brought to the sacrificial fire were fruit and cakes, oil and wine, milk and honey. In offering living victims the best of the flock or herd was selected, and sometimes, as in the case of the hecatomb, as many as a hundred animals were slain at once. Not all of the creature offered, but only certain parts were burned in the fire; the remainder was eaten by the worshipers and the priests. Even in the shedding of blood the æsthetic taste of the Greek appeared, for the beast to be offered was wreathed as to his head and horns with a garland of flowers. The neck of the animal was sprinkled with salt and consecrated barley, and then the knife let out the creature's life.

As already said, every free Greek—and

every Greek was free—could act as his own priest. The introduction, therefore, of a class of priests was merely a matter of preference and division of labor. It was rather in connection with certain sacred places, seats of the gods, oracles, etc., that the services of a regular priesthood seemed to be demanded. In the great temples, also, groups of priests were a necessity of the service; but they gathered about the shrine, not by hereditary right or by appointment of a superior hierarchy, but simply by that natural selection which, working among men, sends some to one vocation and some to another. The rank and rights of citizenship were no more sacrificed by the assumption of priestly duties than by the doctor in treating a patient or the lawyer in pleading a cause.

There is no doubt, however, that the priests, having once assumed the sacred office, acquired thereby a certain dignity and honor. They were respected and venerated by all classes. The popular imagination associated them with the holy rites which they celebrated, with the solemn temple where they lived, and even with the high gods whom they served. They thus acquired a great reputation for sanctity, and a consequent influence over the minds of the people. Nor was their reputation less distinguished for the learning which they claimed by tradition and oracular response. They were well acquainted with the old unwritten laws and venerated customs of the Greeks, and thus became a conservative force in the state—a force not without a salutary influence on the distracting and revolutionary tendencies of such a people.

Among the Greeks the belief in prophecy was very general; and here again freedom had her way, for any one might be a prophet. The gods were no respecters of persons. The voice of the deity might be heard by any one as well as by a priest. If the latter was more frequently in communion with the supernal powers, it was only because he dwelt near some shrine or sacred haunt which the god delighted to frequent. The signs by which in earth or sea or sky the deities made known their will were not of private interpretation; and so the many rather than the few heard and recognized the voices from on high.

But in the case of the oracles the divine responses were delivered by the priests. The inquiries of those who would learn the mysteries of the future and of fate were borne to the inner place by priestly hands and submitted to the god for answer. Such was the usage at Dodona, in Epirus, the most ancient oracle of Zeus. In the rustling of the oak leaves were heard the breathings of that great Immortal who was held to be the first among the powers of heaven; but the noise in the oaks was unintelligible save to the sacred persons who were by holy life and residence in the groves acquainted with the meaning of the mysterious messages. Such also was the method of obtaining responses at the still more famous shrine of the prophetic Apollo, at Delphi. This oracle was the most celebrated in Greece, perhaps in the world. In the classical age the greatest intellects recognized the validity of the Delphic responses, and the weightiest affairs of state hung breathless until the answer was delivered.

The spot chosen by Apollo for his favorite haunt was a wild ravine at the foot of Parnassus. The scene was grand and solitary. Only the murmur of a brook broke the impressive silence. On either hand rose vertical walls of rock. Here in this gorge the god of light and poesy and song had slain the Python, the great dragon of darkness and barbarism. The Castalian fountain sprang from the spot, and the Muses made it their home. Here from a cleft in the rock issued that intoxicating vapor which benumbed the senses of man and brought him into communion with the deity. The tongue of the intoxicated became the oracle of the god. Around the sacred spot holy men gathered to muse and pray. Here houses were built. Here a shrine was erected for the deity. Here rose the holy city of Delphi, whose fame as the seat of divine inspiration spread first throughout all Greece and then to the ends of the civilized world.

He who would inquire of Apollo came bringing gifts. Something precious must be brought in recompense for prophecy. Treas-

ures of gold and silver and sculpture and painting were cast in profusion into the divine thesaurus, until the shrine became rich beyond estimate. In times of turbulence and war the eyes of the irreligious were cast longingly towards the accumulated treasures in the house of Apollo, and more than once the profane hand of expediency was laid upon them.

The Delphic responses were obtained through the lips of a priestess called the PYTHIA. She was chosen from the women of Delphi, and was especially consecrated to her sacred office. Once every month she purified herself by fasting and ablutions. She chewed laurel leaves, bathed in and drank from the Castalian spring. Then she went into that part of the temple where the fissure in the native rock still gave forth its vapor. She seated herself on the tripod, and was soon intoxicated with the gas. Then she fell down in a swoon. She uttered wild ejaculations in her delirium, and these were caught up by the attending priests and wrought into oracular—generally ambiguous—responses to the inquiries which had been propounded. As a rule the answers were rendered in hexameter verse, but in later times the priests, grown less careful, gave back the reply in prose.

In these conditions were laid the foundations of the priestly lore which was cultivated at Delphi. It was the business of the college to know the actual state of affairs, not only in Greece, but, as far as practicable, in all the surrounding nations. By such information the priests could know, and did know, beforehand the kind of inquiries which would arise out of the political and social conditions of the country. They accordingly busied themselves in framing and answering suppositious questions, and in this line of work acquired not a little skill. In the ordinary affairs of politics and war they were very well prepared to give intelligent advice, or even to predict with approximate certainty the natural course of events. When, however, it came to the actual domain of prophecy and to matters of which the priest could know no more than another, he had necessary recourse to fraud, and this he found in the construction of ambiguous responses—couplets which could be made to read both ways in the light of the dénouement. Thus Crœsus was told that if he crossed the Halys he would destroy a great

DELPHI AND PARNASSUS.

kingdom. Whose kingdom? His own, or that of Cyaxares? The former, as it proved; the latter, as it was hoped. Thus was the credit of Apollo and his priests maintained against the hazard of contingency.

There were, however, those among the witty Greeks who fathomed and derided the double utterances of Delphi. The comic poets found the Apollonian ambiguity a precious morsel. They imitated the style of the confused priest, and made him the butt of profane mirth. Aristophanes introduces the leather-seller Cleon and a sausage-maker, and the decision of a squabble between them is thus oracularly rendered:

" Moreover, when the eagle in his pride,
With crooked talons and a leathern hide,
Shall seize the black and blood-devouring snake,[1]
Then shall the woeful tan-pits quail and quake;
And mighty Zeus shall give command and place
To mortals of the sausage-selling race:
Unless they choose, continuing as before,
To sell their sausages for evermore."

The satire was all the keener for being in the exact vein of the Delphic utterances. But despite the sharp darts that were thus leveled against them, the Delphic priesthood held their own for many centuries, and did not perceptibly wane in their influence over the public mind until after the establishment of the Roman Empire.

[1] Meaning *a sausage!*

Of scarcely less importance than the oracles were the MYSTERIES of the Greeks. These were rites celebrated in secret orders, and intended to gratify a higher grade of religious aspirations than could be satisfied by the popular faith. The orders were open only to those who could establish by satisfactory proofs the previous rectitude and purity of their lives. To such the promise of a calmer and more elevated frame of mind, a deeper hope of present peace and future immortality, was held forth on condition of entering the mysteries. Every pure Greek might aspire to membership in one of the sacred orders. Even women were admitted with the men to equal participancy in the new life of holiness and consecration.

THE PYTHIA ON THE TRIPOD.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

To attain the highest rank in one of the mysteries, the candidate had to pass three degrees. He was first initiated; then, after a season of probation, advanced to a second de-

gree; and finally admitted to the third or highest rank, in which he was enrolled with the *epoptæ*, or "beholders"—for such were allowed to behold the unveiled myths of the national religion.

The two principal mysteries of Greece were those celebrated at Eleusis and at Samothrace. The latter place was a small island in the Ægean, on which from the earliest times a society had flourished whose aim was to interpret and illustrate the secrets of nature. What these secrets were, and by what ceremonies they were interpreted, have never been ascertained—so thick and carefully drawn was the curtain between the "initiated" and the outer world of vulgar sense. More famous far were the mysteries known as Eleusinian. These were celebrated at the city of Eleusis, in Attica. The society was in great repute, and many of the most distinguished Athenians were proud to be numbered among the *epoptæ*. Here, too, the secrecy was profound. Only thus much is known, that the mysteries of nature—especially those appertaining to life—were sought to be unveiled to the senses and perceptions of men by the rites of the celebrants. The two deities honored within the veil were Demeter, the great Earth-mother, and Dionysus, the wine-god. Eleusis was the seat of one of the most celebrated of the Greek myths—that in which Demeter, after searching long by land and sea, at last learned that her lost daughter Persephone had been married to Hades, the dark specter of the under world, and that she was now his queen in the realms below. Here the mother procured her daughter's return to life and joy—at least for a season.[1] The myth became the basis of the mystery which the initiated were to explain and illustrate with their rites—the mystery of the varying and beautiful processes of life.

In the months of August and September of each year, after the harvests had been gathered, a period of twelve days was set apart for the celebration of the great feast known as the *Eleusinia*. Athens abandoned herself to the occasion. Strangers came from all parts of Greece to be present at the anniversary. First the candidates and initiates prepared themselves by bathing in the sea, by fasting and sacrifice. Then for five days offerings were made to Demeter and Dionysus; and on the sixth was the great procession, in which the ancient statue of Dionysus, garlanded with flowers and bearing a torch in his hand, was brought with loud acclaim and laughter and song from Athens to Eleusis. It was always arranged that the procession should not reach its destination until nightfall. The image of the god was borne after dark into a great building, where the mysteries were celebrated, and here under the flickering glare of torches were begun the awful ceremonies which occupied the remainder of the festival. Before the close of the mysterious proceedings Persephone was welcomed back to earth, and then hilarity and banqueting succeeded to the previous despondency and gloom.

The proper feast of Dionysus was wilder and more extravagant in character than that of Demeter. As sometimes celebrated, it was an orgy in which the participants abandoned themselves to frantic excesses. At the *Dionysia* in Athens it was regarded as a duty in those who took part in the exercises to become drunken. Every one crowned himself with ivy and flowers, and offered to him whom he met a cup of wine. The image of Bacchus was borne about in processions, and a wild crew of Satyrs, Bacchantes, and Pans rushed madly along, piping and shouting till the day became an uproar and the night hideous.

The great local religious festival of the Athenians was called the *Panathenæa*. It was celebrated every fourth year in honor of Pallas Athene, the patron goddess of the city. On the return of the anniversary Athens was crowded with strangers. Hither came a throng of poets, musicians, artists, gymnasts, showmen, mountebanks—every type of humanity known to the world of the Greeks. It was a time of excitement, of competition, of the exhibition of skill in achievement and strength.

[1] Persephone represents Life. In the summer she rejoices in leaf and bud and flower. But in winter Pluto takes her under the earth. She is seen no more. She is queen of the dark abodes in the Land of Gloom. With the sunshine of spring she returns and gladdens her mother, Earth.

The great day was the day of the procession. In the morning outside of the city the throngs gathered. Here the column was formed. At the head of the procession came a band of flute players and citharists. Then followed the Athenian soldiery—infantry and cavalry. Behind this division marched all those who had ever been crowned as victors in the public contests of the country. The next division was composed of priests, leading the animals presently to be offered in sacrifice. Next followed the old men of Athens, each carrying some costly gift to be offered to the goddess. Then came the woman's column of the procession—matrons and maidens chosen for their beauty and reputation. In the midst they drew in a car the *peplos*, or embroidered robe, with which the statue of Pallas was to be clad at the end of the march.

Through the beautiful streets of the city the procession made its way, pausing at the various shrines and altars, and then ascended the hill to the citadel. Before the temple a burst of music was sounded from the instruments, and then, in the sublime presence of the Protectress of the city, the votive gifts were laid and the sacrifices offered by the priests.

If the Greek mind, participating in these great festivals, could have been fathomed, there would have been revealed a double class of sentiments; the one looking joyfully upon life, and the other scanning death with appre-

THE ELEUSINIAN FEAST.—Drawn by H. Vogel.

hension and dread.[1] There were exhibited in the different parts of the ceremonies the traces of these conflicting feelings, the one class tending to produce merriment and even rap-

[1] No one can thoughtfully study the life of the Athenians without being constantly reminded of the Parisians of the last and present centuries. Athens was the Paris of antiquity, and Paris is the Athens of the modern world. There are to be seen in both peoples the same qualities of nature—that same excitability of temper, in which are strangely mingled the opposites of heroism and weakness, of excessive joyousness and deep gloom, of hope and despair.

ture under the beautiful aspects of the world, and the other class tending to gloom and despondency under the shadow of the coming doom! To the Greek, Life meant every thing of happiness which the most exuberant fancy could depict, and Death meant what Homer and the heroes believed it to be, a dreary and joyless existence beyond the inky Styx.

In those matters which the ancients designated by the general name of piety the Greeks were worthy to be commended. Suffering excited their sympathy. Sorrow called for kindred tears. To the dead were due the sacred rites of sepulture. Even the passing stranger should, for humanity's sake, sprinkle a few handfuls of earth on the unburied corse exposed by the way. The atrocious spite of the Orientals in pursuing the lifeless body of the foe with insult and mutilation was abhorred by the sensitive Greeks, who saw in the lifeless frame only the sad relic of mortality. Only in the highest heat of battle was any indignity offered to the dead by the humane soldier of Hellas.

When a Greek fell into his last slumber, the friends immediately composed the body and laid upon the mouth the ferriage-fee for Charon. The corse was clad in white and laid upon a bier. Flowers were brought by the mourning friends, who put on badges of sorrow. On the morrow the corse was burned and the ashes committed to an urn. In the later times the horror known as earth burial became common, and finally prevailed over the former beautiful and cleanly method of purification by fire.

After burial in the earth became the usual method of bestowing the dead, cemeteries were arranged outside the city walls. Sometimes there were single tombs here and there, where some distinguished person had been buried within his own premises. In other parts there were public burying-grounds, in which there was a vast aggregate of graves. Over each was raised a mound of earth, and on this were planted ivy and roses. The coffin of the Greeks was an elongated ellipse, generally of terra-cotta, resembling somewhat the "dish-cover" burial cases of the Chaldæans.[1] Over the grave was erected a memorial stone or monument, and on this was an inscription giving the name of the dead, an effigy perhaps of his person, a word of praise for his virtues, and an epigram composed for his memory. The epitaphs of the Greeks were of the highest order of merit and originality; nor was there about the grave any of those symbols of lugubrious woe which since the Middle Age have added so much to the horrors of the city of the dead.

In the coffin of the Greek, Superstition performed her usual little drama. The personal ornaments worn by the deceased were laid with his body—a pardonable weakness and mark of respect. But there were also vessels for fruit and oil—the drinking-cup, the cake of bread, the beverage for the departed. The articles thus put away with the dead for his use have risen for the edification of mankind; but he to whom they were given in death—

"Sleeps the sleep that knows not breaking."

[1] See Book Second, p. 127.

CHAPTER XLI.—MYTH AND TRADITION.

A TRUE interpretation of the myths of the Greeks has been one of the most difficult problems imposed on modern scholarship. Longfellow tells a story how the infant Christ, having forgotten the name of the letter *aleph*, and being informed by his teacher that it was *aleph*, suddenly startled his instructor with the question. "But, please good Rabbi, what does aleph *mean?*" The question of the myth to us is, not so much *What is it? but, What does it mean?*

Many theories have been advanced to explain the origin and true nature of the myths of antiquity. They are the peculiar property of the Aryan race. Among the Semitic nations mythology did not, could not, flourish—this for reasons to be hereafter explained. But the Aryans were a people whose brains teemed with myths.

In the next place it should be observed that all branches of the Aryan family had the *same* myths, almost infinitely varied and inflected, it is true, but yet at bottom the same. Just as the different languages of the Indo-European race are fundamentally identical, so the mythology of that race in all its multitudinous outbranchings flows from a common fountain and has the same identical substance. The myths of India, Greece, Italy, Germany, and Scandinavia differ not in material, but only in development. The same story runs from the valley of the Indus to Iceland, from the frozen North to the waters of the southern seas.

But of all the mythologies no other was so highly developed as that of Greece. The same exuberance which characterized the other elements of Greek life seems to have given a double impulse to the myths of Hellas. Both in number and completeness they far surpass the fictions of any of the sister peoples of the ancient world.

In the first place it may be well to sketch again what may be called the *personnel* of Grecian mythology. In the beginning was CHAOS. Chaos wedded NIGHT. From them sprang the HEAVEN and the EARTH. The Heaven was URANUS; the Earth, GÆA. Uranus succeeded Chaos in the government of the universe. Then was born CRONOS. Cronus had Uranus, the Heaven, for his father, and Gæa, the Earth, for his mother. Time was born of the Heaven and the Earth. Gæa had other children, born perhaps of Chaos. These were the CYCLOPES and BRONTE and STEROPE. Bronte and Sterope were Thunder and Lightning. These chaotic offspring were hurled by Uranus into Tartarus; but Gæa was in pain for the banishment of her children. She persuaded Cronos and the other children of Uranus to mutiny against him. He was seized by them, mutilated, dethroned; and Cronos, the eldest of the sons, took the throne of the father. Time usurped the dominion of Heaven.

Cronos wedded RHEA, another daughter of Uranus and Gæa. Rhea was the Earth.[1] Of Time and Earth were born the days. But Time swallowed his offspring as soon as they were born, and Rhea was in anguish for her children. About to be delivered of ZEUS, she gave her lord a stone, and he swallowed that instead of the child. Zeus inherited the heavens, and became first among gods and men. He was the Blue Sky. He was the Light. Though the Days perished he was immortal.—Such is the first span from Chaos to Zeus—from Confusion to Light and Order.

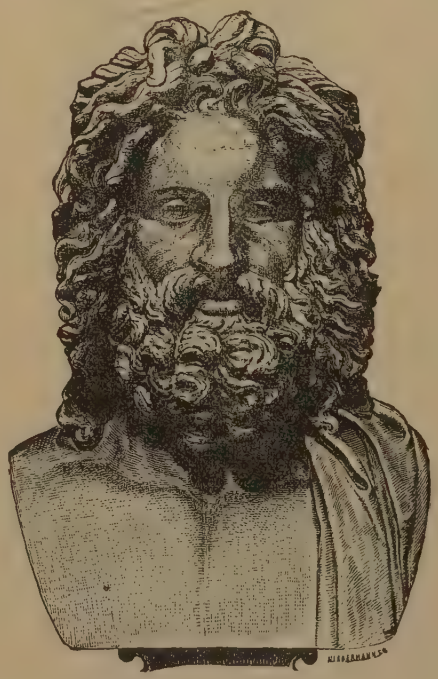
Zeus enthroned delivered the Cyclopes from their dungeon. In return they gave him back Bronte, the Thunderbolt. With this he warred against the TITANS. In the war he was aided by Forethought. Forethought was PROMETHEUS; but Prometheus filched fire from heaven and kindled it for men below.

[1] Rhea = the Greek *era*, by transposition of the *r* = Latin *terra*, earth.

For this was Forethought seized and bound to the rugged cliffs of Caucasus to suffer unending tortures. Afterwards Zeus and his two brothers, HADES and POSEIDON, drew lots for the different parts of the universe. The sovereignty of heaven fell to Zeus; the sea, to Poseidon; and the world below to Hades.

Zeus was thus established at the head of the Greek pantheon. He took for his spouse his sister HERA,[1] daughter of Cronos and Rhea. A numerous divine progeny sprang up to the Father of gods and men. His eleven children, constituting with himself the Olympian hierarchy, or "twelve gods," were Leto and her two children, APOLLO and ARTEMIS, ARES, HERMES, ATHENA, HEPHÆSTUS, HESTIA, DEMETER, APHRODITE, and HERA, who is sometimes reckoned as the daughter rather than the sister of Zeus. These gods held their court on Olympus, as the two subordinate courts of Poseidon and Hades were held respectively in the sea and the underworld of darkness.—It will be appropriate to notice briefly the power and province ascribed by the Greek imagination to each of these gods and goddesses.

Zeus was the chief deity of the Hellenic race. He was subject to nothing but Fate. The Greeks believed in an absolute Necessity which held the universe in its clutches. To this all men and gods must bow in submission. Zeus was constrained by the Absolute. Otherwise he was supreme. He did his will. He established his seat on Olympus, and from that cloudy summit ruled the world. In final causation every thing, whether good or bad, flowed from him. The destiny of all mortals, and in some sense of all immortals, was directed by his nod. He took for his wife METIS, by whom he became the father of Athena; then THEMIS, who was the mother of the HORÆ and the PARCÆ—the Hours and the Fates; then EURYNOME, of whom were born the Graces; then HESTIA and MNEMOSYNE, whose children were PERSEPHONE and the MUSES; then LETO, who bore him APOLLO and ARTEMIS; and then JUNO, who became the mother of ARES, HEBE, and HEPHÆSTUS. So the king of the gods took to himself the epithet "Olympian." He sat on his throne and hurled the thunderbolt. To him was erected the shrine among the oaks of Dodona, and afterwards the splendid temple at Olympia, the latter containing the celebrated



COLOSSAL HEAD OF ZEUS.
The Otricoli mask, of the Vatican.

chryselephantine statue of the god done by Phidias.

Hera was regarded by the Greeks as the queen of heaven. She bore, in some sense, the same relation to women as Zeus did to men. She was the patroness of marriage, and under the epithet of *Elethyia* presided over the birth of mortals. In the Homeric legends she is represented as the least amiable of the divinities—jealous and petulant to the extent of keeping the other Olympians, and especially Zeus, in perpetual trouble. She even organized a conspiracy with Poseidon against her husband to dethrone and imprison

[1] It will be well in this connection to give once for all the Latin and Greek equivalents for the names of the principal deities—thus: Ouranos=Uranus; Cronos=Saturn; Zeus=Jupiter, or Jove; Hades=Pluto; Poseidon=Neptune; Hera=Juno; Apollon=Apollo; Artemis=Diana; Leto=Latona; Ares=Mars; Hermes=Mercury; Athena=Minerva; Hephæstus=Vulcan; Hestia=Vesta; Demeter=Ceres; Aphrodite=Venus.

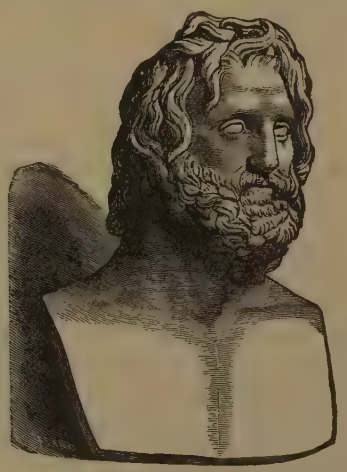
him; but he, discovering the plot, seized her and hung her in the clouds. She was haughty and imperious. In the Trojan war she

COLOSSAL HEAD OF HERA.—Villa Ludovici.

espoused the cause of the Greeks, and was regarded as the chief source of the woes of Ilium. Her principal seats of worship were at Argos, Samos, and Sparta. At the first-named place was built her finest temple, and in this was her colossal statue done in ivory and gold.

When the lots were cast for the sovereignty of the universe the sea fell to Poseidon, son of Cronos and Rhea. He was not especially represented as inhabiting the waters, but rather as having dominion over the movements of the great deep. His vicegerent, NEREUS, lived in the sea, just as HELIOS dwelt in the sun, while the destiny of the orb was controlled by PHŒBUS APOLLO. The meaning of the name of Poseidon is not certainly known, and from that source nothing can be gathered of his nature. He is represented in the Iliad and Odyssey as equal in dignity to Zeus, but inferior to him in power. To Poseidon was attributed a part of the work of creation. He was said to be the maker of the horse. He was called the "Keeper of the Earth," and the "World-Shaker"—titles indicative of almost Jovine majesty. In one legend he disputes the sovereignty of Greek cities with Athena, Hera, and Helios. As a rule he was loyal to Zeus, cheerfully conceding to him the supreme dominion; but in one instance, at the instigation of Hera and Athena, he conspired to dethrone the king of the gods, but the plot was revealed by Thetis; and the hundred-handed BRIAREUS was placed beside the throne to guard it against rebellions.

Poseidon had his palace in the deep waters near Ægæ, on the shores of Eubœa. Here he kept his golden-maned horses, which bore him swiftly in a sea-chariot over the surface of the deep. He controlled the ocean in time of storms, lest it should sweep the land from its foundations and overwhelm the world. Unlike Zeus, Poseidon was subject to other wills besides his own. He was sometimes compelled by the authority of his brother to do great works for men. He it was who, together with Heracles, was obliged by the council of the immortals to rebuild the walls of Troy for Laömedon, who refused to pay him for his services. The god, incensed at



POSEIDON.—Museo Chiaromonti.

this treatment, espoused the cause of Agamemnon and Menelaüs, and helped to wreak vengeance on the Trojans. But the most famous legend of Poseidon is that in which he contends with Athena for the naming of Athens. Zeus decreed that the name should be given

to that deity who conferred the greatest boon on the human family. Poseidon created and gave the horse. Athena offered as her gift the olive-tree. The award was made to Athena, for the olive, symbol of peace, was better than the horse that men ride to battle. Poseidon had for his wife the goddess AMPHITRITE—that jealous Nereid who threw the herbs into the well of Scylla and thus transformed her rival into a monster.

To Hades, brother of Zeus and Poseidon, fell the dominion of the unseen abodes under the earth, the dreary and desolate kingdom of darkness. The world was flat. Its surface belonged to the cheerful gods of light. All the gloomy realm below was the realm of the somber Hades. He was in some sort the antagonist of light and life. He seized Persephone, the fair daughter of Demeter, and drew her down from the upper world to be his wife in the abodes of gloom. Then the bereft mother Earth went about all winter long searching for her daughter Life.[1] The gloomy Hades agreed to give her up for half the year, but the other half she should dwell with him, and the Earth should be desolate in her absence.

Hades had charge of the mineral treasures of the earth. They lay hidden in dark caves, and were his especial property. And more especially since death is a mystery, since it is the coming of darkness, since man goes away into the shadows and is seen no more—to Hades was assigned the dominion of the dead. They went to him. His kingdom was the place of the unseen spirits. There, in his sunless abode, must the banished sons of mortality find their place. Hence was Hades called *Polydegmon*, the Receiver of Many—for he received many into his cheerless kingdom. Sometimes Hades was called the Zeus of the Nether World. His authority was absolute in his place of darkness. There he had his palace; and by the portals sat the grim dogs Orthros and Cerberus, the latter with his three terrible heads, guarding the approach to the abode of his master.

Athene was the daughter of Zeus. She sprang from his forehead cleft by the axe of Hephæstus. That is, the Dawn sprang from the forehead of Light split by the Sun! Athene is sometimes called *Tritogenia*, meaning Daughter of the Sky. She was the goddess of the Greek people just waking from the night of unconscious barbarism to the light of civilization. Her birds were the owl and the cock; the one sounding out the night, and the other trumpeting the clarion of daybreak. To wake from slumber is to know. To know is to be wise. Hence, Athene was the goddess of wisdom. She knew the mind of Zeus. She is the Virgin Divinity of the Greek race. She is serene and high. Only once does she act unworthily. She it was who dressed Pandora when she was sent to Epimetheus bearing the fatal casket which contained the woes of the world. But she gave the olive-tree to Athens and received the name of the city.

Demeter was the Earth and the mother of Life — that beautiful Persephone whom the unfeeling Zeus gave to Hades. When the unsuspecting maiden was gathering flowers at Enna, the ground suddenly opened, and Hades, riding in a chariot drawn by coal-black horses, seized her and bore her down below. Demeter put on a mourning-robe, and wandered with a torch in her hand, searching for her daughter. She met HECATE, who told her that she had heard the cry of Persephone when Hades seized her. The mother then went to Helios, the Sun, and he told her the story of her daughter's doom. Then she wandered to Olympus, refusing to be comforted. Nor did the Earth any more yield her increase of fruits or flowers until Hermes was sent below to bring back Life from the darkness.

Hestia was the eldest daughter of Cronos and Rhea. She was the goddess of that sacred fire that burned on the hearthstone of home. The primitive theory of society was that all

[1] Persephone is close to Eve. Eve means *Life*, and should have been so rendered, and would have been but for the blundering of the English translators. The Seventy very properly rendered the Hebrew word by *Zoë*—"Life;" but King James's scholars fell back upon a corrupt imitation of the spelling of the Hebrew word, and the sense was lost. The woman was called *Life;* for she was the mother of all living.

men are enemies until reconciled. The hearth was the place of reconciliation; the fire was its symbol; Hestia, the divinity by whose agency it was accomplished. Of her but few myths are recorded. One recites that she was solicited to become the wife of Poseidon, but refused. The influence of this goddess, however, was as deeply felt as that of any other of the Olympians. Her worship required the performance of actual religious duties. Her altar became the conservator of home. He who acted treacherously, who broke the peace, who violated the laws of humanity, could never be a true votary of Hestia. She required truth in the inner parts, purity of heart, uprightness of action, sincerity of purpose and of life.

The peace of the domestic hearthstone was not enough. Each town had its *Prytaneium*, where a sacred fire was kept burning on a public hearth; and if at any time it was extinguished, it must be rekindled either by rubbing together pieces of wood or with a burning-glass; for a common fire was profane. Around this holy flame kindled from above the prytanes, or elders of the city, assembled and debated in homelike spirit the peace and welfare of the state. Likewise—so recounted the myth—there was in the center of the earth a hearthstone on which the fire was kept forever burning—the hearth or Prytaneium of the whole world.

Ares, son of Zeus and Hera, was the god of the tumult of war. He was not, as is popularly believed, the deity who gave direction and decided the issues of war, but rather the god of din, of uproar, of slaughter. He had little steadiness of character or purpose. He changed from side to side. He was any thing for a continuance of the noise and confusion of battle. He was an enemy of men, sending among them violence, plagues, famines. He was of gigantic stature, and when fallen his body measured rods on the earth. He might be wounded, and in that event his roaring was like the groans of ten thousand. He was called the "Grinder," for he ground into dust the hopes and pleasures of mankind. He gained Aphrodite for his wife, but when she was seen to prefer Adonis, Ares converted himself into a wild boar and wounded his rival to death. Having slain Halirrhothius, son of Poseidon, Ares was tried before the Olympian council, and being acquitted, was honored with the name of the great court of Athens, the Areopagus, which held its sittings on the Hill of Mars.

Aphrodite sprang from the foam of the sea. One legend of her origin made her the daughter of Uranus and Hemera, the Heaven and the Day. In another—and this is the story of the Iliad—she is called the daughter of Zeus and Dione. She was the goddess of beauty, of love, of passion. She was ever attended by the Horæ and the Charites. In honor of her origin she was given the names of Enalia and Pantia. Sometimes, as the goddess of pure affection, she was called Urania. The principal legend of this divinity is that which recites the award to her of the prize of beauty. At the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, Eris, the god of Strife, threw down a golden apple with the inscription, *To the most Beautiful.* It was claimed by Hera, Athene, and Aphrodite. Zeus left the award to be made by Paris, the son of Priam, and by him the prize was given to Aphrodite. She gave him in return the most beautiful woman in Greece, Helen of Sparta, wife of Menelaüs. And hence the Trojan war.

Aphrodite had for her husband Hephæstus, but she preferred Adonis, who loved her not in return. Once she was beloved by Poseidon; once, by Ares. Her human lover was Anchises of Troy, by whom she became the mother of Æneas, the ancestor of the Romans. The myths of Aphrodite are many and sometimes contradictory. Her character is that of vicissitude. She changes. Sometimes she is pure and tender; sometimes vehement and passionate. In the Spartan temple she was represented as a victorious goddess, conquering rather than winning, subduing rather than sustaining the spirits of her votaries.

Hephæstus was the presiding genius of the Olympian smithy. He was puny at birth, but powerful—as well as lame and ugly—when grown up. His delight was the forge. Here he fashioned the weapons of the gods

and the heroes. His career was hard and inglorious. His mother, Hera, was so displeased with his ugliness that she would banish him from Olympus. Afterwards he espoused her cause in a quarrel with Zeus, and by him was hurled down into the island of Lemnos. He subseqently regained a measure of favor, but never rose to a dignity higher than that of cupbearer to the gods. One of his myths is that when the armor of Achilles had been taken by Hector from the body of Patroclus, Hephæstus, at the prayer of Thetis, made for her son a new suit burnished till it flashed like the sun. His good fortune in winning Aphrodite for his wife was blasted by the wandering of her affections to Adonis.

Apollo had nearly always the epithet of Phœbus. He was the overpowering Brightness of the Sun. He did not, however, have his residence in the great orb of day, that being reserved for Helios. Phœbus was the son of Zeus and Leto. His mother wandered through many lands until she came at last to Delos, and promised that in return for shelter the island should become famous as the birthplace of her son. Here Phœbus was born; and the pledge of the mother was fulfilled; for from henceforth Delos became one of the sacred places of the Hellenes.[1] The island, once rocky and sterile, was covered with flowers and verdure. The nymphs came and wrapped the infant Apollo in a white robe. Themis fed him with nectar and ambrosia. He took a harp in his hand and declared himself the revealer of the will of Zeus to mankind.

As a god, Phœbus was the bringer of the light. Light was the harbinger of knowledge. He became the patron of learning and art and song. It was the ushering in of the Beautiful, not only for Greece, but for all the world. Barbarism drew a cowl over his leaden eyes and slunk into a cavern. The morning of civilization arose with the resplendent sun, drawn in the car of Phœbus. Darkness shivered and died in the sweet dawn of poesy. The flash of beauty and the victory of thought began in the luminous myth of Apollo.

> He had limbs, for strength and whiteness,
> Like the war-maid Amazon's,
> And his eye shot forth the brightness
> Of the Oriental sun's.
> By his mighty side and shoulder
> Hung the quiver and its darts;
> And the world has grown no older
> Since Apollo gave the arts!

The great oracle of Phœbus was at Delphi—the most famous of all the shrines of the Hellenes. Here it was that Apollo slew the Typhon, the terrible dragon of darkness that had so long kept the world in terror. Here it was that the inspiration of the gods, breathing from the crevice of the rocks, gave the Pythia her prophetic powers and made men acquainted with the future. Of all the worship known to the Greeks that of Apollo was most widely spread and influential. His voice, speaking through the oracle, not infrequently changed the current of Hellenic history. Under the shadow of his temple the Amphyctionic council of the Greek states, the greatest and wisest body of the nation, held its meetings, as if to gain for their deliberations the highest sanctions of wisdom and religion.

Like unto Apollo was his sister, Artemis. She possessed in general the same powers and attributes with her brother. With her name, however, are associated fewer myths than with most of the other divinities. She took part in the affairs of men more as a friend than an enemy. She gave to Procris her hound and spear. She healed Æneas when he fell wounded before Troy. But she insisted that Iphigenia should be sacrificed, and was implacable.

Hermes, son of Zeus and Maia, began his career by extemporizing a cithara from a tortoise shell. From this he proceeded to the theft of the cattle of Phœbus. Then he kindled fire by the friction of wood, and thus gave to the world the warmth of the cheerful flame: all this during the first day of his life. Then followed the contest between himself and Phœbus respecting the stolen herd, the

[1] "The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece,
Where burning Sappho loved and sung,
Where grew the arts of war and peace,
Where *Delos* rose and *Phœbus* sprung."
—*Byron.*

trial of the cause in the court of Zeus, the placation of Apollo's temper by the device of music, the interchange of the lyre of Hermes for the wisdom of Phœbus, and to the treaty between the two deities—one of the most elaborate, interesting, and witty myths of the Greeks.

Such was the Olympian hierarchy. Besides the "twelve gods," however, there were many others believed in by the Hellenes. Such was Dionysus, the wine-god, to whom frequent reference has already been made. As to his parentage the myths are various. the most rational being that he was the son of Zeus and Semele, daughter of Cadmus, king of Thebes. She, tempted to her ruin, was visited by Zeus, and was destroyed by his lightnings; but Dionysus was born in the midst of the thunderbolts. He was brought up in Naxos, and passed through many and grievous toils before coming to his fame. His principal legend is that which recounts the history of the introduction of the vine. Dionysus stood on a cliff by the sea. Some Tyrrhenians passing in a ship saw him and took him. They bound him with withes, but these were broken off. As they sailed away a stream of wine flowed over the deck of the vessel, and a vine clambered up the masts. In the midst of the leaves hung bunches of luscious grapes.

One of the most famous of the myths was that of Heracles. He was the son of Zeus and Alcmene. By his father the greatness of his physical strength was predicted. In his cradle, as he lay sleeping, two serpents coiled themselves around him; but on waking he clutched them by the throats and choked them to death. As he grew he became the abused servant of Eurystheus, grandson of Perseus, who by the craft of Juno was substituted for Heracles in the kingdom. The latter was condemned for twelve years to toil for the benefit of man. His whole life was spent in performance of heavy tasks, too grievous to be undertaken by any other than this divine toiler. Twelve stupendous "labors" were imposed upon him, but neither did his patience fail nor his strength prove inadequate to his tasks. He strangled the great lion that infested the Nemæan valley. He slew the huge, nine-headed Lernæan hydra. He captured the Arcadian stag that had golden horns and brazen feet, of surpassing swiftness and strength. He took the Erymanthian boar, having chased him through the deep snow until exhausted he was caught in a snare. He cleansed the Augean stables, where three thousand oxen had been stabled for thirty years. To wash out the horrid aggregation the rivers Alpheus and Peneus were turned into the stalls, and the work was done in a single day. He destroyed the birds of Stamphalia, terrible creatures with claws and wings and beaks of brass, feeding upon the flesh of men. He captured the mad bull of Crete that Minos had neglected to sacrifice when sent by Poseidon. He carried away the wild mares of Diomedes that fed upon human beings, and brought them tamed to Mycenæ. He took away the girdle of Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons, which she had received as a gift from Ares. He seized the red oxen of Geryones, guarded as they were by the giant Eurytion and the two-headed dog Orthrus. He obtained the golden apples of the Hesperides, given by Rhea to Juno and protected by the dragon Ladon. Finally, he seized and carried to the upper world the three-headed dog Cerberus that stood guard at the portals of Hades. In his further career he went about doing good to men, in beating back the adverse forces of nature and subduing the monsters that infested the primeval world.

In tracing the course of Grecian mythology, it is quite impossible to tell precisely where the godlike ends and the heroic begins. There is a point at which the deeds of the actor become the exploits of a man—exaggerated doubtless beyond the range of human performance, but still essentially the exploits of a man. At that point the myth proper descends into a legend; the element of the supernatural gradually disappears; and tradition begins to lay the foundation of history. But before entering the domain of what may be called the traditions and legends of Greece as distinguished from her mythology proper—or so much of it as appertains to the lives and deeds of the gods—it will be appropriate

to add a few paragraphs on the *signification* of the Hellenic myths. What did they *mean?* How did they originate? How did the gods of the Greeks become what they were in the imagination of the people? These questions are not to be answered with over-assurance of certainty, but with a modest caution and reserve.

In the first place, then, the mythology of the Hellenic race should be regarded a *System of Natural Philosophy.* It was an effort of the human mind to interpret Nature. Knowledge consists in a perception of cause. To be able to refer one fact to another as its antecedent and that to another, is the first step in natural science, and indeed in any science. Nature has always presented herself to the mind as a mystery to be solved. Her ever-varying and beautiful phenomena are precisely of a sort to fascinate the senses and challenge the reason of men. She has thus offered herself to all races, but her petition to be known has been felt as an ardent appeal by only a few peoples of vigorous intellect and active imagination. Of this sort were the Aryan races, who have all manifested a keen interest in the great mystery which at once evokes their admiration and awakens their curiosity. The Aryans, under favorable conditions, have always been a people of the liveliest *sense-perception.* They have seen with keener appreciation the beautiful pictures of Nature, and heard with purer delight the rhythm of her melodies than have any other of the families of mankind.

Among these Aryan races—Indians, Persians, Medes, Italicans, Germans, Celts—the Greeks were preëminently the people of highest intellectual power and liveliest imagination. They were especially curious *to know*—eager to hear, to see, to understand. Their senses were susceptible of the most vivid impressions. Their interest in the great panorama of Nature was unflagging. Imagination and reason were ever on the alert to explain the shifting scenery of the visible world.

So the Greeks began to put into language, to describe, to interpret the phenomena of earth and sky and sea. Here at the outset they were opposed with a serious obstacle. Nature in some parts of the world, as in Egypt and Chaldæa, displays herself in a succession of orderly aspects. She varies but little. Day after day, through cloudless skies, the great sun travels the prescribed path to his western exit into darkness. Night after night the tremendous wheel of the silent universe is revolved in solemn grandeur overhead. There is little variation. Observation is stimulated by the regularity and steadiness of the phenomena, and the lines of causation from consequent to antecedent, unbroken by interferences or accident, are easily traced from step to step. But in Greece the exact opposite of all this is true. Here, if anywhere in the world, Nature knows no law. The coasts of Hellas are bounded by a line of indescribable irregularity. The sea gnaws at the shore, and the shore thrusts out to sea. The surface of the country is set at all slopes and angles. Hills rise from the valleys, and mountains overtop the hills. Forests, glens, grottoes, vistas, fountains, sequestered spots, thickets of tangled vines, rocky chasms with the murmur of waters in the bottom, patches of the bluest sky seen through gnarled branches of hoary oaks,—every aspect of smile or frown which Nature can well assume, is here the expression of her face. She is whimsical, capricious. A flash of warm sunshine transfigures the landscape, and then—

> Chill and murk is the mighty blast
> Where Pindus' mountains rise,
> And angry skies are pouring fast
> The deluge of the skies.

In the midst of this almost infinite complexity the Greek mind stood confused. Nature here seemed without law. Her processes were everywhere broken and interrupted. The consequent was detached from the antecendent. The different parts of the natural world seemed to be under the dominion of individual forces. Unity was indiscoverable in the multiplex aspect of Nature. She seemed made up of antagonisms and conflicts. In her moods was the mingling of calm and storm, of light and darkness, of joy and sorrow. The interpretation of such a variable and capricious Fact as that with which the Greek found himself environed would of

necessity be broken into parts, confused in details, contradictory in statement.

What, then, more particularly were the facts and phenomena which the imagination and reason of the Greeks, and the ancestors of the Greeks, were called upon to explain? They were the visible phenomena of the external world. Here were, first of all, the three great facts of sky and earth and sea. Here, also, were the two principal orbs of heaven, the sun and the moon. Here, in the next place, and especially, were the attributes and effects of those bodies—light, heat, dawn, twilight, day as one fact and night as another. Here were clouds floating overhead. Here were fountains bubbling from the earth. Here were the unseen but powerful winds. Here were the waves of the deep sea—the murmur of their music, the roar of their wrath. Here was the hot lightning, flashing through the vapor-burdened air of summer, and the deep roll of the thunder, shaking both earth and heaven.

Of these things what explanation? The mind of primitive Arya stood before the problem. It began descriptively. *The first stage of mythology is simple description.* The phenomena of Nature and her simpler processes were merely described. They were described as they would be by a people of a vigorous sense-perception and lively imagination. But there was at the outset no impersonation—*no ascription of active causes to natural phenomena outside of themselves.* The facts and sequences of Nature were at the first merely expressed in such words as seemed to give the truest impression of the things described. That is to say, the primitive natural philosopher of the Aryan race spoke of Nature, described her as she appeared to his senses. He said: The sun rises. He rises from the sea. The light comes from the east. The light is from the sun. The dawn precedes the day. Darkness flees before the dawn. Darkness goes under the world when day comes. The sun dries up the dew. The clouds give rain. The clouds are the creatures of the air. The sky is over all. The sky is the highest thing. The sky thunders. The sky lightens. Fire is from the sun. Fire warms. Water quenches. The sea is troubled. Man is afraid. The powers are stronger than he. Underground is dark. Love is sweet. War crushes. All things go on and on.

Such was the natural language of man attempting to depict and explain the things which he saw. It was merely the rudiments of a natural philosophy, which in a literary and enlightened age would erelong have become *Science;* but, being in a pre-literary and unenlightened age, it became *Mythology.* It only remains, then, to explain the process by which the rudiments of the primitive natural philosophy of the Aryan races were mythologized—converted into myths. The explanation of this process is to be sought and found, whole and perfect, in the history and mutations of human speech. It is to the Science of Language that we must look for the interpretation of the metamorphosis of the primitive philosophy of nature into myths.

It must be understood that the original Aryan tribes of Bactria broke up and rolled away in migratory bands in several directions. The tribes filled India, the Great Plateau of Iran, the shores of Asia Minor, the islands and mainland of Greece, Italy, Germany, Scandinavia, the whole of Europe. These peoples had an original language, which was spoken before the tribal separation. *It was during the migration and settlement of these nations in distant parts that Nature became an object of study and description.* But, while this process was going on, while the Indians were becoming Indians and the Greeks Greeks, the languages of the nations about to be were undergoing rapid processes of growth and decay: growth—for the new objects which constantly appeared before a migratory and developing people, especially if those people were possessed of lively sensibilities, would constantly demand new names and new descriptions; decay—for the transfer of place and scene and sentiment would with equal certainty remand large numbers of words and phrases, descriptive of things no longer seen and heard, to the ever-increasing list of obsolete and obsolescent fragments which time and change were daily tossing into the waste-basket of human speech.

Now, it is this waste-basket of human speech that contains the mythology of the ancients. The words, phrases, and scraps of description which were cast therein were, when so dropped among the *débris*, merely unfigurative expressions for the things previously seen and heard. But it must be borne in mind that in a pre-literary age this mass of waste fragments of dying speech would for a long time be carried along with the migrating, and even by the settled, tribes, and that obsolete and obsolescent words and phrases would continue to be heard on the tongues of people who, having no lexicon in which the original meanings of such words and phrases were crystallized, would use them in *a new sense* unknown to their fathers. It thus came to pass that the alphabet and rudimentary lessons of the primitive natural philosophy, being couched in an obsolescent phraseology, were gradually transformed into myths. The old word which had been merely a name or descriptive epithet became, when its meaning was lost and when that meaning was expressed by a new word coined in the fertile brain of invention, *the name of a person rather than the name of a thing*. And this is the sum and substance of the mythologizing process by which the merely descriptive phrases of early science were transformed under a natural law of linguistic change into a new sense descriptive of imaginary Causes and Personal Agencies apart from the facts to be interpreted. It is thus that the Science of Language, not by theory and speculation, but by the actual demonstration of truth, has revealed the true origin and nature of the myths of antiquity. It only remains to elucidate the subject with a few examples and illustrations caught almost at random from the language of mythology.

The word *zeus* meant originally the *blue sky*. It had no other signification. This meaning was not known to the Greeks themselves. The true sense of the word has been discovered only in recent times, by an examination of the cognate Sanskrit in which *dyaus pitar* (=*zeus pater* in Greek) means simply father of the *sky*, the *dyaus* being the word for sky. Neither Socrates nor Plato ever dreamed of such a fact in their language. To them the word Zeus had issued from the prehistoric shadows as the name of the supreme god of their race—nothing more, nothing less. But it is now clearly seen that sometime during the Hellenic migration the word *zeus* became mythologized—lost its old scientific meaning of *sky*, passed through the stage of *sky-god*, and then, since the sky is the highest thing, became the name of the Father of gods and men, the supreme deity of the race. This simple method of illustration can be carried forward with entire satisfaction through the whole list of the gods and goddesses of Greece, the fictions thus unraveled being of the highest beauty in the light of the new interpretation.

Thus, for instance, dew in the original Aryan speech was called *procris*. One of the names of the sun was *cephalus*. The child at early morning, beholding the dew-drops on the grass, might well wonder and grieve to see them disappear in the sunlight. The parent would explain that *cephalus* had taken *procris* away—had killed her with kisses. So the phrase would arise that *cephalus loved procris and devoured her*. It is at first a poem in primary science. But so soon as the original meanings of *cephalus* and *procris* have been supplanted by other words and the original words have become obsolescent, then the myth-making imagination, retaining the old phrase-poem, preserves it in the legend that the god Cephalus, loving the maiden Procris, devoured her with kisses. In the same way Phœbus, the sun, pursues Daphne, the dawn, and gives her no rest from his fierce passion; but she returns in the twilight of evening to watch with faithful tenderness beside the couch of her dying lord. The myth of Cronos devouring his offspring means no more—whatever it may have meant to the Greek—than that time eats up the days and years as soon as they are born. It is all a mutation of speech, beginning with an attempt to explain in plain language the phenomena of Nature, and ending by the giving to obsolete words of a new sense significant of a Cause rather than descriptive of a Fact. It was thus that the wonderful, the beautiful fabric of Grecian mythology was built up un-

consciously out of an attempt of the primitive Hellenes to formulate a system of natural philosophy, and out of the transformation of that system by the mythologizing processes of human speech.

After the myth of Héracles, there is a gradual descent in the system of the Greeks to the plane of human possibility. Thus, though PERSEUS is still the son of Zeus, he begins to appear as one of the mortals. He was brought up by King Polydectes, by whom he was sent to fetch the head of the gorgon Medusa. To save himself from being converted into stone on beholding the monster, Perseus employed the device of a mirror, and thus succeeded in cutting off Medusa's head. Finding Polydectes to have been treacherous, he converted him and his household into stone by displaying the head of the dead gorgon. After this, being unwilling to return to Argos, of which he is the reputed founder, Perseus exchanged governments with King Megapenthes, and received for his kingdom Tiryns, in return for his own city of Argos.

Of like character is the tradition of THESEUS, the legendary hero of Attica. His parents were mortals, his father being Ægeus, king of Athens, and his mother the daughter of Pittheus, king of Trœzena. His royal parentage was concealed from him until his maturity, when he returned to Athens and was about to be destroyed by Medea. He afterwards engaged in a series of adventures, or labors, like those of Heracles, undertaken for the good of his countrymen. He even devoted himself to death by a self-offering to the Minotaur of Crete, but Ariadne, daughter of King Minos, furnished him a sword and a ball of thread, by means of which he traced the labyrinth and slew the Minotaur in his den. On his return to his own country with Ariadne he forgot to hoist the white sail, which was to be the signal of his victory, and King Ægeus, believing his son destroyed, threw himself into the sea. Theseus thus became king of Attica. He afterwards subdued the Amazons, went on the Argonautic expedition, and fought against the Centaurs, those fabulous horse-man monsters that inhabited the plains of Thessaly.

Similar, also, is the legend of ŒDIPUS, the great hero of Thebes. On account of a warning from the Delphic oracle he was exposed at birth by his father, Laios, but was rescued and taken to Corinth, where he was adopted as the son of Polybus and Merope. Journeying towards Thebes, he met an old man in a chariot, who ordered him out of the way and struck him. Œdipus was enraged and slew him, and the dead man afterwards proved to be his father, Laios. Not knowing what he had done, Œdipus went on to Thebes. There the merciless Sphinx had brought drought and distress upon the city; for none could answer the riddles which the monster, sitting on the brow of the hill above the city, propounded to the people. But Œdipus solved the dark sayings of the Sphinx, and she threw herself down from the height and perished. The deliverer was rewarded by the gift of Iocaste, the queen, who was bestowed on him in marriage. Now, Iocaste was his mother! So the oracle was fulfilled. A plague came on the city. Œdipus tore out his eyes, and Iocaste died of despair.

Nor should the legend be omitted of CADMUS and EUROPA. They were the children of Agenor and Telephassa. In childhood, Europa was carried away by Zeus, who appeared in the form of a white bull. Then the mother and brothers went to search for her who was abducted. In Thessaly, Telephassa died, but Cadmus, under direction of Phœbus Apollo, went on to Delphi and found his sister. After the discovery, he was directed by the god to follow a cow that should appear before him, and where she should lie down there he should found a city. He did so, and thus laid the foundation of Thebes.

The founding of Athens by CECROPS introduces another interesting legend. According to one myth this great hero was of Pelasgic origin, but the commonly received tradition made him an Egyptian from Saïs. He is said to have brought a colony into Attica and to have founded the Acropolis. In the temple of Artemis a statue was placed to his honor; for in a dispute between that goddess and Poseidon he had decided for her, and the olive-tree, instead of the trident, was

taken as the symbol of Athens. After the foundations of the city were laid, Cecrops divided Attica into twelve communities. He gave good laws, established marriage, abolished bloody sacrifices, encouraged agriculture and the building of ships, brought in the dawn of civilization.

Many other legends of like sort might be recited from the treasure-house of Grecian story. One of peculiar interest is that of ASCLEPIOS.[1] He was the reputed son of Apollo and the nymph Coronis. At his birth Phœbus left the mother and went his ways. Then came Ischys from Arcadia and won her love. For this disloyalty Artemis slew Coronis, but Asclepios was saved alive. He was reared by the centaur Cheiron, who taught him the mysteries of the healing art, by which the pupil gained a world-wide fame. He even raised the dead; but by doing so he provoked the wrath of Hades, who complained to Zeus that his kingdom would be unpeopled. Zeus thereupon smote Asclepios with a thunderbolt. For this, Apollo, being enraged, slew the CYCLOPES, servants of Zeus; but the latter squared the account by condemning Apollo to serve for a year in the house of Admetus, king of Pheræ.

DEUCALION was the son of Prometheus and Clymene. In him is preserved the tradition of the Grecian flood. In the time of King Lycaon and his sons the wickedness of the world became intolerable. Zeus resolved to destroy mankind with a deluge of water. So he sent a flood. As the waters rose Deucalion entered the ark which he had prepared in accordance with the warning of his father, Prometheus, and for eight days was borne on the breast of the waters. Then the ark rested on Parnassus. Deucalion came out with his wife Pyrrha, and prayed for the restoration of mankind. Hermes, in answer, told him that he and Pyrrha, in descending the mountain, should cover their faces with mantles and cast behind them the bones of their mother. Deucalion was a rationalist. By "mother" he understood the earth, and by "bones" he understood stones; for the stones are the bones of the earth. So he and Pyrrha did as Hermes had bidden; the stones which they flung behind them became human beings, and the world was repeopled.

Another interesting legend is that of PROMETHEUS and EPIMETHEUS, the Forethought and Afterthought of the Grecian myth. The story of Prometheus has already been given. On one occasion he slew an ox in sacrifice, and, placing the flesh and entrails under the skin in one place and the bones under the fat in another, told Zeus to take his choice. The ruler of gods and men chose the fat and got the bones. Finding himself outwitted, and Prometheus being gone, Zeus proceeded to punish Afterthought in his stead. He ordered Hephæstus to make a clay-woman. He commanded Athene to clothe her in beautiful robes, and Hermes to give her the power of speech to deceive and betray mankind. So PANDORA was made and given to Epimetheus for a wife! When she was received into his house she there opened a great cask, out of which flew all the plagues of the world. Every thing escaped except Hope, and she was left imprisoned!

RUINS OF TROAS.

In the domain of exploits the two most famous preserved in the legendary lore of the Greeks were the ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION and the TROJAN WAR. The first of these was

[1] Usually known by his Latin name of Æsculapius.

undertaken by the Grecian chiefs for the recovery of the Golden Fleece. This fleece belonged to the ram of Phrixus. He was the son of Athamas and Nephele. When Nephele died Athamas married Ino. Phrixus and Helle, his sister, were very unhappy until the ram with the golden fleece came and carried them away. While he bore them aloft Helle fell off and was drowned in the narrow strait thenceforth called the *Hellespont*. Phrixus rode onward to the palace of Æetes, king of Colchis. By him was the ram sacrificed to Zeus and the fleece hung up in the palace until what time the chiefs of the Greeks should come and recover it.

The Greek leaders were gathered for this mission by JASON. They sailed away in the good ship Argo—Heracles, Meleagros, Amphiaraos, Admetus, and many others. They passed the rocks called the Symplegades, that opened and closed so quickly that scarcely might a bird dart through with safety. They traversed the land of the Amazons, and came to Colchis. Æetes refused to surrender the fleece until Jason should plow the land with the fire-breathing bulls and sow it with the teeth of the dragon, who guarded the fleece. Medea aided him. She anointed his body so that the breath of the bulls should not destroy him, and instructed him to throw a stone among the armed men that sprang up from the teeth of the dragon. On doing this, the armed men fell to slaying each other. Then Medea lulled the dragon to sleep. Jason quickly slew him and bore away the Golden Fleece in triumph.

The story of the Trojan War is perhaps the most famous tradition of antiquity. In the poems of Homer it has acquired an immortality of fame. The circumstances leading to the war have already been referred to in the myth of Venus, to whom, by the judgment of Paris, was awarded the golden apple thrown by Strife among the deities at their banquet. When it was known that Helen was abducted from the house of her lord, Menelaüs, king of Sparta, there was a general uprising among the princes of Greece for her recovery. A great expedition was undertaken by water against Troy, the city of Priam, on the upper coast of Asia Minor. The gods and goddesses were nearly all involved in the conflict. Hera and Athene were for the Greeks; Aphrodite for the Trojans. The city was besieged for ten years, and was finally, when naked valor had failed, taken by the device of the Wooden Horse. Famous in all the world is the story of the stratagem. The Greeks made of sawn fir a huge effigy of a horse, and filled the cavernous body

HEROES OF THE TROJAN WAR.

with a company of soldiers. This monstrous enigma they left standing on the sand, and then sailed away as if they were giving up the siege. They took care, however, to convey to the Trojans a lie so carefully contrived as to induce them to cut their walls and draw in the dangerous horse. At night the pent-up soldiers came forth; the Greeks sailed back from Tenedos, and Troy was taken. Priam's palace was sacked and burnt, its treasures carried off, Helen herself recovered and borne back to her Spartan home. The condition of Greece in the time of the return of the expedition—the social life, manners, and institutions of the race—are depicted with great beauty in the imperishable pages of the *Odyssey*.—Such, then, are the mythological and legendary antecedents of that brilliant people whose career in peace and war is now to be narrated.

THE WOODEN HORSE.

CHAPTER XLII.—THE HELLENIC DAWN.

AT what time and in what manner the states of Hellas were first colonized can not now—perhaps never will — be known. History opens upon the scene with settled tribes, walled cities, and petty kings already established in the country. Still, at the very dawn of Greek history, we are met with a commotion among the tribes, a general jostling of one race by another to the extent of undoing a previous condition and the establishment of a new in its stead. One of the earliest of these movements is that of the Bœotians from Thessaly into their own country, known as the BŒOTIAN MIGRATION. Their original seat was in the district of Æolis in Central Thessaly, from which position they were driven by the incoming of rude tribes from Epirus. Being thus dispossessed, the Bœotians moved to the south and obtained a footing in the country afterwards called Bœotia. There was thus begun from the north a movement which jostled tribe after tribe of the primitive Hellenes from their seats until nearly all the states had felt the influence of the agitation. The date of this migration is uncertain. Presumably, the event was subsequent to the Trojan War; for neither this migration of the Bœotians, nor the later one of the Dorians, is mentioned in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

It is not improbable that the removal of the Bœotians into Central Greece gave the initial impulse in the larger and more important movement of the Dorians, known as the Dorian Migration or the RETURN OF THE HERACLIDÆ. Here there is a mingling of history and fable. It is easy to see how the people, displaced by the Bœotians from their little state of Doris in Central Greece, would in turn fall upon some of the tribes further south, and that thus the wave of agitation would roll on into Peloponnesus. But tradition has taken up the lay and gives a more elaborate account of the movement.

The Dorians, according to their belief, had original claims in Peloponnesus. These claims were based upon the relations of this people with the descendants of Heracles. To him belonged the rightful sovereignty of Southern Greece; but of this he was deprived by the wiles of Hera, who contrived to have Eurystheus preferred for the kingdom of Argos. Heracles was condemned to service, and his descendants to exile. Under the lead of Hyllus, the son of Heracles, they had attempted to regain their lost patrimony; but Hyllus was slain by Echemus of Tegea, and they themselves were bound to renounce all efforts at recovery for the space of a hundred years. Finally, however, the century elapsed, and the grandsons of Hyllus—Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus—determined to recover their birthright. In this effort they were joined by the Dorians, who retained a grateful recollection of how Heracles, in former times, had aided their king Ægimius in a war with the Lapithæ. So the Heraclidæ and the Dorians made common cause in the attempt to gain possession of Peloponnesus.

Meanwhile, the sons of Heracles were warned by an oracle not to attempt to pass through the isthmus of Corinth, but to cross the gulf at its mouth. They were given free passes through Ætolia, the king himself acting as their guide. The Ozolian Locrians, also, lent their aid by giving them a harbor in which to construct the necessary ships, and this place was henceforth known as Naupactus or Shiptown. Aristodemus died here, but his two sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, and the remaining brothers led the people across the gulf into Achaia.

At this time the most powerful chief in Peloponnesus was Tisamenus, son of Arestes. Against him the Heraclidæ and the Dorians marched, and he was defeated in battle. Gathering his subjects together, however, he

retired into the northern districts of Southern Greece, then occupied by the Ionians. Them he expelled, and then took possession of their country. The victory of the Heraclidæ being complete, they proceeded to divide among themselves and the Dorians the conquered states of Peloponnesus. Oxylus, the Ætolian, received the kingdom of Elis. Temenus and Cresphontes and the two sons of Aristodemus then drew lots for the three states of Sparta, Argos, and Messenia. The first fell to the children of Aristodemus; Argos, to Temenus; and Messenia to Cresphontes. Nor was there serious opposition on the part of the people of the country. The Epeans, who were the primitive people of Elis, submitted after the death of their king. Bands of Ætolians were brought into the country from the north of the gulf, and from henceforth the new people were called Eleans. Temenus secured Argos without difficulty; and his sons soon enlarged the kingdom by conquering Trœzenia, Epidauria, Egina, and Sicyonia, thus extending the state of Argolis to the limits defined in a preceding chapter. The state of Sparta was secured to the sons of Aristodemus by the treachery of the Achæan Philonomus, who was rewarded with the sovereignty of Amyclæ. The towns of Sparta all submitted with the exception of Helos, whose people, the Helots, were for their obstinacy reduced to servitude. Of them much will hereafter be said as the servile class in Sparta. Melanthus, king of Messenia, gave up without a struggle, and withdrew with a large part of his subjects into Attica.

A short time subsequent to these events the state of Corinth was also taken by the Dorians. When the Heraclidæ were about to embark from Naupactus, on their mission of conquest, one of the leaders, named Hippotes, had killed a priest by the name of Carnus, and for this he was banished by the other sons of Heracles and forbidden to share with them in the division of Peloponnesus. For ten years he was an exile; but after his death his son, Aletes, revived his father's claims, marched into Corinth with a body of Dorians, overthrew the dynasty of the Sisyphids, and took the kingdom. The original Æolian inhabitants were banished from the country. Thus were the Heraclidæ established as the rulers of all Peloponnesus. But no date can yet be assigned for these half-legendary movements of the Hellenic tribes.

The previous political condition of the country thus overrun by the Dorians may be briefly noticed. Peloponnesus was, during the Heroic Age, the seat of those kingdoms from which the most of the Greek chiefs were gathered for the conquest of Troy. That most ancient city Mycenæ, in Argolis, was the capital of Agamemnon, known as the "king of men." His brother Menelaüs was, at the same time, king of Sparta, and from him was his wife Helen, the beautiful cause of the woes of the Greeks, taken away by the contrivance of Aphrodite and the willingness of Paris. At the same time Argos was ruled by Diomedes, who bore so heroic a part in the siege of Troy. Other princes held sway in different portions of the country. The central mountainous region was inhabited—as it continued to be after the Dorian conquest—by the Arcadians, a primitive race thought to have been the descendants of the Pelasgians. The two principal towns of this region were Tegea and Mantinea. The rest of the country was occupied with villages and rustic settlements, which, from their seclusion, bore no active part in the history of Greece. Such was that condition of affairs which was superseded by the establishment of the kingdoms of the Heraclidæ in Southern Hellas.

Meanwhile, other tribal movements had been precipitated by the invasion of the Dorians. Many of the original inhabitants of Peloponnesus, driven from their homes by the Heraclidæ, sought refuge in foreign lands. The coasts of Asia Minor became the principal resort of these fugitives and exiles. The first band was made of those Achæans of Peloponnesus, who, jostled from their native haunts on the Corinthian gulf, went first into Bœotia. Then they were joined by others, principally of the Æolian race, and soon departed for new homes on the other side of the Ægean. They settled along the northern coast of Asia Minor, taking possession of the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos; and here they

laid the foundations of those cities which were afterwards joined in the ÆOLIAN CONFEDERATION.

More important by far was the migration of the Ionians. These people had been expelled by the Achæans from their native seats on the Corinthian Gulf, and had sought refuge in Attica. Here they were joined by others of the same race, just as the Æolians had gathered head in Bœotia. Many strangers, exiles, and refugees also assembled with the emigrants who departing from Attica were led by the family of Codrus, the last king of Athens, to their chosen homes among the Cyclades and on the coast of Asia Minor. Here was founded the IONIAN CONFEDERATION. The country in which the cities of this league were located lay along the shore from the river Hermus to the Meander, and has already been described in the Book on the History of Persia. The two principal islands belonging to Ionia were Chios and Samos, with which were included many others of smaller importance. Twelve cities in this part of Asiatic Greece belonged to the confederation, many of them of great importance both commercially and politically.

In the partition of Peloponnesus it happened that some of the Dorian chiefs could not be provided with a "kingdom" on the main-land of Greece. For this reason, they with their followers and many of the native Achæans, also left the country and established themselves in Asia Minor. The part of the coast selected lay to the south of Ionia, and included the two important islands of Rhodes and Cos. In the former three of the six cities belonging to the colonies known as the DORIC HEXAPOLIS were founded—Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus. On the main-land were situated the two important towns of Halicarnassus and Cnidus.

So runs the tradition of the various migrations—Dorian, Ionian, Æolian—which occurred at the close of the Heroic Age of Greece. These narratives can not be accepted without many grains of allowance. It is now well known that Ionia was the oldest civilized state of the Greeks, and that enlightenment spread westward from the shores of Asia Minor, until, diffused among the Cyclades, it finally flashed its radiance into Hellas Proper. From this it will be seen that the only rational view to be taken of the alleged migrations from the West is that which represents the Ionians of the main-land, disturbed by the movement of the Dorians from the North, as *going back* and settling among their own countrymen, already for a long time the dominant people on the coast of Asia Minor. Nor is there any thing incongruous in this view of the case; for people, when driven by invasion from their homes, are just as likely to return to their kinsmen as to strike out into unoccupied regions. Criticism, therefore, simply demands that the migration of the Æolians, Ionians, and Dorians shall be read the *return* of the Æolians, etc., which is, indeed, the very language given by tradition to the movement of the Heraclidæ from the North into Peloponnesus.

The colonies sent out by the Greeks in these early times were not all directed to the Cyclades and Asia Minor. Tradition also describes a migration of Dorians into Crete. This island had been the scene of many prehistoric wonders. Here MINOS, the great lawgiver and hero, had established his institutions in the old mythological dawn, when Zeus's love for Europa gave a benefactor to men before the days of Deucalion. For that fabulous navigator was the son of Minos. He, having from his father a pledge that all of his prayers should be granted, and aspiring to be king of Crete, prayed that a bull might come from the sea as a sacrifice for Poseidon. But when the animal appeared he was so beautiful that another was led to the altar instead of that sent. Poseidon was offended, and as a punishment afflicted the wife of Minos by inspiring her with an insane passion for the bull. So was born the monster Minotaur, whom Minos shut up in the Cnossian Labyrinth. He then obtained the throne of Crete and became famed as a law-giver. From him Lycurgus was said to have obtained the models of those institutions which he gave the Spartans. So into Crete, at the close of the Heroic Age, a band of Dorians, driven by Sparta from the town of Amyclæ, was led

and colonized. There they founded the two cities of Gortyna and Lyttus. The newcomers represented themselves as being of the same race with the primitive Cretans, and claimed the glories of Minos as their own. There was thus effected a solidarity of Dorian interests, not only in Southern Peloponnesus, but also in the islands of Crete, Melos, and Thera. In the political struggles of after-times, the Spartans could always depend upon these island populations for sympathy and aid.

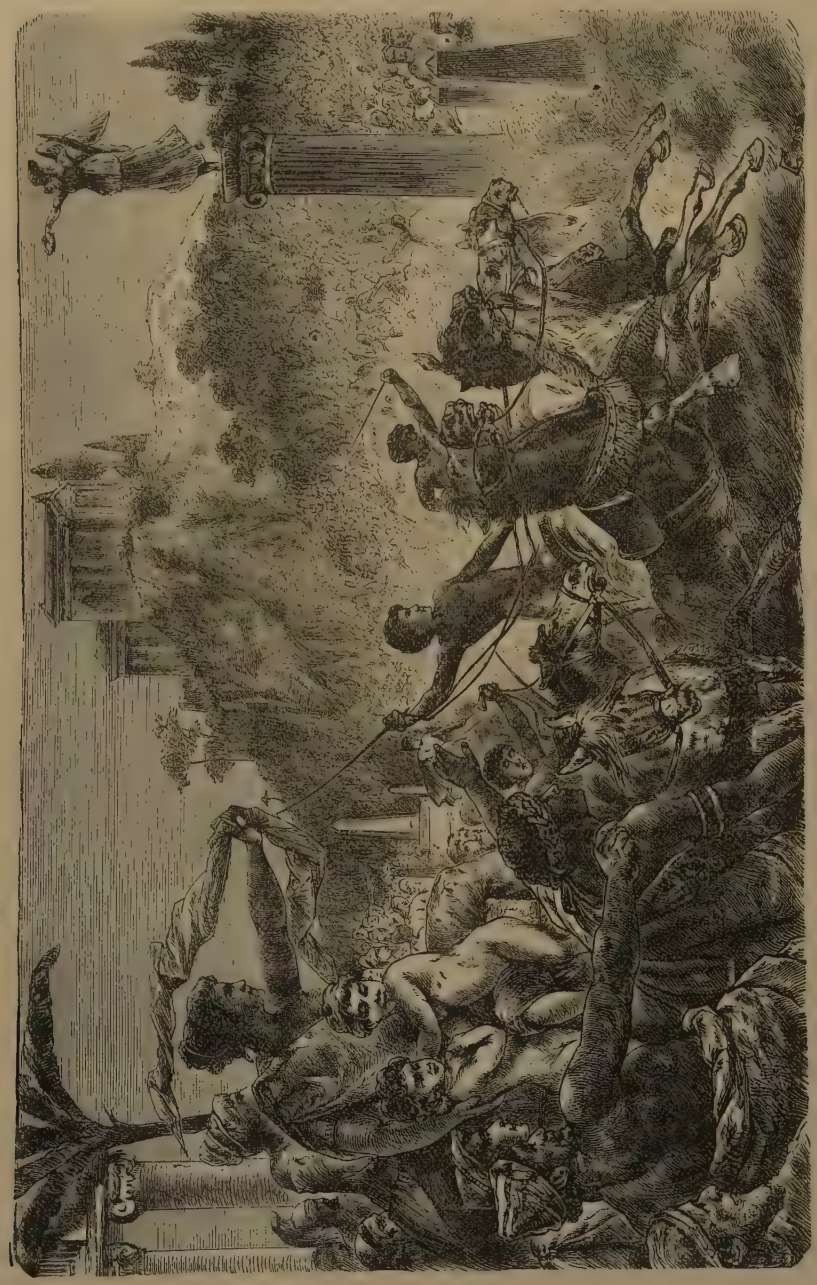
These migratory movements of the Hellenic tribes, in the shadowy era just subsequent to the Heroic Age, are the events in which the myths and traditions of the preceding times gradually melt away, and the daydawn of actual history is ushered in. From this time forth dates may be fixed with approximate certainty; yet actual certainty is not attained until the establishment of the Olympic games; and since this event is the Year One of Grecian chronology, it will be proper here to recount the circumstances of the establishment of the Olympiad, and of the other great periodic gatherings of the Greeks.

After their belief in a common descent and the possession of a common language, the facts which most closely allied the Hellenes were their great periodic games and festivals. To participate in these was to be Greek; not to participate was to be barbarian. A spirit of union was engendered among all the states, which, though not always triumphant over jealousy and faction, was nevertheless of incalculable advantage in promoting the common interests of the race in its competitions and struggles with the outside world. Of these national festivals, in which the predominating feature was the game or contest, there were four in number: the Olympic, the Pythian, the Isthmian, and the Nemean. They were open to all persons of the Hellenic race, and were attended by enormous throngs gathered from all parts of the Grecian world and from kingdoms beyond the seas. At what time they were instituted is not known; for they came, like most of the other institutions of Greece, out of the shadows of the mythical ages.

The Olympian Games, the most famous and popular of all, took their name from the town of Olympia, on the banks of the river Alpheus, in Elis. Here stood an ancient temple of the Olympian Zeus; and here, at some time in the prehistoric period, the games began to be celebrated. As yet they were only a local institution, and continued such until they were revived and amplified by Iphitus, king of the Eleans, and Lycurgus, the law-giver of Sparta. This important event took place in the year B. C. 776. So great was the celebrity which the games under the new patronage at once achieved, that henceforth their mythical history was neglected and the celebration above referred to was numbered as the First Olympiad; and from that were dated all the subsequent events of Grecian history. So strong a hold did this Era obtain in public usage throughout all Greece and the civilized world, that the method of dating by Olympiads was not abandoned until the close of the fourth century, and then only by an edict of the Roman Emperor Theodosius.

The Olympian games were celebrated every fourth year. In the first stages of their development they embraced merely a contest for the palm in foot-racing, the celebration lasting for but a single day. In a short time, however, the competition was extended to other sports. Trials of strength, as well as of fleetness, were introduced. Then came the competition of skill. Wrestling, boxing, jumping, throwing the quoit, hurling the javelin, were the more common of the sports. Afterwards, the exciting horse-race and the chariot-race were added. The driver entered the course with four fiery steeds, harnessed abreast to the car in which himself was mounted, and went whirling away like mad to gain a place in advance of his competitors. At the same time that the scope of the contest was enlarged, the period was extended from one day to five. During the festival almost every hour witnessed a renewal of the sport. The competition, though of the keenest edge, was always friendly, and during the whole time of the prevalence of the institution fighting with weapons was forbidden.

The only prize with which a victor in the Olympian games was rewarded was a wreath of wild olive; but this was considered the greatest honor which a Greek could achieve.



THE OLYMPIAN GAMES.

No other distinction conferred in peace or war was reckoned of equal honor. The winner was gratified with every mark of appreciative regard which it was possible for an enthusiastic people to bestow. His name was proclaimed before all Greece, and applauded by all his countrymen. His family was ennobled by his victory. His statue was set up in the sacred grove of the Olympian Zeus. On his return to his own city he was received without the walls by a procession, and was escorted to his home with shouting and the music of flutes. The rhapsodists recited his praises. Rewards were voted to him by the citizens. His taxes were remitted, and he was given a distinguished seat in all public assemblies. If a Spartan, he might henceforth in battle fight next to the person of the king. His victor's wreath was hung up as a precious legacy to his children's children, who were thereby to be reminded of a glorious ancestry.

The attendance at the Olympic festival was enormously large, and embraced the best people of all Greece. The general management was intrusted to a committee of Eleans, who appointed a court of judges, called the *Hellanodicæ*. These decided all the contests and made the awards to the victors. During the continuance of the festival all violence

ceased. No act of hostility was permitted in all Greece. The territory of Elis became sacred, and the marching of any armed force upon it was an act of sacrilege. Every thing that could add to the interest of the great celebration was carefully attended to. With the progress of the contests the enthusiasm of the throng rose to the highest pitch, and a feeling of unity and goodfellowship, most essential to the welfare of the Hellenic states, was generously cultivated. Especially was this true after artistic, musical, and poetical contests were added to those of mere bodily skill and endurance. The humanizing tendency of the festival was felt as a creative force in all the highest branches of human achievement, and not a few of the great works of the Greek mind might without sophistry be traced to the influence of the national games.

After the Cirrhæan war, in B. C. 585, a new festival called the PYTHIAN was instituted by the Amphictyonic Council. It was celebrated once in three years in the Cirrhæan plain, and was on the same general plan as the Olympic games. The Amphictyons presided, and, since the festival was in honor of Apollo, music and poetry, as well as bodily contests, were from the first a part of the exercises. So great was the success of the institution thus established that the Pythian games became second only to those at Olympia.

The NEMEAN festival was, as indicated by its name, celebrated in the valley of Nemea, in Argolis. It was instituted in the fifty-second Olympiad, B. C. 572, and was held in each alternate year. Before this time there had been local games at Nemea, running back in their origin to the mythical ages. The celebration was in honor of the Nemean Zeus, and was at the first open only to warriors; but afterwards this restriction was removed, and all Greeks might participate. In the contests, however, some military features were preserved, such as that between foot-racers clad in armor. But in general the competition was like that in the Olympic and Pythian games. At the beginning, the victor in a Nemean contest was crowned with a chaplet of wild olive, but afterwards the olive was replaced with parsley.

The ISTHMIAN games were celebrated on the Isthmus of Corinth, in the month of April, on each second and fourth year of the Olympiad. They are said to have been first instituted by Athamas, king of Orchomenus. Afterwards they were revived by Theseus in honor of Poseidon, and finally, in the sixth century before our era, were made a national festival for all Greeks. The celebration was conducted under the auspices of the Corinthians and the Athenians, but at a later period the Sicyonians held the exclusive right of presiding and deciding the contests. After Greece had fallen under the dominion of the Romans, gladiatorial shows were introduced, as were also contests of wild beasts—a kind of sport always repulsive to the refined tastes of the Hellenes. The prize offered for victory in an Isthmian contest was a garland of pine leaves, and to this a law of Solon added a reward of a hundred drachmæ.

In connection with these great games, considered as institutions calculated to create and foster a pan-Hellenic spirit, mention should also be made of the AMPHICTYONIC COUNCIL. Its general character was that of a kind of sacred congress. It had a mythical and religious origin. AMPHICTYON, the reputed founder, was one of the heroes. The association was in the first place a religious body, which met at stated intervals to perform sacrifices and supervise the rites of the country. Having their head-quarters in the great temple at Delphi, to which all Greece was wont to look for the omens of prophecy, the Amphictyons gradually acquired an ascendency over other associations of like sort in different parts of the country. Influence grew into authority, and the Council came to be recognized as a determining influence in the weightiest affairs of the Greeks. It was the great court of appeal to which inter-state disputes were referred for settlement; but its power to regulate and determine questions of national importance never rose to true congressional proportions, else the destiny of the Hellenic communities, resolved into a Union, might have withstood both Philip and the Romans.

The Council held two sessions annually, the first in the spring at the shrine of Apollo,

in Delphi, and the other in the autumn, in the temple of Demeter, at Thermopylæ. Its members were called AMPHICTYONS, and were chosen as deputies by the twelve states represented in the court. The delegates from each state consisted of a *Hieromnemon*, or chief, and several subordinates called *Pylagoræ;* but each delegation acted as a unit in the Council, and cast two votes in the name of the state represented. The different tribes who, by the appointment of deputies, recognized the authority of the Amphictyons were the Thessalians, the Bœotians, the Dorians, the Ionians, the Perrhæbians, the Magnetes, the Locrians, the Œtæans, the Achæans, the Phocians, the Dolopians, and the Malians. From the names of these constituent peoples it will readily be seen how ancient was the Amphictyonic institution; for several of these tribes had virtually disappeared before the classical age of Greece.

Among the first duties of the great Council was to uphold the influence of the oracle and temple of Delphi. The interests of the states represented were carefully, though not always efficiently, guarded. On the assumption of their duties the deputies were required to take the following oath: "We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town, or cut it off from running water in war or peace. If any one shall do so, we will march against him and destroy his city. If any one shall plunder the property of the god, or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things in his temple at Delphi, we will punish him with foot and hand and voice, and by every means in our power."

It is clear from the tenor of this obligation that the primary objects of the Council were religious rather than secular. It was only in later developments that the Amphictyons became an important power in the political affairs of Greece; nor did their influence ever become so great as to entitle them to be considered a congress, in the modern sense of that word. Perhaps the most important general result of the organization was that it *tended* to the nationality of Greece. The line was thus drawn more distinctly than ever between Greek and Barbarian. The Amphictyons were themselves united in one body, and the unity of the twelve states represented was thereby symbolized and stimulated. The name of Hellenes, applied to the whole Greek people, acquired a new significance because of this federal title adopted by the Council.

A second result of scarcely less importance was that of a fixity of territorial limits for the several Greek states. This was one of the matters of which the Amphictyony took special cognizance. The determination of borders which might not be disputed was a matter of great moment in the maintenance of peace and the promotion of civilization.

The early character of the Council may be inferred from its relation to the First Sacred War, which occurred between the years B. C. 595 and 585. The Phocian town of Crissa was situated on the heights of Parnassus, near the oracle of Apollo. Its territory extended from the mountains to the gulf of Corinth. Its seaport was the little town of Cirrha. Having commercial advantages it grew to importance. The visitors who came from all parts of the Grecian world to consult the oracle landed and embarked at Cirrha. With the increase of population the place became ambitious. Crissa, not without cause, grew jealous; and, when the Cirrhæans proceeded to enrich themselves by levying exorbitant contributions upon the pilgrims going to and from the shrine of Apollo, took cognizance of the matter and declared war. The Thessalians and Athenians were summoned to the aid of Crissa, and for ten years Cirrha was invested by the forces of the Council. At last the town was taken by a stratagem not very honorable in so sacred a cause. It is said that, at the suggestion of Solon, the lawgiver of Athens, the waters of the river Plistus, which flowed through the besieged city, were poisoned, and the Cirrhæans were thus driven to surrender. The town was leveled to the ground. The rich plain in which it stood, extending northward towards Delphi, was consecrated to Apollo, and curses were pronounced upon him who henceforth should ever attempt its cultivation.[1] Thus, by the

[1] It was in this plain that the Pythian games were celebrated. See p. 517.

1000 B. C. 900 800 700 600

The Heroic Age.

The Trojan War.
Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus.
Period of the colonization of the Cyclades and Asia Minor by the Ionians.

Age of Homer.

84. Date of the legislation of Lycurgus.
The ascendency of the Archonship at Athens.
Age of the Oligarchic revolutions.

76. Epoch of the Olympiads.
56. The Decennial Archonship established.
46. Revolution in Corinth.
43. Beginning of the First Messenian War.
Messenia is overrun by the Spartans.

95. Beginning of the Fi... Sacred War.
94. Solon appointed to r... vise the Laws of... He completes his w... and goes into ex...
Age of the Seven W... Greece.
70. Thales founds th...
62. Comedies first ... in Athens.
60. Pisistratus ... Usurps th...
He patroniz...
34. Thespis i... Traged...
Epoch of ...
27. Acces... ...
They ...
The ...
t...
The ...

GREECE.

FROM

The Period of Myth and Tradition

TO

the Roman Conquest.

85. Second Messenian War begins.
84. Annual Archonship established at Athens.
76. Revolution in Sicyonia.
74. Founding of Chalcedon.
69. Tyranny of Pisistratus at Athens.
68. End of the Second Messenian War.
57. Founding of Byzantium.
Beginning of the Spartan ascendency in Greece.
24. The legislation of Draco established at Athens.
20. Sacrilege of the Alcmæonidæ.

Th...
10. ...
2...

First Settlement in Magna Græcia.

Cumæ in Campania founded.
Italy colonized by foreigners.

53. Rome founded by Romulus.
The Sabine women are seized by the bands of Romulus.
Sabinia united with Rome.
Joint reign of Romulus and Titus Tatius.
35. Naxos in Sicily founded.
34. Syracuse founded by a colony of Corinthians.
20. Sybaris founded.
16. Accession of Numa Pompilius.
He gives laws to primitive Rome.
10. Crotona founded.
8. Tarentum founded.
Locri founded.

78. Accession of Servius...
Reorganization of ...
54. Servius is mu...
Tarquin acce...
The Cumean...
9. ...
...
...
...

ROME.

FROM

The Earliest Settlements in Italy

TO

the Christian Era.

73. Accession of Tullus Hostilius.
Episode of Horatii and Curiatii.
48. Founding of Himera.
43. Ancus Martius reigns.
He restores the services of religion.
15. Accession of Tarquinius Priscus.
Building of the Circus Maximus and Cloaca Maxima.
Tarquin changes the Constitution...

Age of Perdiccas I.

Macedonia peopled by the Illyrian Tribes.

Reign of Argæus.
Reign of Philip I.
Reign of Æropus.
Reign of Alcetas.

Beginning...

MACEDONIA.

FROM

The Reign of Perdiccas

TO

the Conquest by the Romans.

37. Reign of Amyntas

Persia under the Aryan dominion of Tribes.

Achæmenes founds the Persian Kingdom.

He is succeeded by Teispes.
Persia tributary to Media.
80. Birth of Cyrus.
58. Cyrus overthrows Cyaxares and founds the Medo-Persian Empire.
Accession of Cambyses.
He enlarges the borders of Persia.

48. Cyrus subdu... prisoner...
38. Cyrus inva...
29. Death o... Cyrus...
Accessi...
Camby...
The la...
He inv...
22. Access... Sme...
He res...
21. Darius vol...
He re... Reor...
14. Th...

PERSIA.

FROM

The Epoch of Achæmenes

TO

the Macedonian Conquest.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

No. II.

The Græco-Roman Ascendency.

FROM

THE BEGINNINGS OF ARYAN CIVILIZATION TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

PREPARED BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

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400	300	200	100	A. D.
The Persian Army d Formation of the Co Beginning of the At Banishment of Th 66. Cimon suppres 64. Beginning of t 60. The Athenian ay. 47. Revolt of Bœ 45. Herodotus fl Ascendency Athens bec 40. Reducti ent. 32. Declar and Sciences. nesi 30. The Sp s. age s. 30. Athens oplas and 28. Destru The Spa own. Rise of t Revolu- Siege o Clisthenes. 21. Peac ntroduced. Appe Cleomenes in- 15. Th ca. 13. Ru leads an Ri Thrace. Re Naxos. 7. R tion of the Greek 5. B t Asia Minor. 4. L ius invades Greece. e of Marathon. ndency of Themisto- es and Aristides. es prepares to overw he Persian army adv Battles of Thermopyl	riven out of Greece. nfederation of Delos. henian Ascendency. emistocles. ses the Naxian Revolt. he Third Messenian War. s gain Maritime Supremacy. otia. 94. League of the Greek ourishes. Battle of Coronea. of Pericles. omes glorious in Letters and on of the Samians. [Art. ation of War by the Peloponnesian League. 87. Peace of Antalcidas. artans Rav- Age of Plato. Attica. 71. Battle of Leuctra. smitten with the Plague. ction of Plateæ. 63. Battle of Mantinea. rtans butcher the Plateæns. Cleon. 56. Second Sacred War begins. f Sphacteria. Age of Xenophon and Aristotle. e of Nicias. 38. Timoleon conquers Sicily. arance of Alcibiades. Battle of Chæronea. e Sicilian Expedition undertaken. in of the Athenian army in Sicily. se of Pisander. Rise of Demosthenes. volution in Athens. Beginning of Macedonian influence in Greece. ecall of Alcibiades. ence attle of Ægospotami. 35. Alexander is proclaimed Generalissimo of the Greeks. ysander takes Athens. Rule of the Thirty Tyrants. 99. Death of Socrates. The Anabasis of Cyrus. 96. Agesilaus makes war in Asia Minor. helm the Greeks. Greece becomes an appanage of Macedonia. ances. 17. Reign of Cassander. æ, Salamis, Plateæ, and Mycale.	98. Athens taken by Demetrius Poliorcetes. Age of Zeno and Epicurus. 81. Formation of the Achæan League. 73. Pyrrhus slain in an attack on Argos. 51. Renewal of the Achæan League by Aratus. Decline of the Grecian Commonwealths. States against Sparta. lcidas. 96. The Protectorate of Rome established over Greece by Flaminius at Corinth. 91. Sparta joins the Achæan League. 88. Philopocmen, General-issimo of the League. 46. The Consul-ity—Greec-nam Metellus extinguishes Grecian National-e becomes a Roman Province under the e of Achaia.	
ciety. Tarquin and Tullia. throne. Rome. ıcretia. of the Tarquins from ment of the Roman R o of Brutus and Coila Porsenna of Clusium. st Dictatorship. t Secession of the Ro e office of Tribune of t ssage of the Agrarian Increase of Plebeian of Volero. Violent Political Stri 58. Dictatorship of Preparation of 49. Banishmen 45. Appointm Passage of 37. Creation Aggres Vo 6. T	96. The town of Veii taken by Camillus. 16. Battle of Camillus. 90. Siege of Rome by the Gauls under Brennus. Dec They are driven away by Camillus. 12. Sie 82. Execution of Marcus Manlius. 7. Ba 69. Abolition of the Military Tribuneship. 2. H Rome. 65. Rome visited with a plague. Sc epublic. Election of the First Plebeian Consul. En tinus. 43. Outbreak of the First Samnite War. Ro 40. Conquest of the Latin Cities. R man Commons. 38. Subjugation of Campania. T he People. 21. Overthrow of the Roman army at the Caudine Forks. Law. 20. The Samnites defeated by the Romans. power by the law 10. Battle of the Vadimonian Lake. fe in Rome. Cincinnatus. the Ten Tables. t of the Decemviri. ent of Military Tribunes. several popular reforms. of the office of Censor. sions of the Æquians and lscians. he Roman army supported by regular pay.	98. Beginning of the Third Samnite War. 49. Beginning of the Punic 90. Capture of Pontius, and end of the conflict. 46. Capture of War declared against Tarentum. Greece be- 80. King Pyrrhus, of Epirus, lands in Italy. Roman He assists the Tarenti-nes and defeats 43. War with the Romans. [Italy. 34. The Ser- 74. Pyrrhus is routed and expelled from Tiberius 66. Conquest of all Italy by the Romans. elec- Epoch of the construction of the Great Military 64. Outbreak of the First Punic War. 33. Tiberius 41. The First Punic War ends. 29. Establishment of the province of Asia. 27. Conquest of Sardinia. 21. Killing of Caius Beginning of the Roman Provin- Gracchus. cial system. [mian games. The Jugurthine War. The Romans participate in the Isth- 6. Afrarius and Silla. The Gauls defeated at Ariminum. Mn conquest of Spain. 1. Italy invaded by Carthaginian conquest of Spain. the Cimbri. 19. Beginning of the Second Punic War. The Republic transformed into the Empire. 18. Hannibal invades Italy. Accession of Augustus. Battles of the Trebia and Lake Trasimenus. 18. War with Germans.	tle of Cannæ. [Cause, 90. The Social War breaks out. [Pontus. line of the Carthaginian 88. War declared against Mithridates, of ge and capture of Syracuse. The Marian proscriptions. ttle of Metaurus. 83. Sulla returns from the East. annibal recalled to Carthage. 83. Massacre of the partisans of Marius. cipio invades Africa. 79. War in Spain. d of the war. [iterranean. 72. Pompey ends the Rebellion. man ascendency in the Med- Insurrection of the Gladiators. ome adopts the policy of colo- nization. 70. Impeachment of Verres. The Republic begins her conquests in the East. 97. Flaminius defeats Philip of Macedonia at Cynocephalæ. 68. Battle of Pidna. 67. Pompey sent to suppress piracy. Macedonia is reduced to a Roman province. mans. Beginning of difficulties with the Achæan League. The Romans in vade 66. Passage of the Manilian Law. Greece. 63. The Conspiracy of Catiline. amnite War. 49. Beginning of the Third Rise of Julius Cæsar. end of the Punic War. 59. He is chosen Consul. [ince. 46. Capture of f Corinth. 58. He receives Gaul as his prov- rentum. Greece becomes a 56. Subjugation of the Gaulish s, lands in Italy. Roman province. nations. [umvirate. nes and defeats 46. Destruction of Carthage. Formation of the First Tri- 43. War with Variathus in Spain. [Italy. 34. The Servile War. 54. Roman invasion of Britain. expelled from Tiberius Gracchus 48. Outbreak of the Civil War. by the Romans. elected Tribune. 47. Battle of Pharsalia. Epoch of the construction of the Great Military Roads. 45. Cæsar appointed Dictator. 64. Outbreak of the First Punic War. 33. Tiberius slain. 44. He is assassinated. 41. The First Punic War ends. 29. Establishment of the province of Asia. 27. Conquest of Sardinia. 21. Killing of Caius 43. The Second Triumvirate Beginning of the Roman Provin- Gracchus. formed by Octavius, An- cial system. [mian games. The Jugurthine War. thony, and Lepidus. The Romans participate in the Isth- 6. Africa reduced by 42. Battle of Philippi. The Gauls defeated at Ariminum. Marius and Silla. 31. Battle of Actium. Carthaginian conquest of Spain. 1. Italy invaded by The Republic transform- 19. Beginning of the Second Punic War. the Cimbri. ed into the Empire. 18. Hannibal invades Italy. Accession of Augustus. Battles of the Trebia and Lake Trasimenus. 18. War with Germans.
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a and takes Cœsus inning of the war wit ylonia, takes the cap is defeated at Marat cession of Xerxes. Beginning of the Gr Destruction of the P ders Smerdis. 65. Accession of Arta conquers Egypt. seudo- 60. Revolt in E 49. Peace of gism. 26. Acces s heads a re- No es the throne. 7. Ar der. R he government. B gins the war with the	h the Greeks. ital, and ends the Later Empire. hon. 87. Peace of Antalcidas. 48. Founding of the Dynasty of the Arsacidæ. eat Invasion. 17. Reign of Arsaces Artabanus. ersian army at Salamis and Platæa He makes war with Antiochus the Great. 61. Accession of Ochus. xerxes. He invades and overruns Egypt. 36. Darius Codomanus takes the throne. 56. Restoration of Persian influence by Mithridates I. gypt. Persia invaded by Alexander. Parthia remains independent during the Roman Callias. Battles of Issus and Arbela. asc endency. sion of Darius 31. Overthrow of the Persian Empire. thus. 12. Persia falls to Seleucus Nicator. taxerxes II. takes the throne. ebellion of Cyrus the Younger. attle of Cunaxa. Scythians.	

diligence of the great Council was the honor of Phœbus vindicated. From this time forth his oracle was more consulted than ever, and richer gifts were poured into his treasury. The influence of the Amphictyons was extended throughout all Greece. It was seen that in them the national religion and traditions had found an immovable bulwark against aggression—a power jealous of whatever seemed to threaten the unity and renown of Hellas.

CHAPTER XLIII.—GROWTH AND LAW.

MOST notable of the facts belonging to the second period of Greek development—a period extending from the epoch of the Dorian migrations to the revolt of the Ionian cities against the Persians—were the growth and preponderance of Sparta and Athens as the two leading Hellenic states, and the establishment of institutions by the legislation of Lycurgus and Solon. The first fact unfortunately involved a rivalry of the two commonwealths which became the bane of Greek history, but the other contained those legislative germs which, springing here and there in the soil of freedom, have contributed not a little to the growth of human liberty.

After the agitations consequent upon the Return of the Heraclidæ had somewhat subsided, there appeared in Peloponnesus the three leading states of Laconia, Argos, and Messenia. It was in the first of these that the new Dorian population from the North became most easily and completely predominant. Argos was not so much revolutionized, and Messenia was still less affected in her population and institutions by the invasions. A period followed in which the new masters of Southern Greece had to struggle and fight for the maintenance of their supremacy. By and by, when that supremacy was fully established and acknowledged, the two leading states of Peloponnesus—Sparta and Argolis—fell into quarrels and went to war. After the Dorian invasion of Argolis, that state still remained for a while a confederacy of free cities. Such were Argos—the capital—Cleonæ, Phlius, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Trœzen, and Ægina. These were leagued together in the common worship of Apollo, and each of the cities maintained a temple in his honor. The central shrine was in Argos, and from this place the authority of the confederacy was exercised. Her privileges increased until the time of Phidon, who was king of Argos, and who, about B. C. 747, reduced the free cities and established himself in a despotism.

It seemed that Argolis under his leadership was going to win an easy supremacy over all the Dorian states. He made a conquest of Corinth. He claimed to be *par excellence* the representative of the great ancestor, Heracles, and in his name demanded the submission of his kinsmen, the leaders of the Heraclidæ. In the Eighth Olympiad he interfered with the presidency of the games, deprived the Eleans of their privileges, took the presidency himself, and then set up the Pisatans instead of their deposed rivals.

This act, however, soon led to his downfall. For the Eleans, unwilling to lose the honorable prerogative of presiding over the Olympic festival, appealed to Sparta to aid in the maintenance of their rights. The appeal was favorably heard. The Spartans espoused the cause of the petitioners, went to war with Phidon, defeated him in battle, and destroyed the pretensions of Argolis to the leadership of Southern Greece. From this time forth there was never any doubt that Sparta was destined to the first place among the Peloponnesian states.

It will be remembered that, when the Heraclidæ drew lots for the distribution of territories, Laconia fell to the two sons of Aristodemus. This fact remained a precedent in Spartan institutions, and a

double, instead of a single, royal house was a part of the primitive constitution of the country. Up to the time of the war with Argolis and the establishment of the supremacy of Sparta, that state had had the same general type of civilization and development as the other Dorian communities and cities; but from this time onward a separation took place between Sparta and all the other Hellenic commonwealths, until she was almost as much distinguished in her institutions and popular characteristics from her sister Doric states of Argos and Corinth as she was from Thebes and Athens. Only with Crete did the customs, manners, and laws of the Spartans hold them in fellowship and sympathy. This separation—amounting to an isolation—of Sparta from the other Grecian states, and her consequent assumption of an independent career, were traceable to the work of her great lawgiver, LYCURGUS.

The dissensions in Laconia between the old and the new populations constituted a serious drawback to the progress of that state. The Dorian warriors, who had taken possession of the country, were too strong to be displaced, but the mass of the people smarted under their exactions, and would have rebelled but for fear of the consequences. Besides this source of trouble, the evil of a double royal house, involving the reign of two kings simultaneously, was felt as a dangerous obstacle to the public welfare. The Spartans, moreover, were by nature and previous history a lawless tribe, little disposed to accept the restraints of civilized society. All of these embarrassments combined in producing a necessity for a complete revision of existing laws, and in short for the establishment of a fixed constitution of government.

The preparation of such a constitution was committed to Lycurgus. Tradition makes him to have been of the Heraclidæ. He was the son of Eunomus, a brother of the King Polydectes. When the latter died, Lycurgus became guardian of his son Charilaüs, who was heir to the throne. In spite of the temptation to which he was subjected by the widow of the late king, who wished Lycurgus to murder the child and marry her, he remained true to the state, and, taking Charilaüs into the agora, had him proclaimed as king. He himself left Sparta and went into Crete.

Here he became a student of the laws and institutions of Minos, and them he is said to have made the basis of the code which he afterwards reported to his countrymen. From Crete he traveled into Egypt and Ionia, and even—if the tradition may be trusted—as far as India. While abroad he became acquainted with the Homeric poems, which had not hitherto been recited in Peloponnesus. On his return to his own people he found the state in anarchy, and a common belief that he was to be the agent of the rescue of his country. He accordingly yielded to public solicitation, consulted the oracle at Delphi, and undertook the preparation of a new frame of government. The oracle itself furnished the fundamental articles of the constitution, so that Lycurgus returned from Delphi with the sanction of Apollo. Appearing in the agora with thirty leading citizens, he made known his mission, which was gladly accepted by a majority of the people; but Charilaüs and a few of his partisans yielded with reluctance, and were overawed by the popular voice.

Lycurgus thus came to his countrymen in the double character of a law-giver and a messenger from Delphi. Necessity and Phœbus Apollo were the joint sponsors of his legislation. After a season the new constitution was prepared and given to the state. It was wisely based upon the fundamental conditions which were present in the country. The Doric race was recognized as in every respect predominant. The whole body of the population was divided into three classes: first, the Spartans of Dorian descent, who constituted the ruling caste; second, the Periœcæ, or Laconians, who far outnumbered the Spartans; and third, the Helots or slaves.

The Dorians had taken the land by conquest. They were accordingly retained as the soldier-class forever. No work, no business, was ever to interfere with their profession of arms. Estimating their numbers at nine thousand, Lycurgus divided the fruitful valley and plain of the Eurotas into nine thousand equal parts, and to each soldier one part was as-

signed for his support. But the tillage of the land was reserved for the servile class, the Helots, who were bound to the soil by a system of serfdom. The remaining lands of Laconia, chiefly consisting of mountainous districts in the interior, were divided into thirty thousand parts and distributed to the original inhabitants of the country, thenceforth called Periœcæ, or "dwellers around." The Periœcæ were to remain free, but were to devote themselves to agriculture, trade, and commerce. They were also subject to military service at the call of the dominant class of Spartans. There was thus, as nearly as practicable, an adaptation of all classes to the previous conditions existing in the state.

As another conservative measure, the two kings were left undisturbed, but their prerogatives were reduced to a mere dignity and to leadership in war. The legislative power was given to two assemblies. The first and highest consisted of thirty members called the *Gerontes*, or "old men," of whom the kings were two, whatever might be their ages. The remaining twenty-eight must be over sixty years old. The right to originate all laws and measures of state polity belonged to this body. The other assembly embraced as members all male Spartans over the age of thirty. These met once a month and voted upon the measures proposed by the Gerontes. The voting was to be by acclamation, *aye* or *no;* and no debate was permissible. From the first all discussions and wrangling were odious to the Spartan spirit.

The constitution of Lycurgus also established an overseership of six EPHORS, or magistrates. To them was intrusted a supervisory power over the laws passed by the assembly, and a final voice in all public matters. Even the kings were accountable to the Ephors for their conduct. The kingly office was thus so greatly hedged with restrictions as to be reduced to a minimum of influence, and in this shorn condition was permitted to survive in Sparta long after the complete destruction of royal prerogative in the other states of Greece.

The Lycurgian statutes next proceeded to the education of the Spartans. The theory of the government was that all classes existed for the benefit of the state. The individual was for the commonwealth—nothing else. There has, perhaps, never been in all history another instance in which the idea of individual subordination to the public good was carried to such lengths as in Sparta. The principle lay at the very bottom of Spartan society, and explained many otherwise inexplicable circumstances and peculiarities of the national character. It followed naturally from this theory that the citizenship should be adapted by proper training to the uses of the state. Of the dominant Spartans this would be true in the highest measure.

The system contemplated simply the making of soldiers. At birth the child was inspected to determine *its fitness to live.* There was no compunction. It was simply business. The Ephors decided the question. If weak or deformed the babe was exposed in the hills of Taygetus to perish. If robust and promising it was given to the mother for the first seven years and then taken from her. Henceforth the lad belonged to the state. He was put to school. The school was a gymnasium. No metaphysical nonsense was allowed about the establishment. It was for the development and hardening of the body. A course of rigid discipline and athletic exercises was prescribed, so severe and heartless as to defy a parallel. The youth must wear the same garment winter and summer. Hunger, thirst, and exposure must be endured without a murmur. When starving for food the lad might steal, but if caught in the act he was punished for *that.* One boy stole a fox, hid it under his garment, and suffered the beast to tear out his bowels rather than betray the theft. Once in his life each youth was taken before the altar of Artemis and scourged till his back ran gore. The boy was obliged to be silent or to say *yes* and *no*—no more. Whatever was more than these came of evil. He must be laconic, impassive. He must endure pain and smile. So must the Spartan girl; for the discipline was nearly alike for both sexes. All feeling must be eliminated. She who must presently give up her own babe to fill the belly of a Laconian wolf must do so smiling. At the age of thirty the boy was

promoted to manhood. He might then marry and engage in public affairs. He still, however, belonged to the state in the same sense as before. He slept in the public barracks, and was not released from military service until he reached the age of sixty.

One feature of the Lycurgian system is deserving of special mention, and that is the public mess. A table was spread, at which every male citizen was obliged to take his meals. The institution was called *Syssilia*, that is, "eating together." Each table was arranged for the accommodation of fifteen persons, and no others than those eating regularly at this bench could be admitted except by unanimous consent. The system was communistic. Each eater sent to the table monthly his quantum of provisions, consisting of a little barley-meal, wine, cheese, and figs. A small money contribution was also levied for the purchase of meats and fish. These articles, however, were only eaten on occasion. At the common meal the principal dish was a kind of black broth, which was unsavory except to the half-starved whose ravenous stomachs craved filling, no matter with what.

As to intellectual accomplishments, the Lycurgian system provided for two—singing and playing on the lyre. But the idea in both was warlike. The song was a pæan for battle. The lyre was merely to waken martial enthusiasm. The poets of Sparta were the bards of the barracks. They sang and shouted nothing but war. In the times of Spartan greatness Homer was the favorite. Tyrtæus was a popular hero. Archilochus, who in one of his poems chanced to mention his own flight from the battle-field, was banished from the country!

What the Greeks of Central Hellas regarded as civilization was abhorred on the banks of the Eurotas. Elaborate speech, politeness, affable companionship, lively manners, these were frivolities of which a Spartan would not be guilty. Luxury was more to be dreaded than the plague. Riches meant inequality. Money was a necessary evil. To make it as little desirable as possible Lycurgus decreed that the coin of Sparta should be of *iron*. So should he be satirized and punished who traded, and he who took valuables to market would require a cart and oxen to bring home his money.[1] In such a school of roughness and austerity were the warlike virtues of the Dorians nursed into full vigor.

The system bore its fruits. The man became a soldier, utterly indifferent to hardship, exposure, death. The woman became the mother of such men, and was proud of it. She gave her son a shield with the injunction, "*Return with it or on it.*" When he was brought home stark from the battle-field, she said no word. The Spartan mother must not disgrace herself! She had only given her son to the state. It was for that she bore him. He had died on his shield. Why grieve for one who had served his country?—Thus it was that the Spartans became a race of soldiers; and such were their valor and stoicism in fight that there was just one way to defeat them, and that was to destroy the last man! As long as one remained, Sparta was invincible.

All of the early history of Peloponnesus is involved with that of Sparta. Two-thirds of the peninsula was completely under her control; and the rest acknowledged her leadership. With one state, however, she had a protracted and obstinate contest. This was Messenia, on the west, a commonwealth in which the supremacy of the Dorians had never been fully established or quietly accepted. It was only a question of time when the domination of Sparta would lead to an outbreak. The date assigned for the beginning of the first conflict is B. C. 743. Before this, one of the Spartan kings had been killed by the Messenians at the temple of Artemis, on Mount Taygetus, but the murderers gave such an account of the affair as justified the killing. Shortly afterwards, however, a private quarrel led to open war. Polychares, a leading Messenian, who had won a crown at an Olympic festival, was robbed of his cattle

[1] It has been urged with some plausibility that the statute for iron money did not properly belong to the laws of Lycurgus, but to a later date. As a matter of fact no gold or silver money had as yet been coined in Greece; and the practical satire of the Lycurgian system would, under the circumstances, be no satire at all.

by a Spartan, Euæphnus, who added to the crime by murdering the son of Polychares, who was sent for redress. The father appealed to the Spartan Ephors for justice, but was turned away. He then took matters into his own hands, and gave his herdsmen orders to kill all the Lacedæmonians whom they should meet. The Spartans, who were probably not displeased, secretly prepared for hostilities, marched across the frontier, took the fortress of Amphia, and killed the garrison.

War broke out in earnest. For four years the Messenians defended themselves with vigor, but in the fifth they were defeated and driven into their stronghold, the old fortress of Ithome. They appealed to the Delphic oracle, and answer was given that the king's daughter would have to be sacrificed to Hades in order to secure victory. The king was about to comply when the girl's lover interfered, and she was killed in a scandalous manner. Although this was no sacrifice, the superstitious Spartans were kept at bay by the news for several seasons. In the thirteenth year of the war, however, the struggle was renewed. The king of Messenia was killed in battle, and was succeeded by Aristodemus, who fought bravely for his country. Theopompus, king of Sparta, marched against him, and his forces were augmented by a large band of Corinthians. The Messenians were aided by the Arcadians and Sicyonians. In the eighteenth year of the struggle a great battle was fought in which the Spartans were defeated and driven into their own territories.

It was now their turn to apply to the oracle. An answer was returned which promised success on condition of a stratagem. Meanwhile, however, Aristodemus was dismayed by dreams. His murdered daughter appeared and beckoned him to follow. In despair he went to her tomb and killed himself. The Messenians were disheartened, and abandoned Ithome. The Spartans thereupon gained possession and leveled the fortress to the ground. The whole of Messenia was quickly overrun. Some of the inhabitants fled into Arcadia; others to Eleusis and Athens. Those who remained were reduced to a condition of servitude like that of the Helots. They were obliged by the conquerors to pay them one-half of the produce of their lands and to submit to intolerable marks of degradation.

After thirty-nine years, however, the spirit of the Messenians revived. In B. C. 685 Aristomenes claimed the kingdom, and soon showed himself to be a warrior worthy to lead his people to freedom. A revolt broke out, which, before it was quelled, drew into the vortex of war nearly all the states of Peloponnesus. The haughty conduct of Sparta had borne the natural fruits of disloyalty, and the Argives, Arcadians, Sicyonians, and Pisatans all espoused the cause of the Messenians against their oppressors. As in the previous war, however, the Corinthians sided with Sparta and sent her a contingent of troops.

The first conflict was indecisive, but the advantage was with Aristomenes. As a piece of effrontery he crossed the Spartan frontier by night, went to the temple of Athena of the Brazen Horse, and hung up a shield with this inscription: "Dedicated by Aristomenes to the goddess from the Spartan spoils." Such was the effect of this piece of audacity that the Spartans again cried to the Delphic oracle for advice. The answer was returned that they should apply to the Athenians for a leader. This was wormwood to both the parties; but the Athenians, fearing to disobey the voice of Phœbus, selected a lame schoolmaster and poet named Tyrtæus, and sent him to lead the warrior Spartans to victory! The latter received him with honor, and he soon showed both them and the senders what a bard may do in war. He began to compose martial songs so inspired with the spirit of battle that the courage of the Spartans was revived and themselves fired with the greatest zeal for the conflict. Tyrtæus was made a citizen of the state, and the war was renewed with vigor.

At the first battle, however, fought at the Boar's Grave, in the plain of Stenyclerus, the Spartans and Corinthians were defeated with great losses. During the second year Aristomenes still kept his foe at bay, but in the third a decisive battle was fought which, through the treachery of one of the allied chiefs, resulted in a signal disaster to the

Messenians. Aristomenes was obliged to retire from the open field to the mountain fortress of Ira, where for eleven years he maintained the cause of his country. From this stronghold he would as occasion offered sally forth in successful raids against the foe.

Such was his prowess that three times he celebrated the sacrifice of Hecatomphonia for having in each instance slain with his own hand a hundred of the enemy. Three times he was taken. Twice he broke away from his captors, but in the third case he was carried with fifty others to Sparta and thrown into a deep pit. All the rest were killed, but he fell to the bottom unhurt. The next day he saw a live fox in the pit, and seizing the beast by the tail, he followed it through the fissures in the rocks till he found an exit and escaped. Equal was the surprise both to his own friends and the enemy when he reäppeared at Ira.

Nevertheless, the indomitable energy of the Spartans gradually gained the ascendency. Aristomenes was said to have forfeited the favor of the gods. He was wounded, and, while in a disabled condition, was attacked by the Lacedæmonians, who succeeded in capturing Ira. Aristomenes escaped with a band of followers. They fled first into Arcadia, and afterwards into Rhodes, where the hero passed the rest of his days. Many others of his countrymen, led by his sons, left Messenia and found refuge in Rhegium in Southern Italy. The memory of their brave king was long cherished by the Messenians, whose bards recited his heroism and recounted his reäppearance in battle.

Thus, in the year B. C. 668, ended the Second Messenian War. The people were again reduced to serfdom. For three hundred years they remained in a state of abject dependence upon the wills of their conquerors. Their history during this long period is known only in connection with that of the dominant state. Their territory was annexed to Laconia, whose limits were thus extended across Peloponnesus from sea to sea. The supremacy of the Spartan oligarchy was thus completely established in all the southern portion of the peninsula. The adjacent parts of Arcadia were also brought under their sway, and as far north as the gulf of Corinth there were none left, except the Tegeans, courageous enough to dispute their leadership.

The city of Tegea, however, situated in the south-eastern portion of Arcadia, determined to fight for independence. The people were brave and had a warlike history. Twice they had already measured spears successfully with the Spartans. In the reign of Charilaüs, nephew of Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonians had marched against Tegea, but were disastrously defeated. Their king and all the survivors of the battle were captured. In B. C. 580, the Spartans again invaded the territory and were again routed. The prisoners were taken and enslaved, being obliged to toil in the very chains which they had brought for the Tegeans. The latter thus maintained their independence for thirty years. In B. C. 560, however, the struggle was renewed by the Spartan kings, Anaxandrides and Ariston. The Delphic oracle sent the Spartans a message that they should be successful when they secured the bones of Orestes, son of Agamemnon, now buried at Tegea. This feat was accomplished by a stratagem, and the relics were carried in triumph to Sparta. Then the tide turned against the Tegeans. They were defeated in several engagements, their city was taken, and themselves reduced to dependency. In this case, however, the conquering state preferred the alliance rather than the enslavement of the people, and Tegea was spared the fate of Ira and Ithome.

The Spartans also succeeded in annexing the district of Cynuria to their territories. This province had belonged to Argos, and the attempt of that city to recover their possession brought on war. It was agreed between the two states that the question should be decided in a single combat between three hundred chosen warriors on each side. The picked force of Argives and Spartans went into battle, and so fierce was the fight that only two of the former and one of the latter were left alive. The two Argives, believing themselves victorious, bore the news to Argos, but the Spartan remained on the field, stripped the bodies of the dead, and claimed the victory.

Thereupon the armies of the two states marched out and fought a decisive battle, in which the Argives were defeated. Othryades, the Spartan who had survived from the previous conflict, slew himself in despair because he was left alive. Cynuria remained to Sparta, and Argos no longer dared to oppose any impediment to the will of the conqueror.

Meanwhile, in other parts of Greece, important political changes had taken place, by which the form of the government in most of the states had been altered to what is known as a despotism. In all of the commonwealths except Sparta the kingly office had been abolished. Indeed, in such small states the institution of royalty could not flourish, for the king was seen and known as a man rather than as a ruler. At his death his son sometimes succeeded to his power, but was frequently limited to a term of years. The next step was the choice of some nobleman or chief, who, with the title of *Archon*, exercised the same authority hitherto possessed by the king; but the officer so chosen was not recognized as having a dignity much above that of his fellow nobles. So the government virtually rested, after the abolition of royalty, in the hands of the few, and was designated as an *oligarchy*, distinguished on the one side from kingly prerogative, and on the other from democracy.

Such was the general political condition at the middle of the seventh century B. C., when a new factor appeared in Greek politics. This was the despot. He generally came in the character of some leading citizen, who by espousing the cause of the people gained sufficient power to overthrow the oligarchy and make himself ruler of the city. He was generally designated by the Greeks themselves by the name of *Tyrant*, but the Greek sense of that word is so different from the English equivalent as to make the word *Despot*, or Master, a better translation. As a rule the despot arose from the ranks of the artisans, but sometimes a noble would take advantage of his position to become a popular leader. The authority of such a ruler when once established was generally exercised in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner, and not infrequently the Greeks had cause to deplore the revolution by which such a system of government had been substituted for the oligarchy. In such cases the hatred of the people for their own tool who had now become their master was intense, and this led to the next step in the political evolution, namely the substitution of democracy for the despotism.

It will readily appear that Sparta, wherein the old form of kingship had been retained by the Lycurgian statutes, was naturally thrown in her sympathies on the side of the oligarchies of Greece, as against the despotisms and the growing tendencies towards democracy. The oligarchy stood next to royalty, and in the light of this fact the conduct of the Spartan government in its numerous interferences in the affairs of other Greek states must be interpreted. Such interference became a necessity of the situation, made so by the natural desire of the Spartans to maintain a preponderating influence throughout Greece.

Just west of the isthmus of Corinth was the city of Sicyon. Like the other states, Sicyonia had been under the oligarchical form of government; but in B. C. 676, a popular leader named Orthagoras arose, and a despotism was established instead. The primitive population of the country, who had never been exterminated by the Dorian conquerors, supported Orthagoras, and he was thus enabled to fix his tyranny so firmly that the dynasty lasted for a hundred years. The last of the line was Clisthenes, who was famed in his time for a victory won in a chariot race at the Olympic games. He died in B. C. 560, and leaving no son the despotism became extinct.

A similar tyranny flourished in Corinth for seventy-four years. It began its career with the overthrow of the Bacchiadæ in B. C. 655, and was established by Cypselus. He was himself descended from the nobles, but espoused the cause of the popular party. After conducting the government well for thirty years, he left it to his son Periander, who was greatly detested for his cruelty and exactions. Nevertheless, it was under his iron rule that Corinth became one of the leading cities of Greece—a place which she held for several

centuries. The tyrant patronized art and letters, and invited the most learned men of his times to his court. After reigning for forty years he was succeeded by a relative, Psammetichus, who reigned four years, and with him the dynasty perished.

The despotism in Megara was established by Theagenes, in B. C. 630. He appeared in the usual way as a leader of the people, overthrew the oligarchy, and made himself master of the state. After holding authority for thirty years, he was driven from the government, but his party punished the offense by despoiling the homes of the nobles. An edict was passed by which all existing debts were canceled, and the rich made to refund the interest which they had received on loans. These actions, however, so exasperated the party of the nobles that the latter rallied a strong force and the party of Theagenes was suppressed. The oligarchy was reëstablished, and remained as the fixed form of government for several generations. Such, then, was the general course of events in Peloponnesus from the establishment of the Lycurgian constitution to the close of the sixth century B. C. Meanwhile a state had arisen in Central Greece whose fame was destined to be everlasting.

The story of the founding of Athens by Cecrops has already been given. From that time until the age of Solon, who gave to the state its constitution, the history of Attica contains only traditions. One of the principal of these is the consolidation by Theseus of the twelve districts into which Cecrops had divided the peninsula. Another is that of the abolition of royalty. In the time of the Dorian invasion of Attica the Delphic oracle gave answer to the invaders that they would be successful if the life of the Athenian king was spared. The name of that ruler was Codrus. Hearing the report of the oracle, he disguised himself, went before the walls of Athens, provoked a quarrel with the Dorian soldiers, and permitted himself to be killed.

DEATH OF CODRUS.—Drawn by H. Vogel.

Learning what they had done the Dorians broke up their camp and retired from Attica. The Athenians, in joy for their deliverance, declared that no one was worthy to succeed

Codrus in the government, and accordingly abolished the office of royalty, substituting therefor the *archonship*. The right to be Archon, however, was for the time limited to the family of Codrus. Eleven members of that family succeeded one another in the government, and then, in B. C. 752, the office was limited to a period of ten years. Thirty-eight years later the restriction to the family of Codrus was removed and the archonship thrown open to all the nobles. The next step in the road to democracy was taken in B. C. 683, when the office was limited to one year's duration, and distributed to nine persons instead of one. Of these nine, however, one continued to be the chief archon and the rest associates. None but the nobles were eligible to the archonship; so that the government of Athens was peaceably transferred from royalty to oligarchy in the same manner as in the states of Peloponnesus. As yet the people had no voice in the direction of public affairs.

The class-distinctions of the Athenian populace were arranged—so says tradition—by Theseus. There were three castes: the *Eupatridæ*, or nobles; the *Geomori*, or husbandmen; and the *Demiurgi*, or artisans. The first exercised all the political and religious rites of the people; the husbandmen tilled the soil; the artisans plied their respective crafts; but neither wielded any considerable influence in the affairs of state.

From the institution of the annual archonship, in B. C. 683, the more authentic history of Athens begins. Of the nine archons who were then appointed instead of the one who had held authority previously, one was the President, called *Archon Eponymus;* for the year took its name from him. He was the representative of the *State*, and decided all matters of public importance. The second archon was called *Basileus;* and to him was committed the oversight of *Religion*. The third bore the title of *Polemarch*, and commanded the army. The remaining six were called *Thesmothetæ*, or legislators. The constitution of the Court of Areopagus, or Senate of Athens, has already been described. Such was the character of Athenian political society in the times preceding the legislation of Solon.

The government of the oligarchy was severe and arbitrary. There were no written laws, and the precedents of the state were not well established. It was withal a government of partiality, administered by the nobles for the nobles. After about a half a century the public discontent became so great that a nobleman named DRACO, of whose previous history but little is known, was appointed to draft a code of written laws. The work was undertaken in B. C. 624. The lawgiver adopted the constitution of Athenian society as it was, and gave his attention almost wholly to the question of crime and its punishment. His laws were characterized by extreme severity. All crimes were punishable with death! The theory was that a petty theft deserved death, and for murder no greater penalty could be affixed. It was said that his statutes were written in blood. Perhaps, however, the code was as merciful as the spirit of the age; for the age cared nothing for the sacredness of human life.

The code of Draco was of little utility. Violence and discontent continued to prevail to such an extent as to prevent the growth and endanger the stability of the state. After a few years of trouble a revolution was undertaken by the malcontents headed by Cylon, one of the Eupatridæ. He was the son-in-law of Theagenes, the tyrant of Megara, from whom he learned the lesson of despotism as a cure for public troubles. Obtaining from the Delphic oracle an answer which he regarded as favorable, he seized the Acropolis and undertook to maintain himself against the authorities of the city, but he was soon overthrown and driven from the country. Many of his adherents were hunted down and were slain even at the very altars of the gods where they had taken refuge.

This act of sacrilege, however—done as it was by the orders of Megacles, one of the archons—terrified the people to such a degree that the family to which Megacles belonged was put under the ban and their trial demanded by the court. But the offending nobles could not for the time be brought to justice, and the confusion in the state grew from bad to dangerous, until Solon persuaded

the family of the Alcmæonidæ, to which Megacles belonged, to submit their cause to trial. The court adjudged them guilty, and they were banished from Attica. Still the Athenians were terrified at the imagined anger of the gods, and a plague in the city was attributed to the vengeance of those whose altars had been profaned by the shedding thereat of human blood. Nor could the public mind be quieted until, at the suggestion of the Delphic oracle, the Cretan sage Epimenides was brought to Athens to purify her from pollution.

In this business, which resulted in producing comparative quiet, the guiding hand of SOLON again appeared. To him the people of the city began to look as to one who by his wisdom and prudence was able to save the state from anarchy. This remarkable man was born in the year B. C. 638. He was on his father's side descended from Codrus, and by his mother was related to Pisistratus. In youth he learned a trade, and afterwards traveled as a merchant in Greece and Asia. He was a poet of no mean ability, and while yet comparatively young was reckoned as one of the Seven Wise Men of his country. Returning from his travels, he became interested in public affairs, and soon acquired a great reputation for probity and learning. In B. C. 600 he rendered the state most valuable service by commanding the Athenian expedition for the recovery of Salamis, which had revolted to Megara. After a tedious struggle the decision of the question was left to the arbitration of Sparta. Solon went thither as the ambassador of Athens, and managed the cause so skillfully as to obtain a judgment in favor of his country. Soon afterwards his fame was further heightened by the influence which he wielded over the Amphictyonic Council in inducing that body to declare war against the town of Cirrha, thus precipitating the Sacred War.

At the age of Solon the Athenian commonwealth embraced three classes of citizens. These were first the *Pediæi*, or wealthy class, who, living mostly in the open country in and about Athens, were designated as THE PLAIN; second, the *Diacrii*, or poor people of the hilly districts, who were called THE MOUNTAIN; third, the *Parali*, or mercantile class, living mostly on the sea-coast, and known as THE SHORE. These classes were arrayed against each other politically, and a reconciliation of their interests seemed impossible. The poor were in great distress. The rich had loaned them money, and had charged exorbitant rates of interest. Both the property and the person of the debtor were mortgaged to the rapacious creditor. Payment was in most instances impossible. Many of those who had been bankrupted had become the slaves of those whom they owed. Others had been actually sold to barbarians. The materials of a disastrous insurrection were ready to be fired by the first spark of agitation.

The oligarchs became alarmed, and appealed to Solon for aid. They knew that he had the confidence of the Mountain and the Shore, as well as their own. In B. C. 594 he was chosen archon, and was authorized to exercise unlimited powers in remodeling the constitution of the state. All parties accepted his appointment as an earnest of reform. Such was the universality of his influence that he might easily have usurped all the functions of the government, overthrown the oligarchy, and made himself master of Athens; but his virtue was equal to his ability, and he rebuked those who tempted him to such a course. He entered upon his work without the least bias of personal ambition.

As a preliminary measure he abolished all the laws of Draco except that relating to murder. He then divided the people into classes, according to their property assessment. This division was made the basis of the new political system; for a man's right to political preferment rested henceforth on the amount of property of which he was possessed. As a measure of present relief, he canceled all mortgages which had been given on the score of interest. Debtors sold into slavery were set free. The lands of the state were freed from encumbrances. The power to mortgage the person for debt was annulled. No general abolition of debt was attempted; but, as a measure of relief, the standard of the coinage was lowered about one-fourth, so that the new

silver mina contained but seventy-three parts in a hundred of its former value. It was found that Solon himself was a loser by this measure; for he had loaned five talents, which were paid back in units of the lower standard.

In the property division of the citizens the first class was made to consist of those whose annual incomes were in excess of five hundred measures of corn. These were called the *Pentacosiomedimni*. The second class embraced all whose incomes ranged between three hundred and five hundred measures. They were called the *Knights*, from the fact that each in this rank was considered able to furnish a war-horse to the state. The third class was made of those whose annual revenues were between two hundred and three hundred measures of corn. Those belonging to this class were called *Zeugitæ*, from the fact that each was reckoned able to own a yoke of oxen. The fourth rank embraced all whose incomes amounted to less than two hundred measures. The members of this class were designated as *Thetes*, and were in excess of the other classes in numbers, being the common people of Attica.

As to public honors, all the higher offices, including the archonship, were reserved for citizens of the first class. The inferior offices, however, might be held by persons of the second and third classes. Citizens of the fourth rank might hold no public trust whatever. But these discriminations were counterbalanced by a just distribution of burdens. An income-tax was levied on the first three classes, but the fourth class was exempt. Citizens of the second and third ranks were subject, as well as the first, to military service, the second furnishing the cavalry and the third the heavy-armed foot. The light-armed troops were furnished by the fourth rank. The disqualification of the common people for holding office was compensated by the right of suffrage. The right to vote in the public assembly was conceded to the Thetes, who, being in the majority, might control the election of the archons and other officers; and since the archon, at the end of his year of office, was subject to prosecution before the

SOLON DICTATING HIS LAWS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

assembly for his public acts, the check of the Fourth Estate upon the administration of affairs was very salutary.

As a counterpoise to this enlargement of the Assembly, Solon instituted a Senate, or Council of Four Hundred, with whom all matters of discussion in the popular body must originate. The senators were elected by the Assembly, and in turn presided over its deliberations. Like the archons, they held office for a year, and were amenable at the end of the term for their conduct. The old Court of Areopagus was retained by Solon, but additional duties were imposed upon it. Besides its ancient powers, it was given a general supervision of the laws and the duty of supervising the lives and occupations of the people.

In the punishment of crime the legislation of Solon was merciful. The thief must return double the value of the thing stolen. Slander of either the living or the dead was prohibited. Foreigners were invited to settle in Attica. The father must teach his son some useful trade or run the risk of being left uncared for in his old age. He who took a prize in the Olympic or Isthmian games should be rewarded and honored. He who in case of a civil sedition stood aloof and took no sides was devoid of public spirit and should be disfranchised.

When the Constitution was completed it was inscribed in rollers and tablets and deposited in the Acropolis. Solon acknowledged that the work was imperfect, but held it to be the best that the Athenians were able to bear. When the task was completed, he bound the Athenians by an oath to keep his statutes for ten years, and then, to avoid the annoyance of those who were sure to want alterations and amendments, he went abroad as a traveler. He visited Egypt and Cyprus, and in the latter place was honored with the founding of a new town named *Soli*, in his honor.

Afterwards he went to Sardis and made the acquaintance of Crœsus. It was on this occasion that the celebrated interview occurred which has been so much repeated for its lesson. Crœsus, desiring to make an impression on his visitor, took him into his treasury and showed him his riches. He then inquired of the impassive philosopher whom he considered the happiest man he had ever seen. Solon, after some little reflection, named two obscure Greeks whom the Lydian had never heard of. Mortified at being unable to extort a compliment, Crœsus expressed his disgust, but Solon explained that no man can well be accounted happy until his life is ended, since the vicissitudes of human affairs may soon bring even the proudest to the level of the beggar. For the time the lesson made no impression on the proud monarch; but in after years, when his kingdom was overturned and himself, a prisoner, was about to be burned to death by the orders of Cyrus the Great, Crœsus in his anguish cried out the name of Solon. Cyrus inquired upon what god the condemned was calling, and was told the story of the philosopher's interview and saying. The lesson was so well suited to the Persian king that he ordered Crœsus to be liberated and made him his friend.—It is unfortunate that this story is mythical rather than authentic.

After ten years Solon, in B. C. 562, returned to Athens. He found a very unhappy state of circumstances. The Shore, the Mountain, and the Plain could not be reconciled. At the head of the three parties stood Megacles, one of the Alcmæonidæ; Pisistratus, a cousin of Solon; and Lycurgus, a wealthy Athenian. The second of these partisan chiefs had by far the greatest influence. He was an able general, an accomplished orator, and a demagogue. He espoused the cause of the Mountain, not for the Mountain's sake, but for his own; for he was ambitious to become master of Athens. His plans were already well matured when Solon returned to Athens. The latter attempted to dissuade Pisistratus to desist from his ambitious schemes, but failing to influence him, he next addressed the people of the city in poems, directed to the political dangers which menaced the state. These also were ineffectual. Meanwhile, a crisis was precipitated by Pisistratus. Having wounded himself and hacked his chariot mules until they were bloody, he drove to the market-square and showed himself bleeding to the people, whom he told that the Plain

had attempted to kill him for defending popular liberty. A tumult followed. The stratagem was successful. The people ran together in an assembly, and against the protest of Solon, voted Pisistratus a body-guard of fifty men. He gradually increased the number, and when sufficiently strong seized the Acropolis and made himself master of the city. It was expected that Solon would be banished or put to death, but Pisistratus treated him with kindness, and even solicited his advice in matters of administration. But the old sage did not long survive. He died in B. C. 558, and his ashes were, according to his will, sown in the island of Salamis, which he had won in his youth for Athens.

CRŒSUS SHOWING SOLON HIS TREASURES.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

After the usurpation of PISISTRATUS the other leaders, Lycurgus and Megacles, were for a time driven from the city. Soon, however, they combined against him, and he in turn was driven into exile. But the Shore and the Plain could not long agree. The leaders quarreled, and Megacles made overtures to Pisistratus, to whom he proposed to give his daughter in marriage. A scheme was concocted for the return of the exiled tyrant. It was arranged that a tall and beautiful woman, named Phya, should go to him and accompany his return in the character of Pallas Athene! So the factitious goddess mounted the chariot beside the despot and rode into Athens, the awe-struck people looking on in wonder at the prodigy, and quietly permitting Pisistratus a second time to usurp the powers of the state.

The tyrant married the daughter of Megacles, but soon treated her with contempt. He, offended at this, abandoned Pisistratus, and again made common cause with Lycurgus. After a brief struggle the despot was again driven off. His exile in Eubœa lasted for ten years, but at the end of that time he crossed over into Attica, collected his partisans at Marathon, defeated the forces of his rivals, and a third time made himself supreme in the city. The pardon which he offered to those

who had opposed him was generally accepted, and those who did not accept were exiled.

The government of Pisistratus during the Third Tyranny was firm and severe. He maintained his authority by means of a band of Thracian mercenaries. The children of those who were suspected of plotting against him were seized and sent to Naxos. But in the matter of exactions his rule was milder than that of the oligarchy. He kept the statutes of Solon without alteration, and was himself obedient to the law. He won the applause of the Fourth Estate by throwing open his gardens to the poor of the city. He adorned Athens with public buildings. He encouraged art and literature. He established the first public library in Greece, and laid all the world under obligation by the collection of the Homeric poems. For thirty-three years he kept Athens in a state of tranquillity which she had never known before. Dying, he bequeathed the government to his two sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, and they, in B. C. 527, began an administration of the same character as that of their father. Hipparchus was the more noted of the two. He promoted literature by maintaining at his court the poets Anacreon and Simonides. To his time belongs the setting up of the *Hermæ*, or small statues of Hermes, which were placed along the streets and in other places to denote boundaries, and by the inscriptions which they bore to remind the people of moral obligations.

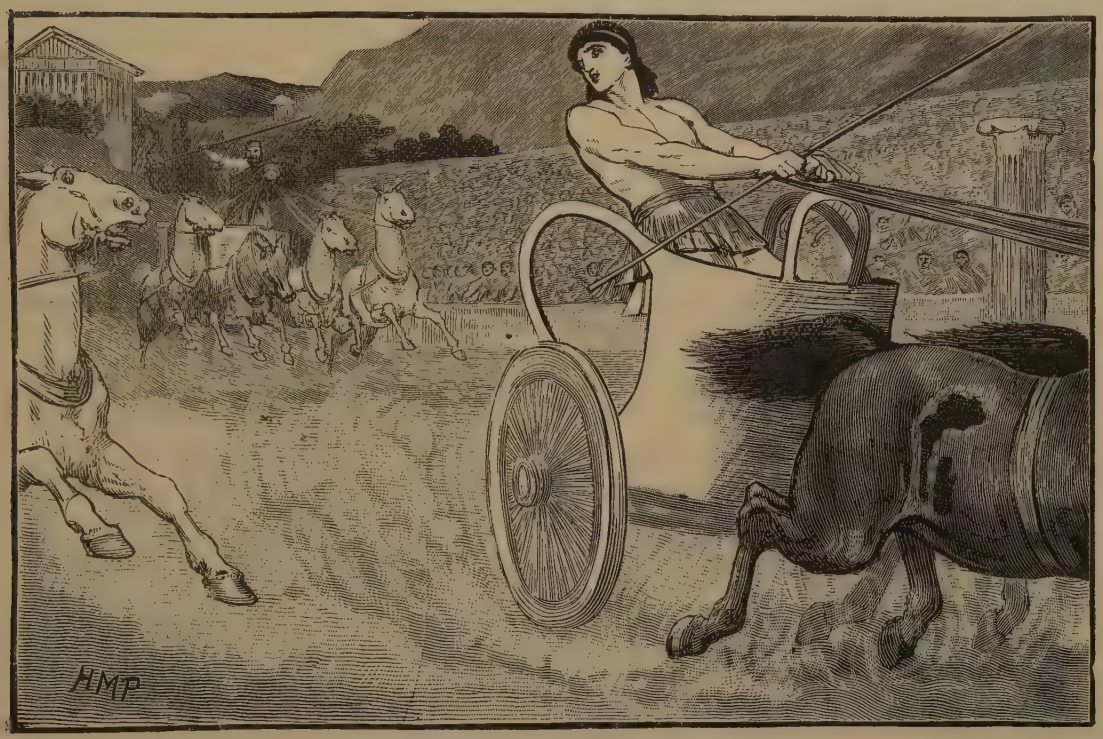
Matters were going well in the government until a private feud led to the assassination of Hipparchus. A certain Harmodius, having given offense to the two rulers, Hippias sought revenge by a public insult to his sister. Harmodius and his friend Aristogiton determined to appease their anger by killing both of the governors. At the festival of the Panathenæa they stood with daggers hid in their myrtle leaves waiting their opportunity. But Hippias was seen conversing with one who was in the secret, and the conspirators believed themselves betrayed. They, however, made a rush on Hipparchus and cut him down; but Hippias escaped. He immediately arrested those who were found to be in the conspiracy, and they were either executed or banished. This was but the beginning of a career of cruelty. Many citizens were condemned on mere suspicion. The taxes were increased, and the whole body of the people grievously oppressed. There were loud mutterings of discontent, and the exiled family of the Alcmæonidæ made an effort, though without success, to overthrow the government of Hippias. Finally, however, through the influence of the Delphic oracle, the Spartans, though hitherto friendly to the family of Pisistratus, were induced to interfere against the Athenian tyrant. Their first attempt ended in failure, but in a second invasion of Attica, Hippias was defeated and obliged to go into exile. He fled to Sigeum, on the coast of Asia Minor, and became a fruitful source of disturbance in the relations between the Greeks and the Persians. The expulsion of the tyrant was regarded by his countrymen as a deliverance from thralldom and oppression.

At this time CLISTHENES, the son of Megacles, appeared in the theater of Athenian politics. The Spartans, after expelling Hippias, had left the people to their own ways. It was Clisthenes who had by his strategy won over the oracle to declare against the family of Pisistratus. To him Athens now looked for further assistance. He came as the leader of the popular party, and was opposed by ISAGORAS, who was backed by the nobles. According to the statutes of Solon the First Estate had a monopoly of the highest offices, and this fact gave the advantage to Isagoras. But Clisthenes laid the axe at the root of the tree by proposing a change in the constitution, by which the Third Estate should be admitted to a share in the government. It was the beginning of the Athenian democracy.

As a measure precedent to the contemplated change, the four classes, or castes, into which the Athenians had been divided were abolished, and the whole body of the populace distributed into ten new tribes. Until this time great numbers of residents in Attica had not had the rights of citizenship, from the fact that they had never been classified with either of the four estates. The Clisthenian plan proposed that all should be included in

the redistribution of the population. By this plan the aggregate citizenship of the state was vastly increased in numbers, and the increase nearly all went to the credit of the democracy. The new distribution was not based upon class-distinctions, but on territory, the only true basis of political division. The territory of each tribe was called a *deme*, and every person living within the district was obliged to enroll himself as a citizen. Each deme managed its local affairs in its own way, transfer the government from archons, or governors, to the people, and to substitute for the close and arbitrary methods of the oligarchy the open discussions of a public assembly, thus preparing the way for the age of Pericles.

The military arrangement was based upon the tribal distribution. Each tribe elected its own general, so that an Athenian army was generally commanded by ten officers of equal rank. The old rank of polemarch, however, was retained from the times of the archonship



CLISTHENES IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

and had its own magistrate, called the Demarchus.

Another change introduced by Clisthenes was the enlargement of the senate to five hundred members, or fifty from each tribe. The powers of the body were also multiplied, so that a good share of the administration of the state was included in its functions. It sat the year around, and was presided over by the senators in turn. The Ecclesia, or Assembly, met forty times a year, and was also presided over by certain senators detailed for that duty. The general effect of the whole movement directed by Clisthenes was to to the date of the Persian wars. It will readily be seen that the efficiency of an Athenian army would depend rather upon valor and discipline than upon generalship, for no generalship could well be developed under a system which required each commanding officer to be general for a day and to give place to another on the morrow.

The condition of affairs in Athens was now such as to afford unusual opportunities for the ambitious citizen to become first a demagogue and then a despot. As a counterpoise against this danger, Clisthenes introduced the *Ostracism*. The plan was, in brief, to banish by a

popular vote for a period of ten years any one who might be considered dangerous to the state. The method was this. If the Senate and Ecclesia should first decide that the state was menaced by a citizen, the question was submitted to the people. Each citizen who desired to vote wrote the name of the person whom he wished to have banished on an *ostracon*, or oyster-shell, and dropped it into the urn. If, when the shells were counted, it was found that six thousand votes had been cast against any person, the measure was carried as to him. No special charge need be preferred against the person considered dangerous. He was allowed no opportunity of trial or defense. The only cheering symptom of his case was that he might return without serious disparagement at the end of his term of condemnation, or might be recalled at any time by the same power which had condemned him to banishment. None the less, the abuses of such an arbitrary and extraordinary system were fewer than might have been expected. As a matter of fact, it was not easy to get six thousand free citizens to vote for the exile of another free citizen unless they *thought* that there were good grounds to suspect his patriotism.

The constitution proposed by Clisthenes greatly heightened his reputation with his countrymen. His rival, Isagoras, was driven to the unwise extreme of inviting foreign influence to counteract what he himself could not successfully oppose. So he sent word to the Spartan king CLEOMENES that one of the accursed family of the Alcmæonidæ was master of Athens, and invoking his aid to secure the expulsion of Clisthenes. The Spartan accepted the invitation and marched a force into Attica. But Clisthenes, seeing himself the cause of trouble to his country, retired from Athens before the arrival of Cleomenes. The latter, however, attempted to undo the new constitution. He reduced the Senate to three hundred men, and then expelled seven hundred families of those who were the principal supporters of the recent statutes. These proceedings so angered the people that they took up arms, drove Cleomenes and Isagoras into the citadel, and compelled them to surrender. Clisthenes came back on the rising tide, and the Spartan king was allowed to retire in disgrace. Isagoras went into exile, but many of his leading adherents in Athens were put to death. The reäction was so strong as to secure the complete establishment of the new constitution as the fundamental law of the state.

It was not to be expected that Sparta would tamely bear the recent humiliation of her king by the Athenian democrats. Clisthenes clearly foresaw that Cleomenes would renew the conflict at the earliest practicable moment. He accordingly determined to strengthen himself by a foreign alliance. Messengers were sent to Tissaphernes, satrap of Lydia, requesting his support for Athens in the expected struggle with the Spartans. The message was kindly received by the Persian governor, who returned answer that if the Athenians would send earth and water as tokens of submission to the Great King he would defend them against their enemies. The messengers accepted the terms, but on their return to Athens the conditions were repudiated with proper disgust.

Meanwhile, Cleomenes called together his allies from Peloponnesus, and marched a large force into Attica to Eulusis. The Spartan kept to himself as long as possible the destination of the expedition, and when he was finally obliged to divulge his purpose the Corinthians refused to proceed. His colleague Demaratus also opposed the further prosecution of the campaign. So the whole movement fell to pieces. Unfortunately for themselves, the Thebans and Chalcidians of Eubœa had been induced by Cleomenes to join in the movement against Athens. That city now found herself free to punish the defection of those from whom she had a right to expect friendship and had received enmity. She accordingly sent a force against Thebes and inflicted upon her a severe defeat. Thence marching into Eubœa, the Chalcidians were still more severely dealt with. Their estates were confiscated and divided among four thousand of the Athenian poor.

These marked successes of Athens so fired the jealousy of the Spartans that they deter-

mined to make a third effort to undo the democratic institutions of their rival. The tyrant Hippias was sent for from Sigeum, and coming to Sparta represented to her assembled allies the great benefits from his restoration to authority. But the Corinthians refused, as before, to have any thing to do with the enterprise. They denounced the system of despotism which Sparta would establish in Athens as a wicked and bloody thing, and the other allies were scarcely less outspoken in their denunciations. Further interference with Athenian affairs had to be abandoned, and Hippias returned to his exile, first at Sigeum and afterwards at the court of Darius. Athens thus relieved of her perils, pursued her own course under the auspices of democracy, and was not long in taking the foremost rank among the cities of Greece.

Up to this point in their history a general view of the progress of the Greek states would show them pursuing independent careers and tending to antagonisms rather than to unity among themselves. The final causes of this condition have already been referred to as existing in the peculiar country which the Greek tribes settled and the spirit of freedom and individuality peculiar to the race. As long as these primary forces of development were left free to work out their own results the Grecian commonwealths preferred a certain local completeness to any possible union of the Hellenes in one nation. It was only when this excessive individuality was overcome by the presence of a common danger that coöperation was rendered possible and unity considered a good. The time came, however, when such a danger appeared imminent and overwhelming, and it will be the purpose of the following chapter to recount the heroism of the Greeks in the shadow of the peril.

CHAPTER XLIV.—THE PERSIAN WARS.

IT will be remembered that the ambition of Darius the Great led him into an expedition against the Scythians inhabiting the great plain between the Don and the Danube. The circumstances of that campaign have already been narrated in the History of the Persian Empire.[1] In the conduct of the invasion the king was in many things dependent upon the Greeks of Asia Minor, especially those living on the shores of the Hellespont. The course taken by the expedition was determined by the advice of one of the Grecian generals, and the bridge of boats by which Darius crossed into Europe was built by Greek carpenters, and it was at the suggestion of the same friends that the bridge was left standing to insure an easy return if the Persians should meet with disaster. It will also be recalled that while Darius was prosecuting the campaign a body of Scythians came suddenly to the Hellespont, reporting that the Persians were defeated, and urging the guards of the bridge to burn it down, make common cause with themselves, and overwhelm the invaders. This advice was seconded by Miltiades, an Athenian, now despot of the Thracian Chersonesus, and many of the Ionian Greeks favored the same policy; but Histiæus of Miletus supported the king, reminding the Ionian governors that if their master was destroyed they would perish with him. This view prevailed. So Darius on his return found a safe exit from the perils that were gathering around him.

Megabazus was left with an army of eighty thousand men to finish the work on the Hellespont. He quickly reduced the remnant of the Greek cities which had not yielded to Persia, and then, in B. C. 510, carried his conquest through Thrace to the borders of Macedonia. From this point he sent an embassy to Amyntas, the king, de-

[1] See Book Sixth, p. 360.

manding earth and water, and these were immediately sent. This proceeding extended the limits of the Empire to Thessaly, so that any further enlargement in that direction would involve a direct conflict with the European Greeks. Meanwhile, however, Histiæus fell under the suspicion of Megabazus, who induced Darius to summon him to Susa. Once there, he was detained under the pretext that the Persian king could not spare the society of so refined a gentleman. The Greek was soothed by permission to appoint his son-in-law, Aristagoras, as ruler of Miletus in his absence.

There now followed a few years of calm until a mere spark, struck from the rocks of Naxos, fired a universal conflagration. This island, in B. C. 502, was the scene of a popular insurrection by which the oligarchical party was overthrown and exiled. The leaders went to Miletus and applied to Aristagoras for help. The latter readily consented, but feeling himself unable to take up the enterprise alone, he sent to Artaphernes, the Persian satrap of Lydia, to furnish the means of restoring the oligarchs, assuring him that by good management the limits of the Empire might thus be stretched across the Cyclades and made to include even the large island of Eubœa, lying in sight of the mainland of Greece.

The very flattering overture was eagerly caught by the Persian. A fleet of two hundred ships was equipped and the command given to Aristagoras. A large land force, commanded by Megabates, was put on board with the exiled oligarchs, and the expedition weighed anchor for Naxos. At Chios the fleet made a brief pause, and here the commanders quarreled. Megabates was so enraged at the conduct of Aristagoras that he sent a message to the Naxians and warned them of their danger. The latter immediately put their city in a state of defense; and after a four months' siege, the forces of Aristagoras were obliged to withdraw in disgrace. The commander, on reaching Miletus, found himself in a condition so critical that he meditated an abandonment of the Persian cause and a revolt of the Greek cities as the best means of saving himself from ruin. At this juncture a message came from Histiæus urging the very course which Aristagoras was on the eve of adopting. So the latter at once called together the magistrates of the city, explained his purposes, resigned his authority, and suggested that the other Greek cities should be at once advised to throw off their despots and the Persian yoke with them. This popular impulse rolled like a wave down the coast of Asia Minor. Every city became inflamed with the hope of freedom, and in B. C. 501 a general declaration of independence of Persia was adopted.

The Asiatic Greeks were wise enough to know that they had undertaken a contract which must be rendered valid by an indorsement of blood. Aristagoras at once repaired to European Greece to solicit alliances. Going first to Sparta, he laid the great cause before Cleomenes, but the latter could not be induced either by patriotic considerations or by bribes to undertake the cause of the revolted cities. In Athens, however, Aristagoras met with a different reception. Here he found an abundance of sympathy, and the assembly promptly voted an armament of twenty ships to aid the cause of the Ionians.[1] The city of Eretria furnished five ships, and the fleet repaired to Asia Minor. In the following spring Aristagoras, thus reënforced, began a march into the interior of Lydia. Sardis was taken and burned by a handful of Greeks, mostly Athenians; but to maintain themselves in so distant a part was impossible. A hasty retreat from the scene of their audacity was all that remained for them to do. They were followed by the avenging Persians, and before they could reach the cities on the coast were severely punished for their daring deed of invasion.

When the news was carried to Darius in his palace at Susa, he gave way to rage. He called for his bow and shot an arrow high in air, and called on the gods to give him vengeance. He had never heard of the Athenians and made inquiry who they were. He

[1] This is the act which is declared by Herodotus to have been the "beginning of mischief between the Greeks and the barbarians."

commanded an attendant to call out to him three times a day, "Lord, remember the Athenians!"

It soon became apparent that the Asiatic Greek towns could not maintain themselves in the unequal struggle. The Phœnicians furnished the Persians with fleets. The revolt in Cyprus was soon suppressed. The Ionian cities fell one after another. Aristagoras abandoned the cause and was killed in Thrace. In the meantime the crafty Histiæus persuaded Darius to send *him* into Ionia to help the Persian generals. Artaphernes, however, was not deceived, and openly accused the Greek of having made a shoe for Aristagoras to wear. Histiæus, however, escaped to the island of Chios and offered his services to the Greeks; but all were suspicious of him. Finding himself an object of universal distrust he turned pirate, and sailed with eight Lesbian galleys towards Byzantium. He preyed on whatever he could find on land and sea until finally he was overtaken on the coast of Mysia. Being carried to Sardis, Artaphernes had him crucified and his head sent to Darius. The Great King seeing the pallid visage of the man who had once saved his life, showed his own humanity by having the bloody trophy honorably buried.

Several of the Greek cities still held out against the Persians. Chief of these was Miletus, which was besieged by a large army, as well as on the side of the Ægean by a Phœnician fleet. The Greeks knowing themselves to be strongest as sailors gathered their forces from the various towns and embarked them on ships. Their armament numbered three hundred and fifty-three vessels while that of the Persians counted six hundred sail. But the latter were wary of their antagonists and stood off from battle. The Greek fleet lay by the shore at Sade, near Miletus. The exiled despots, now on board of the Persian ships, knowing the rivalries and dissensions existing among the Greeks, became the secret agents of overtures made to them for peace on terms advantageous to all who would sail away and return to their allegiance. At first these overtures were refused by all; but when the Samians saw the jealousies and contentions which prevailed to the extent of destroying all discipline, they renewed the negotiations and agreed to withdraw in case of a battle.

The Persian fleet now no longer forbore to attack, and when the fight began the Samians, according to promise, sailed out of line and bore away. They were followed first by the Lesbians and then by others until the hundred brave ships of Chios were left to contend alone. These were soon overpowered and destroyed. Miletus was soon afterwards taken, and resistance to Persian authority was at an end. Those who had been engaged in the revolt were treated with the utmost severity. Some were put to death, some sold into slavery, and some deported into foreign parts. The cities declined in wealth and population. A new survey of the country was made and a tribute assessed upon each of the districts for the benefit of the Persian treasury.

Shortly after the suppression of the Ionian revolt, the Persian king sent his son-in-law, Mardonius, to succeed Artaphernes as satrap of Lydia. His government included the provinces recently in insurrection. To him Darius gave a large armament, with instructions to seize and take to Susa those Athenians and Eretrians who had assisted in the Ionian rebellion. Mardonius, in B. C. 492, set out on this mission. He had a strong land force and a large fleet. He proceeded down the coast of Thrace and Macedonia, and ordered his ships to join him below Mount Athos. But while doubling this dangerous promontory a storm arose, which destroyed three hundred vessels and twenty thousand men. Soon afterwards Mardonius was himself defeated by the Brygians, a race of white Thracians, who slaughtered a large part of his army. He was glad to make his way back into Asia, covered with disgrace.

Darius now determined to undertake the conquest of Greece in person. In order to ascertain the temper of the Hellenic states he sent heralds to each, demanding earth and water. All complied except Sparta and Athens. The authorities of the former city threw the messenger of the Great King into a well, and the Athenians cast the herald into

a pit and bade him take his earth and water from there. At this time Athens was at war with Ægina. The Æginetans were of those who sent tokens of submission to Darius. The Athenians now called upon Sparta as the leading Grecian state to punish the people of Ægina for deserting the cause of the country. Cleomenes, the Spartan king, readily took up the cause, and, proceeding against the Æginetans, seized ten of the leaders and gave them to the Athenians as hostages.

Meanwhile, in the spring of B. C. 490, the preparations of the Persians being complete, Darius began his invasion of European Greece. A vast army was assembled in Cilicia. The fleet which was to accompany the expedition numbered six hundred galleys, besides the transports. The command was given to the Median Datis and Artaphernes, a son of the former satrap of Lydia of that name. Their instructions were to conquer all the Greek states that had not already made their submission, and to take special vengeance on Athens and Eretria by burning them to the ground and selling the inhabitants into slavery. Manacles were prepared and sent to the commanders, with which the Greeks were to be bound and led into captivity. The dreams of the Persian were not troubled by any specter prophesying failure.

The expedition of Datis and Artaphernes, departing from the coast of Asia Minor, proceeded across the Ægean by way of the Cyclades. Naxos was taken and its principal city reduced to ashes. All the other islands submitted, nor did the Persians meet any opposition until they came to Eubœa. Eretria bravely defended herself for six days, and was then taken through the treachery of two citizens, who opened the gates. The city was burnt, and the principal inhabitants put into chains, according to the command of the king. It only remained for Datis to cross the strait and do likewise to Athens and her impertinent democracy.

Here was the rub. For the Athenians had prepared for the crisis such means of resistance as seemed most likely to stay the deluge. According to the custom, ten generals had been chosen to command the army. Of these the men of greatest ability were Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides. The first was the same previously mentioned as that despot of the Thracian Chersonesus, who advised the destruction of the bridge of the Hellespont in order to secure the destruction of Darius. In the struggle of the Persians and the Ionian cities Miltiades had taken the side of his countrymen, and had captured Lemnos and Imbros from the enemy. After the revolt of the Greek cities had been suppressed he fled to Athens for safety.

As soon as the Athenians heard of the destruction of Eretria they sent a courier to Sparta imploring assistance.[1] The Spartans returned a favorable answer, but the moon was now near her full, and they could lend no aid until after the change! Such was their custom. The Athenians took their station at Marathon and awaited the onset. Five of the generals desired to delay until after the arrival of the Spartans, but the other five wished to fight at once while the spirit of the people was up to the point of battle. Finally the polemarch, Callimachus, who, retained by the old statutes of the oligarchy, now constituted the eleventh officer, gave his vote for an immediate engagement, and it was agreed by all that Miltiades should have supreme command until the issue of the conflict should be determined.

At this critical moment a thousand Bœotians from the little town of Platæa arrived as a voluntary reënforcement of their countrymen. Miltiades could now muster ten thousand men of heavy armor, besides a few light-armed troops, who were not of much moment in battle. The Persian army numbered one hundred and ten thousand.

The plain of MARATHON lies on the coast, at the distance of twenty-two miles from Athens. It is a tract semicircular in shape, defined at each extreme by a promontory reaching into the sea. Between these two head-lands the plain stretches along the shore, a distance of six miles. Its greatest breadth

[1] The messenger who carried the petition of Athens to Sparta on this occasion was Phidippides. He is said to have run the whole distance of a hundred and fifty miles in forty-eight hours!

from the sea to the mountains is, near the center, about two miles. The Persians were arranged along the shore, and the Greeks stood on the opposite side of the plain about the middle, backed by the hills. Seeing the impossibility of giving strength to so long a line with so small a force, Miltiades massed

BATTLE OF MARATHON.

his troops in the two wings. He gave command of the right to Callimachus, and placed the contingent of Platæans on the left. Thus at last the Hellenes stood face to face with the Medes and Persians, long regarded as the invincible soldiery of the East.

Miltiades, anxious for battle, gave the order for the onset. The Greeks advanced on a run. They traversed the mile of intervening space and fell like two thunder-clouds on the astonished foe. The battle raged furiously. Both wings of the Greeks drove the enemy before them, but the center, being weak, was in turn broken through by the Persians. As soon, however, as Miltiades perceived himself victorious on the flanks, he recalled his wings and fell upon the Persian center. Here were the best troops of Datis's army. It was already late in the afternoon. The sun looking over the hills of Greece flashed his full beams in the face of her foes. After a sharp resistance they broke and fled under such onsets as they had never felt before. They were

pursued to the beach, where their ships saved them from annihilation. As it was, six thousand four hundred of their soldiers lay dead on the field. The Athenians attempted to fire the fleet, but only succeeded in destroying seven vessels. The rest made their escape, carrying the Persians with them. The Athenian loss was one hundred and ninety-two men, but among these was the brave polemarch Callimachus, who here gave his life for the freedom of his country.[1]

Just at the close of the battle a bright but traitorous shield was seen raised aloft on a distant mountain in the direction of Athens. It was a signal for the Persian fleet to sail thitherward and take the city before the soldiers of Miltiades could return to her defense. It was noticed, moreover, by the Greeks that the vanishing armament departed in the direction of Cape Sunium. Accordingly, Miltiades marched with all haste towards the city. His conjectures were correct; for just as he arrived the Persian fleet hove in sight. But when the army of Datis, about to debark, saw before them the same dusty heroes from whom they had so recently fled at Marathon, they could not be induced to land. They turned their prows instead to the shores of Asia Minor, and the Ægean soon rolled between Athens and her peril.

Marathon was to the Greek what Bunker Hill is to the American. After the battle the Athenians gave themselves up to raptures. The day became historic. Poetry brought her magic song and imagination her legends to add to and hallow the remembrance of a deed so great. It was said that Theseus reäppeared in the battle. At night ever afterwards, the old heroes of Athens marshaled their hosts in the clouds, and the noise of invisible warriors shouting to the charge, the uproar of chariots and horses, and the moans of dying spirits, could be heard above that haunted, glorious field.

Miltiades became the hero of the day. No mark of honor or gratitude was omitted. Besides the great tumulus or mound which public patriotism and affection reared over the one hundred and ninety-two immortals who fell at Marathon, a separate monument was erected on the field to the memory of Miltiades. His influence became unbounded; but he seems to have belonged, after all, to that type of heroes who are able to bear adversity better than success. The memory of an old resentment rose within him, and forgetting his greatness, he asked the Athenians to give him an armament of seventy sail without explaining his intentions. When the fleet was voted, he sailed away to the island of Paros and attacked the capital city; for against a leading citizen of that place he harbored a grudge of many years. But the Parians defended themselves with such vigor that Miltiades was about to despair of success when a priestess in the temple of Demeter promised him success if he would visit the temple by night. In attempting to do so he wounded himself on the wall, and was barely able to reach his ship. In this miserable condition he was obliged to return to Athens. He could give no honorable account of himself or of the use which he had made of his country's fleet. Charges were preferred against him, and he was brought in with his gangrened wound and laid before the judges. It was asked that he be condemned to death, but such a sentence could not be obtained against the hero of Marathon. He was severely punished by a fine of fifty talents, but before the sum could be raised he died of his injury.

The next important event in the career of Athens was her war with Ægina. For a long time there had been between the city and this island a feeling of suppressed hostility. In B. C. 506 the Æginetans had given aid to the Thebans in a strife with the Athenians, and had even invaded the territory of Attica with-

[1] It is not wonderful that the genius of Byron, on viewing Marathon, broke forth in an unusual strain:

"The battle-field where Persia's victim horde
First bowed beneath the brunt of Hellas' sword,
As on the morn to distant glory dear,
When MARATHON became a magic word,
Which uttered, to the hearer's eye appear
The camp, the host, the fight, the conqueror's career—

The flying Mede, his shaftless, broken bow;
The fiery Greek, his red pursuing spear;
Mountains above, earth's, ocean's plain below,
Death in the front, destruction in the rear!"

out a declaration of war. These acts were laid to heart by the city; and when Ægina made haste to abandon the Greek cause by sending earth and water to the Persian king, the feeling of resentment against her was greatly increased. It will be recalled that Cleomenes, one of the Spartan kings, had, on account of this act of the Æginetans, and at the instigation of Athens, gone to the island and inflicted a severe punishment. After the battle of Marathon the authorities of Ægina demanded back the hostages which they had been compelled to give to the Athenians, and the refusal of the latter to do so led to a declaration of war. Hostilities were vigorously waged on both sides, but the conflict had not long continued until Athens discovered the great disadvantage at which she was placed by having no navy. It was clearly impossible to carry on a successful war at sea, or with a country lying in or beyond the sea, without the employment of a fleet. The little island of Ægina was able, in the present condition of affairs, to look across the Saronic gulf and laugh at Attica. Moreover, it was seen by the wise, and especially by THEMISTOCLES, who had now become the political leader of the Athenians, that it was only a question of time when the Persian king would renew, on a still more formidable scale, the attempt against Grecian freedom. The prudent statesmen of the city discerned in this remote danger far greater ground of apprehension than in the petty imbroglio with the Æginetans.

So Themistocles introduced in the assembly that important measure by which the whole current of Athenian history was changed—the proposition to build a large fleet for the protection of the state. It was fortunate that the treasury of Athens was now in a condition to warrant the proposed action. The silver mines of Laurium had recently yielded so largely that a surplus was at the disposal of the city, and a proposition was actually pending at the time to distribute the same among the citizens. Themistocles took advantage of all these facts in the advocacy of his measure, and had the good fortune to secure its passage. It was ordered that a fleet of two hundred vessels be at once built and equipped at public expense, and to this was added another clause that hereafter twenty ships should be annually added to the navy.

Thus was Greece made ready for the coming storm. For Darius was nursing his wrath for a final explosion. In the interval between the battles of Marathon and Salamis—a period of ten years—the public affairs of Athens were directed by Themistocles and ARISTIDES, two of the greatest Greeks. The first owed his preëminence to talent and policy; the second, to integrity. In the adaptation of means to ends and in that far-sighted discernment by which the plans of men and states are penetrated and laid bare, the palm must be awarded to Themistocles; but in soundness of moral perception and undeviating conformity to the right as the best means of reaching the desired object, Aristides stands first among the Greeks, if not among all the statesmen of antiquity. He was named the JUST, and posterity has not challenged the title.

Such was the then condition of Athenian society that these two eminent men were brought into constant antagonism. Themistocles was the progressive and Aristides the conservative leader. They broke heavy lances over the question of building the fleet. Aristides held that to do so was to change the habits of the people to the injury of the state. He urged that the heavy armed soldiers were a better protection *in Greece* than any number of ships, and that *out of Greece* the Athenians had no business to be engaged in war. But the logic of events was against him. Not only did the arguments of Themistocles prevail with the assembly and senate, but the public voice was so strongly against Aristides that the ostracism was turned to his downfall and he was sent into exile. This act of the Athenians left Themistocles without a rival, and in this attitude of leader he stood in the hour of the most tremendous crisis that Greece had ever witnessed.

For Darius had not forgotten Athens. How he spent years in preparing the avalanche which was to fall upon and overwhelm the impudent cities of European Greece; how the Great King, when his preparations were

well-nigh completed, was surprised and detained by a revolt in Egypt, and how ere this was suppressed he suddenly died—has been narrated in the preceding pages.[1] And how Xerxes, inheriting his father's hatred of the Greeks, coming to the throne in the full flush of early manhood, and receiving the vast array of men and ships already marshaled and equipped by Darius, determined to prosecute the great scheme of Grecian subjection, has been recounted in the same connection.

To make sure of an easy and expeditious advance Xerxes sent forward his builders to construct a bridge of boats across the Hellespont, and his diggers to cut off the neck of Mount Athos. By the one structure he would make his way with dignity from Asia into Europe, and by the other work would secure a safe passage for his fleet from the Strymonic into the Singitic gulf. The construction of the great bridge and the dramatic passage of the Hellespont by the countless hosts of the Persians have been heretofore described in the History of Persia, and need not be here recounted.

After he had traversed for some distance the coast line of Thrace the king paused in the plain of Doriscus to number his forces. The enumeration and method of making it have already been given in Book Sixth, to which the reader is referred once for all for an account of the Persian progress from Sardis to Thermopylæ.[2]

The fleet kept in close relation with the land force as far as the canal which had been cut by the king's command, but after making the passage was ordered to double the two remaining promontories of Sithonia and Pallene and rejoin the army at the city of Therma, now Thessalonica, on the coast of Macedonia. After passing Olympus, Xerxes entered a country not hitherto subdued to his authority, and from this point the invasion proper began.

The Greeks, meanwhile, were on the alert to repel as well as they might the terrible host which was rolling down upon them. A congress of the states was called to meet at Corinth, with a view to uniting the whole race in an effort to save their native land from destruction; but the meeting was unsuccessful. To most of the cities it seemed preposterous to attempt to resist the Persians. Many sent earth and water. Only a few would attend the congress. Some of these opposed defensive measures and withdrew. The whole brunt of protecting the Hellenic world against the barbarians fell on Sparta and Athens. In all Central Greece only the Athenians and Phocians and the people of the two small towns of Platæa and Thespia in Bœotia stood firm for the defense of native land. Such states as Thebes, with its grudge against Athens, and Argolis, with its deep-seated antipathy to Sparta, witnessed the approach of Xerxes with indifference, if not with pleasure. Neither the distant states nor the colonies sent any aid to those who had determined for the sake of Greece to throw themselves across the path of the invader.

The Athenians in this emergency behaved with great magnanimity. They effected a reconciliation with the people of Ægina, and thus gained the coöperation of their fleet. They conceded to the Spartans the supreme command in the approaching conflict. Themistocles, both in the congress and the field, waived his claims in favor of his allies. The two states bound themselves in a solemn covenant to resist to the death, and it was agreed that in case of success one-tenth of the property of every Greek city that had refused to support the national cause should be consecrated to the Delphian Apollo.

All preparations being completed, it was determined to meet the enemy in the pass of THERMOPYLÆ. Where Mount Œta comes down to the sea, pressing for the distance of a mile the morass along the margin of the Malian Gulf, and barely leaving space at the entrance and exit for the passage of a wagon road, lay the defile through which the Persian host must pour into Central Greece. The place was defensible in the highest degree. The narrow strait of Eubœa, lying between the island of that name and the mainland, could easily be blockaded by an inferior fleet, and the enemy be thus prevented from carrying troops to the southern extremity of the pass. It was thus provided by nature

[1] See Book Sixth, p. 362. [2] Ibid. pp. 363, 364.

that a small but resolute band of men might be able to stand for an indefinite time in the face of an overwhelming foe.

The fleet of the allies, under command of the Spartan EURYBIADES, now sailed to the north of Eubœa and took its station off Cape Artemesium. At the same time a small body of troops was sent to occupy the pass of Thermopylæ. It was the eve of the celebration of the Olympic games, and the people of Sparta, with that strange *nonchalance* for which the race is noted, preferred to attend to the festival first and the Persians afterwards. It was believed that the handful of men already advanced to Thermopylæ could hold the pass until, the games being over, the main body should arrive for their support.

The advance which was thus sent forward to keep Asia at bay for a week consisted of three hundred Spartans, three thousand heavy-armed troops from the other states of Peloponnesus, seven hundred Thespians, four hundred Thebans, one thousand Phocians, and about the same number of Locrians. With this force of nearly seven thousand men, LEONIDAS, the young king of Sparta, who had been placed in command with the simple order to defend Thermopylæ against the Persians, took possession of the pass and awaited the onset. Having ascertained from the Phocians that there was a route over the mountains by which it was practicable for the enemy to make his way into Central Greece, he placed the Phocian contingent on the heights with orders to thwart any such movement should it be begun.

With the approach of the Persians there was much trepidation among the Peloponnesian troops, and many desired to retreat to the isthmus of Corinth, and there make a stand at the doorway of Southern Greece; but the influence of Leonidas prevailed over such unpatriotic fears, and the battle began at the upper end of the pass. Here, when the Persians came in sight, they beheld a few Spartans running and leaping as if in sport, while others were combing their long hair as though preparing for a festival. Demaratus, the exiled Spartan king, who accompanied Xerxes on the expedition, explained to the monarch that this conduct on the part of his countrymen meant that they were devoting themselves to death, and that nothing might be expected except resistance as long as one man was left alive.

Not able to appreciate such strange conduct, Xerxes tarried four days, believing that the absurd project of defense would be abandoned and that the Spartans would disperse. At the end of that time he sent a demand to Leonidas to give up his arms. The true Laconic reply was, "Come and take them." When the Spartan was told that the Persians were so numerous that a discharge of their darts would cloud the sky, he answered, "That is good; we shall fight in the shade!"

On the fifth day a band of Medes was sent forward to clear the pass. They were killed. Others were sent forward, and were killed. Xerxes leaped up in rage and agony from the seat which had been prepared for him from which to witness the battle. The Immortals were ordered to the charge, and were cut to pieces. On the second day the scene was renewed. Heap after heap of Persian slain was piled at the upper entrance to the pass. The darts of the barbarians fell harmless on the bronze shields of the Spartans. The rage of the baffled king knew no bounds, but just as he was about to despair of forcing his way through, the secret mountain-path was revealed to him by a traitorous Malian, and he at once ordered his generals to begin an advance by that route. A large detachment, led by the informant, set out at nightfall. The Phocians who had been appointed to guard the path were alarmed at the unexpected approach and retired to the heights. The passage of the Persians to the rear of Leonidas was thus unopposed.

The Spartan called a council of war, and there was much division of opinion. The greater number favored a retreat while it was yet possible. The privilege of taking this step was freely conceded by Leonidas, but as for him and his Spartans there was but one course to pursue. The laws and customs of their country did not permit them to abandon a post which had been committed to their charge. The order of the king was specific; he was to defend the pass. That he would do.

Death was nothing. The seven hundred Thespians resolved to share the fate of such a leader and his men. The four hundred Thebans who had been obliged to join the expedition rather as hostages than as soldiers were detained to face an unwilling death. The remainder retired from the pass and escaped.

As soon as Xerxes supposed that the detachment sent over the mountains had reached the southern entrance to the pass, he ordered a renewal of the attack. Leonidas and his comrades now advanced into the open space and fought like lions. Every man became a hero, and before each one was a heap of Persian dead. By and by, as the Persian hosts were thrust forward by those in the rear, the heroic ranks began to thin. Their lances were broken, and they were obliged to take their swords. They were beaten back inch by inch. Every man kept his face to the foe. They retired within the pass and gained possession of a hillock, where they huddled to die together. The Thebans begged for quarter, and explained that they fought against their will. They were spared. Around the remnant on all sides the Persians closed rank on rank. It was the ever-narrowing circle of doom. Javelins were showered in their faces by thousands. Man by man they sank and perished. Not one remained alive from the glorious sacrifice. Persia had another taste of Hellas.

On the hillock where the heroes died a marble lion was set up in honor of Leonidas—fit emblem of his valor. The inscription said: "Four thousand Poloponnesians here fought with three millions of the foe." Another couplet, intended for the Spartans, ran thus:

> "Go, tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,
> That here obedient to their laws we lie."

In the meantime, the Greek fleet under Eurybiades had had a terrible battle with the Persian armament at Artemesium. Before the engagement, however, a great storm driving shoreward had struck the enemy's fleet while anchored at Aphetæ and wrecked no fewer than four hundred ships. Still, they were so much superior to the Greeks in numbers—the latter having but two hundred and seventy-one vessels—that it was with difficulty that Eurybiades and Themistocles induced their captains to hazard battle. As a precautionary measure they withheld the attack until nearly nightfall, so that in case of disaster they might have the advantage of darkness. But the onset of the Greek ships was successful, and when night fell the advantage lay with the allied fleet. Nevertheless, so great was the apprehension of the sailors that the use of Eubœan gold in the hands of Themistocles was that night necessary to keep the armament steady for the work of the morrow.

During the night, however, another violent storm arose and wrought such fearful havoc with the Persian fleet—at the same time injuring the Greeks but little on account of their sheltered position—that in the morning the enemy declined battle. In the course of the day a squadron of fifty-three additional ships from Athens arrived as a reënforcement, and the spirits of the Greeks, fired by good omens and encouraged by home support, rose to a pitch of enthusiasm flaming for the fight. On the following day the Persian fleet formed a semicircle and bore down for battle. The Greeks, in order not to be surrounded, supported themselves by the shore. Through the whole day the conflict raged furiously. The Persians did not surrender the mastery of the world without a struggle worthy of a better cause. Their overwhelming force of ships and sailors gave them the advantage even against the superior valor of the Greeks. At nigthfall the Persians had lost most ships, but the allied fleet had suffered so greatly that it was deemed prudent not to continue the fight. At this juncture, moreover, news arrived of the fall of Leonidas, and it was at once resolved to withdraw from the Eubœan coast for the defense of Attica. So, during the night after the battle, the fleet fell back through the strait, doubled Cape Sunium, and anchored at SALAMIS.

Notwithstanding the enormous losses which had been inflicted on the Persians, they were steadily bearing down for the accomplishment of their object. Attica lay open to invasion. The fatal folly of the Spartans in neglecting

to send their whole force to the north to stay the Persian advance at Thermopylæ was now bearing its disastrous fruit in the exposure of Southern as well as Central Greece. Several cities hitherto wavering now went over openly to the enemy. Xerxes was only six days' march from Athens. Themistocles urged the people to gather together their effects and abandon the city. The advice was accepted with reluctance; but the Delphic oracle added its voice to the persuasion of the Athenian leaders. The Sacred Serpent kept

money. The Areopagus voted funds to repair the fleet and to support the emigrant population.

On his way down from Thessaly Xerxes ravaged the country. Phocis was severely punished for her refusal to submit. Her deserted towns were destroyed and her people driven to the hills. The patriotic cities of Thespiæ and Platæa were plundered and burned. At Delphi occurred an extraordinary episode. Apollo, by his oracle, forbade the removal of the treasures of his temple.

DISCOMFITURE OF THE PERSIANS AT DELPHI.

in the temple of Athene Polias, on the Acropolis, left the altar and escaped. So the terrified people were induced to follow. Some went to Ægina, others to Trœzen, many to Salamis.

The Delphic oracle had said that a "wooden wall" should protect the Athenians. Albeit, a wooden wall might mean the fleet. So the oracle was interpreted by Themistocles. Others said it meant the walls of Athens. Not all of the people would leave their homes. For once dissension ceased. On the proposition of Themistocles all sentences of banishment were revoked. The rich gave their

On came the Persians to lay sacrilegious hands on the accumulated gifts of centuries of devotion. They began defiling through one of the gorges at the foot of Mount Parnassus, making their way towards the temple. Of a sudden there were peals of thunder overhead. Great crags were loosened from their places and rolled down upon the terrified ranks of the barbarians. The gods had espoused the cause of the Greeks. Spectral warriors of gigantic stature were seen hovering with revengeful look in the rear of the terror-stricken host as it turned to fly from its profane purpose of plunder.

In Athens a few desperate persons seized the Acropolis and determined to defend it. When Xerxes reached the city he found the stronghold surrounded by wooden walls, but these he soon fired with burning arrows. The hill was presently carried and its defenders slaughtered. The temple and other buildings situated there were sacked and burned. The city was pillaged and given to the flames. The Persian had remembered Athens; but it was noticed that in the space of two days the sacred olive-tree on the Acropolis suddenly thrust forth a green shoot a cubit in length. Athene saw her city in ashes, but spoke by the olive branch the promise that she should arise from her despair and ruin.

Meanwhile, the Persian fleet, re-collecting its energies after the dubious victory of Artemesium, sailed into the bay of Phalerum. There were still more than a thousand ships spared from the vengeance of the sea and the prowess of the Greeks. In opposition to this immense squadron the allies could number but three hundred and sixty-six vessels, of which two hundred were Athenian galleys, and the rest from the confederate states. As soon as Xerxes reached the coast he inspected his fleet and held a council of war. It was determined to make an immediate attack upon the Greek armament and at the same time to send forward the land forces towards Peloponnesus. This decision was reached with great unanimity by the Persian commanders, only Queen Artemesia, of Halicarnassus, opposing the views of the majority.

On the other side there were dissensions among the Greeks. The Peloponnesian commanders were eager to abandon Salamis and sail southward for the protection of their own coasts; but Themistocles with great vehemence urged the necessity of fighting where they were. He showed the great importance of giving battle in the narrow strait where the superior numbers of the Persians would give them but little advantage. Nevertheless, the opposite opinion prevailed and it was voted to retreat.

After the council Themistocles repaired to the ship of Eurybiades, and succeeded in winning him over to the idea of present battle. The commanders were again called together, and after some discussion were ordered by Eurybiades to prepare for action. Later in the night, however, news arrived from Sparta representing the distress of the people on account of the absence of the fleet, and begging for its return. The council was a third time convened, but Themistocles had now determined to accomplish by a stratagem what he could not effect by argument. He despatched a trusted messenger to Xerxes, and informed him that the Greek fleet was about to sail, and advising the Persian to divide his squadron, send one-half around the island to the other extremity of the strait and shut up the Greeks in their present predicament. This advice was acted on by Xerxes; and before the adjournment of the council Aristides, returning from his banishment, reached Salamis, came into the assembly, and informed the body that the Persian fleet now occupied both ends of the strait, and that they must fight or perish. The scheme of Themistocles had succeeded.

With the morning Xerxes had a throne erected on Mount Ægaleos, opposite the bay of Salamis, and from this perch he would view the battle. Necessity had now brought the Greeks to their work, and with ardor they prepared for battle. Themistocles was in his glory. The Greek seamen were early at their posts; nor were the Persians, now under the eye of their king, slow in preparing for battle. At the sound of the trumpet the allied fleet moved forward to the attack. Just about to engage the foe, however, they were seized with alarm and fell back to the beach. But then appeared above the ships a female figure, perhaps the august Athene herself, and waved them to the attack. The Athenian vessels thereupon bravely made the onset, followed by the rest, nor was there any further wavering. All day long the fight continued. The Persian fleet became more and more confused in the narrow waters, which afforded no room for evolutions. The ships were crowded upon each other and became helpless. The attacks of the Greeks grew constantly more audacious. The fate of their country now depended on the blows which

they dealt upon the barbarians. Every ship that went to the bottom brought a revival of hope, a promise of freedom. As the sun sank low, victory declared for the Greeks. Two hundred of the Persian ships had been destroyed. Many more were captured. The whole bay was covered with the wreck of Asia. As the issue declared itself Xerxes, in the extremity of terror and despair, rose and fled. The residue of the fleet was scattered to the winds.

The episode of the battle of Salamis occured when Artemesia, queen of Caria, who had tried to dissuade the king from risking all in the straits of Salamis, performed prodigies of valor in the fight. "My men are women to-day, and my women men," said Xerxes, as he beheld her bravery. Finally, turning to fly, she struck a galley commanded by one of her own countrymen, and sent both it and the crew to the bottom. The Greek commanders, seeing the deed and believing it to have been purposely done, allowed the queen to escape without pursuit. In the meantime the Persian troops that had been landed on the island were attacked by a body of heavy-armed soldiers led by Aristides, and were destroyed to a man. The victory was complete, and the sun set on one of the most glorious days in Grecian history.[1]

Xerxes, becoming concerned for his personal safety, quitted the country with all haste. There was no need for such a flight; for his army was but little reduced in numbers, and of his fleet there still remained a squadron much larger than that of the Greeks; but the king had enough of that peculiar glory which came of battles with the Greeks, and was eager to leave the land which his father had been so anxious to remember. Pressing forward as rapidly as he could through Bœotia and Thessaly, he came, after a march of forty-five days, to the Hellespont.

BATTLE OF SALAMIS.

[1] Lord Byron's graphic verse on the battle of Salamis should not be omitted:

"A king sate on the rocky brow
Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis;
And ships by thousands lay below,
And men in nations; all were his!
He counted them at break of day—
And when the sun set where were they?

The guard which had accompanied him were reduced by famine and disease. Here the fleet had been ordered to congregate after the defeat at Salamis. The king found his ships, but the great bridge had been destroyed by the storms. He and his forces were carried to the opposite side, and were safe in Asia. And in the company there were no Athenians wearing fetters!

As soon as the Greek commanders at Salamis saw themselves victorious they began a pursuit of the Persian fleet. This they kept up as far as the island of Andros. The people of many of the Cyclades had sided with the Persians in the recent struggle, and were now made to feel severely the folly of such a course; for Themistocles punished them with little mercy for their defection from the national cause. From Andros onward the Persian armament pursued its course without molestation to the Hellespont, where it received the king and a remnant of his forces, and carried them across to Asia.

Xerxes did not regard his flight from Greece as an abandonment of the purposes for which the expedition was undertaken. Before determining his own course after the battle of Salamis, he held a conference with Mardonius, to whom he intrusted the completion of the conquest of Greece. For this purpose three hundred thousand men were left under his command. Mardonius flattered his master with the assurance that the reverses which he had suffered were but temporary checks to the general progress of subjugation, that one great object of the invasion—the destruction of Athens—had been accomplished, that in the following spring he himself would complete the work, and that Xerxes might now retire from the country without dishonor. This specious theory of the results of the invasion had a soothing effect on the king, who gladly left his son-in-law behind to finish or be finished, and himself speedily returned to the ease of his own capital. His throne in the palace of Susa was an easier seat than that which he had filled for a day on the cliff above Salamis!

While the battle of Salamis was fighting, another conflict was raging between the Greeks of Sicily and the Carthaginians, who had invaded the island. The people of Sicily were like the Greeks of Hellas, divided into two parties. One of these favored the predominance of Carthaginian influence in the island, while the other upheld the national spirit, favoring independence. A certain Terillus, governor of Himera, had been expelled by Theron, the despot of Agrigentum. The deposed ruler and his adherents invited in the Carthaginians, who, in B. C. 480, came three hundred thousand strong under the lead of Hamilcar, and proceeded to besiege Himera. But Gelon, the governor of Syracuse, came to the rescue of the city with an army of fifty-five thousand troops, and with this force—comparatively small as it was—attacked and routed the Carthaginians with a loss, if we may trust Diodorus, of one-half of their army, Hamilcar being among the slain. The Carthaginian fleet was then set on fire and consumed. The victory of the Sicilian Greeks was, if possible, more complete than that which their countrymen were at that hour winning in the bay of Salamis.

With the opening of spring the remnant of the Persian fleet in the Ægean, numbering four hundred vessels, gathered at the island of Samos. At this time the Grecian squadron of one hundred and ten ships lay at Ægina; but, notwithstanding the great disparity in the numerical strength of the two armaments, the Persians made no sign of a disposition to venture a battle. It was their business rather to keep a watch on the Ionian cities, which were again showing signs of insurrection.

Meanwhile, Mardonius began his campaign for the completion of the conquest of the Greek states. His first measures were diplomatic. He consulted the oracles of Bœotia and Phocis, and promulgated the idea of a Perso-Athenian alliance against the Spartans. Alexander, the then king of Macedonia, was sent to the authorities of Athens with flattering overtures. Their city should be restored. Their territory should be extended. The king of Persia would become their friend. Sparta should be humiliated. The first place should be given to Athens. But the seductions of the foe were all in vain. Alexander was dis-

missed with words to the effect that his personal safety would better be consulted before he became the bearer of another such a message to the Athenians. Sparta, however, was anxious, and sent envoys to counteract the dangerous temptations held out by the Persians. To these messengers Athens replied that all that was expected of Sparta was that she should send an army into Attica to help protect the northern frontier against the coming attack of Mardonius. The envoys promised, then went home, and then, with their usual perfidy, pleaded adverse omens as a reason for non-fulfillment.

In May of B. C. 479 Mardonius again advanced into Attica and occupied Athens. The people of the city retired as before to Salamis. From hence they sent a hurried embassy to Sparta, imploring aid against the common foe and intimating (what they never intended) that circumstances might compel them to accept the overtures of the Persians. No answer was returned for the space of ten days, and the Athenians were on the edge of despair, when the aged Chileos in the Spartan council reminded them that if an alliance should be effected between the Athenians and the Persians, the ships of the former might easily bring the whole army of the latter into the heart of Peloponnesus. The Spartans were thrown into the utmost alarm by the suggestion, and a force of ten thousand men, besides a still larger body of Periœci and Helots, was at once dispatched into Central Greece. The command of this army was given to PAUSANIAS, the Spartan regent for the son of Leonidas.

Mardonius, seeing that diplomacy was useless, destroyed what remained of Athens, and retiring into Bœotia took his station near the little town of PLATÆA. Here he laid off a camp a mile and a-quarter square, and fortified it with barricades. The Spartans, advancing by way of the isthmus, were reënforced by eight thousand Athenians, three thousand Megarians, and six hundred Platæans. The total force gathered for the battle numbered thirty-eight thousand seven hundred heavy-armed soldiers, seventy thousand Helots and other troops of light armor, and one thousand eight hundred Thespians—amounting to about one hundred and ten thousand men.

Crossing the range of Cithæron, the Greeks came in sight of their foe drawn up in order of battle. Having no cavalry, Pausanias occupied the rougher grounds and aimed to draw the Persian from the position which gave freedom to his horse. Mardonius ordered a charge against his antagonist, and the same was bravely made. The Greeks suffered not a little from the onset, but were successful in killing Masistius, the commander of the cavalry. They threw his body into a cart and exhibited it along the lines. When the Persians fell back from the onset, Pausanias descended from the heights for a general battle on the grounds chosen by the Persians. The right wing, being the post of honor, was held by the Spartans, and the left by the Athenians. The little river Asopus lay between the two armies. Mardonius, with the best of the Medes and Persians, took his position in the left wing, so as to face Pausanias and his Lacedæmonians, the Persian right, numbering fifty thousand men, being allotted to the Greek allies of the enemy. Then there was a pause. Destiny from one side of the river glared in the face of Fate on the other.

Both armies were reluctant to begin the contest. For eight days each maintained its position, fearing the awful hazard of the onset. Finally, Mardonius succeeded in cutting off the supply train of the Greeks, and captured five hundred of their beasts of burden in defiles of the Cithæron. He was then advised to follow up this policy, and at the same time to try the effect of bribes upon the leaders of the Greeks. But Mardonius rejected the advice and gave the orders for a general attack.

On the following night an incident occurred highly illustrative of the spirit and disposition of the age and people. Alexander of Macedon stole out of the Persian camp in the darkness, rode to the Greek outposts, called for Aristides, and informed him of the impending attack. As an excuse for his treachery, he added: "I am myself a Greek by descent, and with sorrow would I see Hellas enslaved by these Persians."

Aristides at once informed the generals of the Greeks of what might be expected on the morrow, and preparations were made accordingly for the coming battle. Still, with the morning dawn, each army hesitated to make the onset. Finally the Persian cavalry began the fight, and succeeded in cutting off the Greeks from the fountain of Gargaphia, which supplied the camp with water. This was the only important movement of the day.

With the coming of night Pausanias gave orders for the Greeks to fall back a mile and a half to a position which he considered more favorable for the battle. This change of position, however, was not accomplished without considerable confusion and dispute among the officers of the allied army. On seeing the Spartans in full retreat—a sight not often witnessed by a Persian general—Mardonius at once gave orders for pursuit. The Persians dashed across the Asopus, ascended the hill recently occupied by the Greeks, and fell upon the Lacedæmonians, hastily but steadily deployed into line of battle. The onset made but little impression on the Greeks, and as soon as the front line of the Persians had recoiled from the shock, Pausanias gave the order to charge. The fighting became at once general and desperate. The Persians exhibited unusual valor. They flung themselves with reckless courage upon the spears of the Spartans, only to be transfixed by the thousand. The invincible Lacedæmonian phalanx moved forward like an avalanche in its work of destruction. It seemed a huge beast fortified on every side with bristling quills, urging its way now to the right and now to the left, trampling in the bloody dust the mangled bodies of the barbarians. Mardonius attempted in vain to stay the battle. At the head of his body-guard of a thousand men, he fought with conspicuous bravery until he was pierced with a Grecian dart and fell dead from his charger. It was the signal of the rout.

SPARTANS AT PLATÆA.

The Persians, immemorially accustomed to attribute victory and defeat to their leader, broke and fled beyond the Asopus. So rapidly had the work of destruction been accomplished by the allied army that a divi-

sion of forty thousand Persians, commanded by Artabazus, did not reach the field until after the rout. More panic struck, however, than his fellow-generals who had participated in the battle, he broke away without delivering a blow, and fled in the direction of the Hellespont. The allied Greeks, flushed with victory, pursued the main body of the Persians to their fortified camp beyond the Asopus, stormed the barricades, and slaughtered the disorganized barbarian host till the whole area ran with blood. Rarely in the annals of war had such a scene of carnage been witnessed as the infuriated Greeks enacted in this final arena of the great invasion. Such was the fearful destruction that of the three hundred thousand soldiers in the army of Mardonius, only three thousand or four thousand escaped with their lives. The sword of Hellas had pierced the heart of Asiatic pomp and the huge carcass of despotism was stretched upon the plain of Platæa, never to rise again.

Ten days were consumed in dividing the spoils of the battle. The body of Mardonius was decently buried by Pausanias. The sword and silver-footed throne of the Persian commander and the breast-plate of Masistius were carried in triumph by the Athenians to Athens and deposited among the trophies of the Acropolis. Immense was the booty gathered from the field and camp. Every thing with which oriental luxury and magnificence could decorate an army was strewn for miles in the dust. Of this one portion was set aside for the Delphic oracle; another share went to the temple of the Olympian Zeus; and still another to the Isthmian Poseidon. Pausanias himself was largely rewarded from the wreck of Asia, and the remaining enormous aggregate of booty was divided among the allied forces in proportion to their numbers.

Of all the Greek cities that had espoused the cause of the Persians, the most conspicuous in her treason to the national cause was Thebes. In the recent battle the Theban contingent had been posted by Mardonius opposite the Athenians, and had fought with desperate valor. To punish them and their city seemed to the allies to be the first duty incumbent after the destruction of the Persian army. Accordingly the Spartans proceeded to ravage the Theban territory and besiege the city. A demand was made upon the authorities that those leaders who had led the people into the unnatural alliance with the Persians should be given up for punishment. When this was refused on the part of the city, the leaders made a voluntary surrender of themselves, expecting that a large ransom would procure their relief. It was a fatal mistake. For no sooner were they in the power of Pausanias than they were sent to Corinth and executed without trial.

On the same day of the battle of Platæa, which completed the wreck of the Persian army, the final destruction of the great fleet was accomplished on the coast of Asia Minor. After transferring across the Hellespont that remnant of the Persian army which accompanied Xerxes on his homeward flight, what remained of the Persian squadron from the havoc of Artemesium and Salamis dropped down the coast and anchored at the headland of Mycalé, near the city of Miletus. Thither they were pursued by the Spartan leader Leotychides; but before his arrival, the Persians, rather than hazard another sea-fight with the victorious Greeks, drew their remaining ships ashore, surrounded them with a rampart, and placed for their defense an army of sixty thousand Persians under command of Tigranes.

The Greeks followed, came to anchor, made a landing, and immediately joined battle. No sooner were the first defenses of the Persians carried by the impetuosity of the attack than they turned and fled. They were hotly pursued into the principal fortification, which was soon carried by the assailants, though not without some desperate fighting. As soon, however, as the Spartan reserve came up and the Ionian Greeks in the army of Tigranes mutinied in the ranks, the victory was completed. Tigranes and Mardontes, the other Persian general, were both killed; the fleet was burned to ashes, and as the coast wind scattered them along the shore and bay, the last fragments of the greatest expedition known in the annals of the ancient world

were tossed into dust and oblivion. The dreams of him who three times daily at his own command was reminded to remember the Athenians, and the proud visions of his son, cherished from the palace of Susa to the Hellespont, and from the Hellespont to Thessaly, had been so completely dissipated that no ambitious imagination of Oriental king or general ever durst again evoke them from the shadows.

CHAPTER XLV.—THE ATHENIAN ASCENDENCY.

NO general of the Greeks ever showed himself less able than Pausanias to bear success with equanimity. After the battle of Platæa, he began at once to display his vanity, his insolence, his disloyalty. He hired Simonides, the poet, to attribute the victory solely to himself; and a like piece of vainglory was manifested in an inscription which he caused to be placed on a tripod at the shrine of Delphi. Still he remained in command of the Spartan army, and conducted a successful campaign against Byzantium. At the capture of this place, several members of the royal household fell into his power. This fact furnished him with an opportunity to open negotiations with the Persian court, involving his own perfidy and treason. He sent privately to Xerxes the members of his family, and at the same time gave it out to his own countrymen that his high-born Persian captives had escaped. Along with this princely present to the Great King, he sent to him a letter to the following effect:—

"Pausanias, the Spartan commander, wishing to oblige thee, sends back these prisoners of war. I am minded, if it please thee, to marry thy daughter and to bring Sparta and the rest of Greece under thy dominion. This I hold myself able to do with the help of thy counsels. If, therefore, the project at all pleases thee, send down some trustworthy man to the coast through whom we may carry on our future correspondence."

This letter, being so full of perfidy, was of precisely the kind to delight a Persian monarch—particularly Xerxes. He immediately responded in a manner highly flattering to Pausanias. The princess was promised to him in marriage; lavish supplies of money were sent forward, and he was urged to prosecute his plans as rapidly as possible, with the assurance that the king of Persia would not be slow in supplying all his needs. It was in the nature of Pausanias to discount his prospects. He began to realize on the possible by assuming the dress and manners of a Persian prince. His command of the fleet was in that style of elaborate flummery peculiar to eastern officers. This thing was from the first exceedingly distasteful to the captains and seamen of the allied fleet. The news reached Sparta, and that sedate commonwealth, shocked at the shameless disloyalty of her officer, immediately dispatched Dorcis to supersede him. But before the arrival of the latter, the captains of the fleet, disgusted with the conduct of Pausanias, had themselves transferred the command from him to the Athenians.

Such, however, was the strict subordination of the Spartans to authority that the larger part of their squadron accompanied the disgraced Pausanias on his return home. This left Dorcis with so few ships at his disposal that he could not resist the transfer of the command to the fleet of Athens, which ever since the battle of Salamis had given to that city a preponderating reputation and influence in the affairs of Greece. This circumstance became the central fact in the Athenian Supremacy. The Ionian cities of Asia Minor and most of the adjacent islands, inhabited as they were by people of the same race with the Athenians, were well pleased with this increase of power on the part of their kinsmen

in European Greece, for they saw in this fact the possible—even the probable—deliverance of themselves from the thralldom of Persia. The leadership of Athens was therefore gladly recognized by all the Ionians, and the sentiment spread until the islands of Rhodes, Cos, Lesbos, and Tenydos, together with the Greek towns on the Chalcidician peninsula, joined in the league, by which was formed, under the patronage of Athens and through the influence of Aristides, the CONFEDERACY OF DELOS. It was agreed that hereafter, in the interests of Greece, deputies from all the states represented in the league should annually assemble at the temple of Apollo and Artemis, in the island of Delos, to discuss questions pertaining to the welfare of the confederation and the honor of the Greek name.

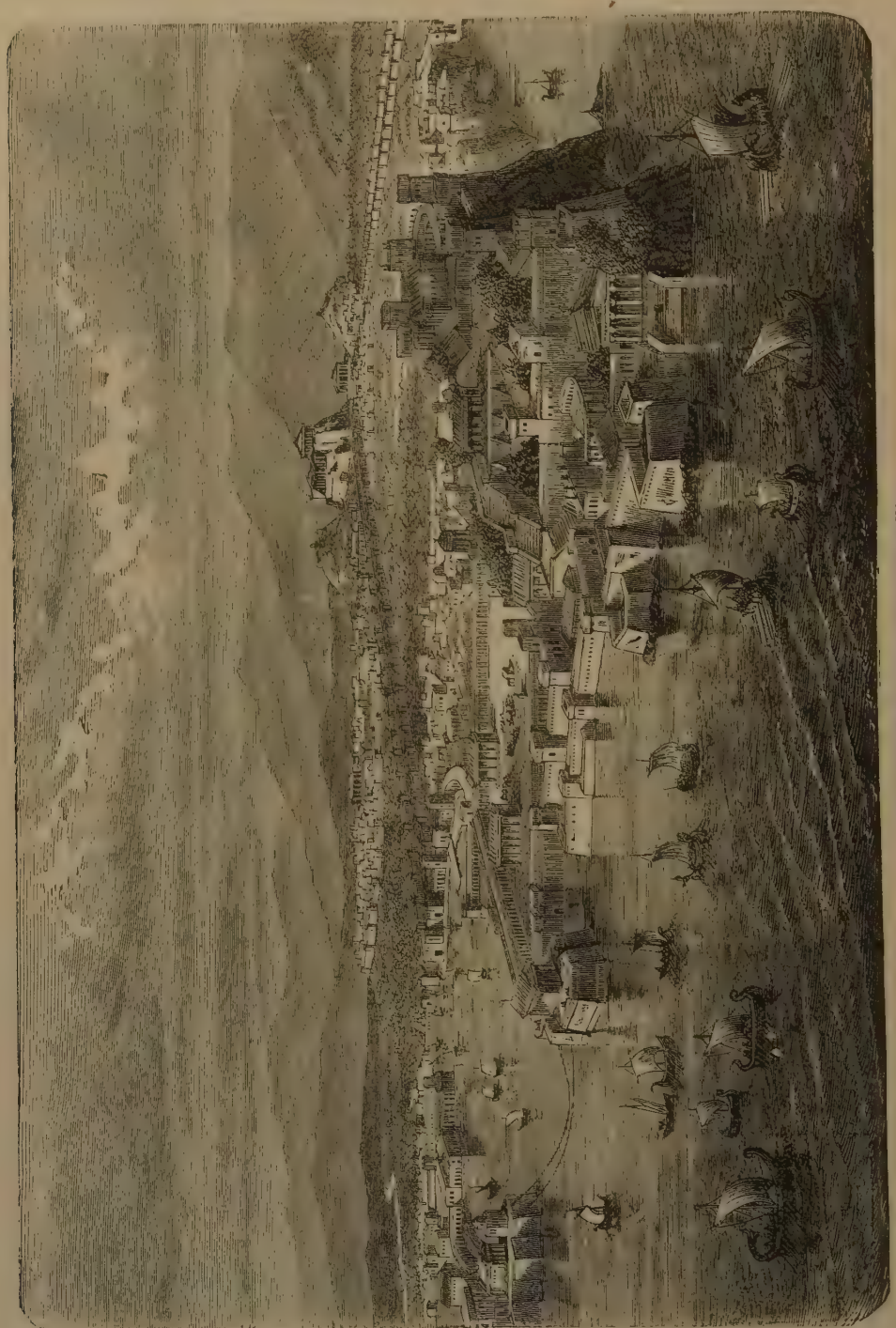
As soon as the league was formed the command of the allied fleet was transferred from Aristides to Cimon. He immediately set out on an expedition against the town of Eion, on the river Strymon. This place was delivered from Persian rule, and in B. C. 470, the island of Scyros was reduced by the fleet and colonized with Athenians. This rapid growth of the power of Athens was hailed by most of the states of Greece as a reward fairly earned by her heroic conduct in the Persian wars. But to Sparta this splendid rise of her rival from the ashes of despair was gall and wormwood. She looked with a lack-luster and jealous eye on the doings of the Confederacy of Delos and the extension of Athenian reputation. Nor were the agencies by which Athens at home, among the extinct cinders of her recent overthrow, had again become so suddenly the pride of Central Greece, more pleasing to the narrow-minded Lacedæmonians who were more stung with the arrows of jealousy than by the darts of the enemy. For this sudden development of reviving energy was traceable most of all to the superhuman energies of two Athenian statesmen, Themistocles and Aristides. To the latter, as already said, was due the formation of the Confederacy of Delos, and to the former the growth and extension of the maritime power of the state.

Meanwhile, the city so recently consumed by Persian wrath was rapidly rebuilding. The houseless fugitives came back from Trœzen, Ægina, and Salamis. The streets were widened and extended. Ambition rose with the occasion. Beauty was consulted; and also safety. For it was determined to surround Athens with walls and fortifications against which the waves of barbarism would hereafter beat in vain. These measures, so natural and necessary, greatly excited the jealousy of the Æginetans, and knowing the disposition of Sparta, they sent to her an embassy earnestly advising the Lacedæmonians to interfere and prevent the completion of the works by which Athens would be rendered independent alike of foreign and domestic animosity. The Spartans would gladly have undertaken this work, but the crafty Themistocles outwitted them in negotiation until what time the fortifications were so well advanced as no longer to require concealment or apology. Themistocles, thus freed from interstate difficulties, devoted himself assiduously to the increase of the navy and development of Athenian commerce. The harbor of Piræus was improved and surrounded with an impregnable wall sixty feet in height. Every exposed part of the peninsula was rendered defensible, and Athens felt secure behind her ramparts.

In this period of rapid recovery political rancor in a great measure subsided. Themistocles and Aristides made common cause in rehabilitating the state. The latter had so far modified his opinions as to accept the democratic tendencies of his countrymen as natural and right. He himself brought forward and secured the passage of a law by which all restrictions were removed from the Thetes or Fourth Estate, and themselves made eligible to the highest offices in the gift of the state.

Thus at last the archonship and also membership in the court of Areopagus were opened to the humblest citizen of the commonwealth. Under the impulse of these progressive measures every enterprise of the Athenians sprang forward with unwonted rapidity and success. The only drawback upon the prosperity of the city and state was

the spirit of party and the untrustworthiness of political leadership. These dangers were specially manifested in the case of Themistocles. Coming to consider himself infallible, he assumed a carriage unbecoming in an elective officer. He put on pomp. He boasted of what he had done for the state. He acquired luxurious habits; and these had to be supported by peculation and corruption in office. When sent out with a squadron to



ATHENS VIEWED FROM THE PIRÆUS.

restore order among the Cyclades by putting down certain irresponsible governors who had usurped authority during the Persian wars, he compounded with several of the petty despots for money.

Meanwhile Cimon and Alcmæon had become the leaders of what remained of the old aristocratic party in Athens. They made no concealment of their preference for the constitution of Sparta over the too democratic institutions of their own city. In this fact was laid the foundation of a Lacedæmonian faction in the heart of Athens; and it was not long in making itself felt, to the injury of the state. It will be remembered that Pausanias had been deposed from the command of the allied fleet at Byzantium on account of his too manifest intrigues with the Persians. The party of Cimon was now instigated from Sparta to prefer the same charge against Themistocles, and he was accordingly accused of being in collusion with the court of Susa. This charge, however, could not be sustained, but the manners and conduct of their leader had become so distasteful to the Athenians that in a short time an appeal was made to the ostracism and Themistocles was banished.

He went first to Argos, where he remained five years. Before the expiration of that time, however, proofs were discovered of his being implicated with Pausanias in a treasonable correspondence with Persia. The Spartan leader after his downfall had returned to the service as a private, had then lived in Asia Minor, had time and again been suspected of disloyalty, had been recalled to Sparta, but not brought to trial on account of the trepidation of the Ephors in the presence of the criminal. By and by Pausanias dispatched a slave to bear a letter to Asia; but the slave remembering that his fellows who had previously gone on such missions had never returned, broke the seal and read how he himself was to be killed as soon as the letter was delivered. He went in terror and gave the missive to the Ephors. The latter thus obtained convincing proofs of the guilt of Pausanias, and were about to arrest him when he fled to the temple of Poseidon. Not daring to drag him from the altar they ordered masons *to build up the doors*, and in this work the mother came and laid the first stone. When the wall was built solid the roof was removed and Pausanias was left to starve to death.

When in the agonies of death, however, his body was carried out lest it should pollute the altar. His correspondence was rifled and letters were found showing that Themistocles was also in the conspiracy to deliver Greece to Persia. Sparta thereupon renewed her demand that the great Athenian should be brought to trial. When about to be arrested, however, Themistocles fled, first to the court of Admetus, king of the Molossians, thence to Asia Minor, and thence to Artaxerxes at Susa. Here he became a resident, in close confidence of the Persian king. By him, after a year, the Greek was sent to Magnesia and given the revenues of that city for support—this with the understanding that the plans now matured for delivering his country to Artaxerxes should be carried out. But in a short time Themistocles died, nor was the suspicion wanting that he killed himself in a fit of despair. Thus in utter disgrace perished the heroes of Platæa and Salamis.

Aristides held out faithful to the end. He died four years after the banishment of Themistocles, and such was his poverty that he was buried at the public expense. Nevertheless he kept until the hour of his death his hold upon the public confidence, and he was at that time archon eponymos of the city. His sterling virtues had served a better purpose in the great issue of life than the brilliant talents of Themistocles or the military genius of Miltiades. His reputation remained untarnished to the last, and the historians of his country have transmitted his spotless fame to an admiring posterity.

By the death of the great leader, CIMON was left in the lead of Athenian politics. Although his antecedents placed him in the ranks of the old oligarchical party, his manners, talents, and address rendered him popular with the masses. He was a citizen of undoubted patriotism, and expended a good part of his revenue in adorning the city. His own house was a public resort, in which every

thing was open and free, even to people of the poorest class. He was, however, a soldier rather than a statesman, and possessed but little taste for literature and art.

During his leadership occurred the revolt of Naxos against the Confederacy of Delos. In B. C. 466, this island renounced the compact and took up arms, but the insurrection was quickly suppressed by Cimon, and the Naxians were obliged to resume their tributary relations to Athens. Soon afterwards the allied squadron sailed to the coast of Asia Minor, and gained at the mouth of the river Eurymedon a great victory over the fleet and army of the Persians. Thus by means of their naval superiority did the Athenians establish on a still firmer foundation their supremacy over the members of the confederacy.

In the next year after the reduction of Naxos, the government of Athens, then pursuing a policy of colonization, was opposed in making a settlement by the people of Thasos, and this island was subjected to a blockade and siege. Before the same was concluded, the Thasians sent to Sparta and requested that state to make a diversion in their favor by an invasion of Attica. This proposition, base as it was, was about to be accepted by the Lacedæmonians when they were prevented by a series of calamities which brought the state to the lowest ebb of fortune. First came a violent earthquake, which laid the city in ruins and killed twenty thousand of the inhabitants. Hard after this followed a revolt of the Helots, who, believing that Poseidon had shaken down the stronghold of their oppressors, rose with what weapons they could gather and began to kill and burn. They were joined by the Messenians, who, through generations of hatred, awaited an opportunity to be revenged. When the motley crew of insurrectionists were beaten back from Laconia, they shut themselves up in the old fortress of Ithome and were besieged.

The Spartans, having little skill in taking fortified towns, sent for the Athenians to help them, although at this very time they were engaged with the Thasians in a perfidious scheme to invade Attica. Athens responded to the call, and sent down a large force to aid in the reduction of Ithome; but the Spartans, unable to conceal their spleen, soon dismissed them with contempt and carried on the siege alone. The troops had been sent into Messenia through the influence of Cimon, an avowed friend of the Spartans, and their dismissal was so flagrant an insult as to break down Cimon's party and put the conduct of affairs into the hands of the democrats. The latter were now under the leadership of a young man, who, as a politician and statesman, was destined soon to surpass all his predecessors—PERICLES, the orator and scholar.

In the Athenian government, as it was now constituted, the venerable court of Areopagus was the last hold of the old oligarchical party. Its right to exercise a general supervision over the citizens as it respected their manners and vocations was so exceedingly undemocratic as to be borne with extreme impatience by the progressive element in Athenian politics. Even Aristides, strongly conservative as he was, had consented, in obedience to the popular demand, that the membership of the court should no longer be limited to the Eupatridæ, or First Estate; but this concession was not enough, and Pericles succeeded in striking at the foundations of privilege by making the members of the court to be chosen by lot. Other innovations followed, until not only this august body of ancient Greece, but also the Senate of Five Hundred, was reduced to a mere specter of its former self. Finally, the tables of the laws of Solon were brought down from the Acropolis and deposited in the market-place, as if to say that henceforth the powers of the Athenian commonwealth were to be exercised directly by the people.

These measures—amounting to a revolution—were not accomplished but with an excess of party strife. Ephialtes, the friend of Pericles, by whose efforts the Solonian tablets had been brought down to the market-square, was assassinated. Cimon was ostracized for ten years. The oligarchical party went down in ruins, and the leadership of Pericles was firmly established.

The new statesmen belonged to the school of Themistocles. His policy looked to the

extension of the influence of Greece in Europe. Sparta and Spartan institutions he held in undisguised contempt. To weaken by every possible means the influence of the Lacedæmonians was one of his leading political principles. Without hesitation he allied himself freely with Argos and Megara, the traditional enemies of Sparta. By these overt acts the jealousy of Sparta was heated into animosity soon to burst into the flames of war.

In the mean time the allied fleet, under the lead of the Athenians, was successfully extending the dominion of Greece on the sea. While cruising on the coast of Cyprus and Phœnicia, the squadron was, in B. C. 460, called upon by the revolt of Inarus to interfere in the affairs of Egypt. The Greek sailed up the Nile, and bore an active part in the overthrow of Persian authority. For four or five years they conducted a siege of the so-called White Fortress, in which the Persians had shut themselves up. With the coming of Megabyzus and his army, the Athenians were in turn besieged in the island of Prosopitis, and were finally obliged to surrender. Contrary to the stipulated terms, the greater number of the captives were put to death, Inarus himself being crucified. The fleet was mostly destroyed, and fifty additional ships which arrived just after the surrender were also captured and burnt.

During the occurrence of these events, the inhabitants of Ægina, unable longer to restrain their jealousy, induced the Corinthians and Epidaurians to join them, and gave battle to an Athenian squadron near their own island. It was the first act of actual hostility between the Dorian and Ionian races in European Greece. The Athenians were completely victorious, capturing seventy ships from the Æginetans, landing a large force on the shore, and laying siege to their principal city. Sparta meanwhile was unable to interfere on behalf of her friends; for the Helots were still in insurrection, and gave the Lacedæmonians full occupation in their own country. So alarming, however, was the growth of Athens, that even before the siege of Ithome had been brought to a successful issue the Spartan government ordered an army of one thousand five hundred heavy-armed soldiers and ten thousand allies to march into Doris, for the ostensible purpose of aiding that state against the Phocians, but with the real object of checking the progress of Athens in Central Greece. The true purpose, however, was soon discovered, for the Spartans, after having settled to their satisfaction the affairs of Doris and Bœotia, took up a menacing position at Tanagra, on the very borders of Attica. This was more than the Athenians could tamely bear. They marched out with such forces as they could rally for the occasion, and fought a bloody battle with the Spartans, in which, though the results were indecisive, the latter had the advantage. They next crossed over into Attica, and then proceeded homewards, ravaging as they went.

The general effect of this digression was favorable to Athens. Party strife was hushed in the presence of the common danger. Cimon himself on the eve of the recent battle left the place of his banishment, repaired to the Athenian army, and asked permission to fight in the ranks with his countrymen. When this was refused, he set up his armor on the battle-field and exhorted his friends to rally to it and strike home for Athens. Such was the effect of this patriotic conduct that a measure, recalling him from exile, was at once proposed by Pericles and passed by the assembly.

The concord which was thus introduced into the stormy arena of Athenian politics was so marked that the city bounded forward on a new career of prosperity. Within two months after the battle of Tanagra, the Athenians again marched into Bœotia and met the army of that state on the bloody field of Œnophyta. Here under the command of Myronides, they gained a complete and overwhelming victory. Thebes, the capital, and all the other Bœotian towns were taken by the Athenians. The oligarchical government, recently established by the influence of the Spartans, was overthrown, and democracies instituted in their stead. The Athenian army then marched through Phocis and Locris, compelling them also to conform to the new democratic *régime*, which was thus extended

from the gulf of Corinth to the pass of Thermopylæ.

In the mean time Pericles had undertaken and completed those celebrated works known as the Long Walls, by which the two seaports of Athens—Phalerum and Piræus—were joined with the city. One of these walls was four miles and the other four and a-half miles in length. They were built so thick and high as to be impregnable to any ordinary assault, and furnished an abundant protection to the commercial and foreign interests of Athens. The ascendency thus gained by the city was so undisputed that, for a number of years, not even the Spartans dared to break the peace which the Athenians had enforced in Central Greece. A five years' truce was concluded between them, during which time Cimon, in the prosecution of his cherished ambition against the Persians, conducted an expedition to Cyprus and laid siege to the town of Citium. While this was in progress the great general died and was succeeded by Anaxicrates, who abandoned the siege, but soon afterward gained a decisive victory over the combined fleets of Phœnicians and Cilicians.

PERICLES.
London, British Museum.

In a short time after these events a general peace was made between the Persians and the Greeks. It was agreed, half informally and half by actual stipulations, that the Persian king would no longer tax or disturb, in any way, the Greek colonies on the coast of Asia Minor; nor would he send any vessel of war to the west of a line drawn from the Thracian Bosphorus to Phaselis, in Lycia. As for the Athenians, they should refrain from all further aggression, and concede to the Persians the undisturbed possession of Cyprus and Egypt.

By this time the sway of Athens had become so complete, not only in European Greece, but among the Cyclades, that the Confederacy of Delos was virtually extinguished by her authority. Even the treasury of the league had been quietly transferred by the Athenians from Delos to their own city. In Central Greece the states of Megaris, Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris, and in Peloponnesus Trœzenia and Achaia had been almost completely subordinated to Athenian domination. It was virtually a Greek empire under the leadership of Athens. The city was now at the acme of her influence and splendor. For a few years, at the middle of the fifth century B. C., it may fairly be allowed that, for intellectual greatness, architectural achievement, and artistic fame Athens far surpassed any city of the ancient, and perhaps of the modern, world. It was, however, politically speaking, a short-lived glory. The nature of the bonds which united Athens to the dependent states were such as at any moment to be snapped asunder.

In B. C. 447, Bœotia threw off the Athenian yoke and made herself independent. In a futile attempt to suppress the insurrection, Tolmides, with one thousand heavy-armed soldiers—a force entirely inadequate to such an enterprise—was disastrously defeated and himself slain. Then followed in quick succession similar revolts in Phocis, Locris, Eubœa, and Megaris. Then came the Spartans, headed by the king, Pleistoanax, and entered the Attic territory. Nor is it certain that Athens herself would not then have fallen into the power of the Lacedæmonians but for the means employed by Pericles, who is said to have bribed the invaders to withdraw from the country. To compensate for these losses, the Athenian leader had nothing to boast except the reconquest of Eubœa. Such had been the collapse of Athenian pretensions that, in B. C. 445, Pericles was glad to enter into a truce of thirty years with Sparta, by the terms of which the Athenians agreed to abandon all conquests except in the Gulf of Corinth, and to leave the other states to their freedom.

ADRIATIC SEA
IONIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
EUXINE SEA
(PONTUS)
AEGEAN SEA
CRETAN SEA
ILLYRICUM
DALMATIA
DARDANIA
THRACE
MACEDONIA
EPIRUS
THESSALIA
ACHAIA
ÆTOLIA
ARCADIA
MESSENIA
LACONIA
ARGOLIS
ATTICA
BOEOTIA
MYSIA
LYDIA
IONIA
LYCIA
CARIA
PHRYGIA
BITHYNIA
PROPONTIS
CRETE
SICILY
MAGNA GRAECIA
ROME
Ortona
Corfinium
Epidaurus
Scodra
Dyrrachium
Epidamnus
Apollonia
Amphipolis
Thessalonica
Thasos
Samothrace
Enus
Adrianopolis
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Nicomedia
Nicæa
Cyzicus
Abydus
Imbros
Lemnos
Troy
Mt. Ida
Neae
Lesbos
Chios
Smyrna
Sardis
Thyatira
Ephesus
Magnesia
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Cnidus
Telmissus
Xanthus
Rhodes
Rhodus
(Rhodes)
Carpathus
Casos
Cydonia
Mt. Ida
Cythera
Melos
Ios
Astypalaea
Siphnos
Seriphos
Cythnos
Syros
Ceos
Andros
Tenos
Naxos
Paros
Delos
Mycone
Icaros
Samos
Athens
Eretria
Chalcis
Thebes
Platæa
Delphi
Thermopylæ
Malian Gulf
Lamian Gulf
Thessalian Gulf
Thermaic Gulf
Strymonic Gulf
Argolic Gulf
Laconic Gulf
Messenian Gulf
Corinthian Gulf
Euripus
Eubœa
Lemnos
Mt. Athos
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Ossa
Pelion Mt.
Mt. Oeta
Mt. Parnassus
Mt. Cithæron
Mt. Helicon
Mt. Pindus
Mt. Hæmus
Rhodope Mts.
Scardus Mts.
Hebrus R.
Strymon R.
Nestus R.
Axius R.
Haliacmon R.
Peneus R.
Sperchius R.
Achelous R.
Aous R.
Halys R.
Sangarius R.
Rhyndacus R.
Mæander R.
Cayster R.
Hermus R.
Caicus R.
Macestus R.
Tmolus Mts.
Dindymus Mt.
Taurus Mts.
Haliacmon R.
Alpheus R.
Eurotas R.
Pamisus R.
Messenian Gulf
Gulf of Laconia
Gulf of Argos
Gulf of Corinth
Gulf of Heraclea
Gulf of Tarentum
Lipara
Panormus
Messana
Rhegium
Lilybæum
Mt. Ætna
Catana
Agrigentum
Megara Hyblæa
Syracuse
Tempsa
Crotona
Sybaris
Metapontum
Heraclea
Tarentum
Brundisium
Buxentum
Velia
Paestum
Salernum
Neapolis
Cumæ
Mt. Vesuvius
Pompeii
Capua
Beneventum
Terracina
Antium
Albanum
Tibur
Veii
Mt. Garganus
Aufidium R.
Canusium
Venusia
Barium
Cephallenia
Ithaca
Zacynthus
Leucas
Actium
Dodona
Ambracia
Idomene
Larissa
Pharsalus
Scyros
Eubœa
Zeugma
Euripus
Chalcis
Eretria
Thebes
Platæa
Delphi
Thermopylæ
Sicyon
Corinth
Argos
Mantinea
Megalopolis
Olympia
Elis
Messene
Lacedæmon
Cythera
Cape Malea
Cape Matapan
Cape Tænarus
Cape Colonna
Cape Sunium
Cape Malea
Cape Gallo
Cape Pachynus
Cape Lilybæum
Cape Passaro
Cape Spartivento
Cape Leuca
Cape Otranto
Cape Iapygium
Cape Palinurus
Cape Misenum
Cape Circeii
Cape Argentario
Cape Corso
Cape Bon
Cape Blanco
Cape Matapan
Cape Malea
Cape Colonna
Cape Sunium
Cape Malea
Cape Gallo
Cape Pachynus
Cape Lilybæum
Cape Passaro
Cape Spartivento
Cape Leuca
Cape Otranto
Cape Iapygium
Cape Palinurus
Cape Misenum
Cape Circeii
Cape Argentario
Cape Corso
Cape Bon
Cape Blanco
Eleusis
Cerata Mt.
Poecilon Mt.
Hermus R.
Gulf of Eleusis
C. Amphiale
Corydallus Mt.
Seat of Xerxes
Cephissus R.
ATHENS
The Long Walls
Ilissus R.
Phalerum Wall
Hymettus Mt.
Salamis
C. Tropaea
Psyttaleia
PIRAEUS
Phalerum
Halimus
Grien
Lexone
Saronic Gulf
VICINITY OF ATHENS.
MAP V.
GREECE
AND
HER COLONIES.
From Thalheimer's General History, by permission.
Scale of Miles.
0 25 50 150
H.H. Vail. del.

These disasters of Athens, bringing with them a decline in the influence of Pericles, gave opportunity in the city for the revival of the party of the oligarchy. This was effected under the leadership of THUCYDIDES, a man of distinguished abilities, but not of such commanding genius as to be a fit opponent for Pericles. It was the circumstances rather than the preëminent talents of the leader that made him the competitor of the great democrat. Nor were the methods which he and his adherents adopted better calculated to win the favor of the Athenian populace. After beating in vain for a season against the democratic majority, Thucydides was relieved of the cares of party leadership by being ostracized. His party was broken up by his downfall, and Pericles, during the rest of his life, remained the undisputed leader of Athenian politics.

With the overthrow of the party of the aristocracy, Athens, as a city, was raised to the highest pitch of glory. Whatever art and letters and refinement could do to gild the splendid capital was bestowed without stint. Now it was that the ACROPOLIS was crowned with the magnificent PARTHENON, designed by Callicrates and Ictinus and adorned by Phidias. On the summit was reared the ivory statue of Athene Promachos, forty-seven feet in height, looking serenely towards the sea. Now, at the foot of the hill, was built the great ODEUM for the musical and dramatical entertainment of the people. Now, on the western side of the Acropolis, were constructed the PROPYLÆA, or entrances to the temple, second only in magnificence to the Parthenon itself. Nor were the useful works of the city neglected. A third wall was extended to the Piræus. The harbors and docks of Attica were improved and beautified, and the public markets greatly enlarged. The expense of these works is said to have exceeded $3,500,000. It was at this time that the dominion of Greek thought—of philosophy, of oratory, of art—was established on a basis which has not been materially shaken by the revolutions of twenty-two centuries, and which seems destined to be everlasting.

A second part of the policy of Pericles was the extension of the Athenian race by colonization. It was not the theory of Athens that companies of stragglers and vagabonds should represent her on foreign coasts, but rather that bands of reputable citizens, well organized and well supplied, should go abroad and establish Greek civilization in its integrity. At one time during the administration of Pericles, a company of a thousand Athenians settled in the Thracian Chersonesus; another band of five hundred in Naxos, and a third of two hundred and fifty in Andros. A still larger colony was established at Thurii, near the site of ancient Sybaris, in Southern Italy. Among those who joined this com-

THE ACROPOLIS, RESTORED.

pany were the orator Lysias and the historian Herodotus. In B. C. 437, another settlement of equal importance was made at Amphipolis, on the river Strymon, in Macedonia—a dependency which afterwards played a conspicuous part in Greek history.

A more liberal and less ambitious policy on the part of Pericles might have postponed or possibly averted the coming disasters of his country. But, in his eagerness to make Athens glorious, there was but little thought given to justice and equity of administration. Especially was this manifested in the exorbitant tribute which was collected from the Athenian dependencies. The members of the Confederacy of Delos were taxed to the extent of six hundred talents annually, and this too when the occasion for which the tribute was originally levied had entirely passed away. The peace with the Persians made such an imposition no longer necessary as a measure of defense; but the ambition of Pericles still exacted it as a measure of luxury.

At this time the only members of the Confederacy which retained their freedom and continued to consult with the Athenians on terms of comparative equality, were Samos, Lesbos, and Chios. The first of these islands became embroiled with the Milesians, and the latter appealed to Athens for a settlement of the difficulty. The Samian government was still under the control of an oligarchy, and this furnished Pericles with a good excuse for interference. In B. C. 440 an expedition was sent to reduce the Samians by force. A democracy was established in the island, and many leading Samians were sent to Lemnos as hostages. This state of things, however, was soon undone by a counter revolution backed by the satrap of Sardis; but the Athenians returned, put down the revolt, and reestablished their own style of government over the Samians. The latter were obliged to pay the expenses of the war, amounting to a thousand talents, and to give hostages for the maintenance of the peace.

Such was the condition of affairs in B. C. 435, when a petty quarrel between Corinth and her dependency Corcyra applied the spark to the long smouldering animosities and jealousies of the Greeks, and set their country in the flames of civil war.

CHAPTER XLVI.—THE PELOPONNESIAN WARS.

EARLY in her history the city of Corinth had established, on the island of that name, the colony of Corcyra. Afterwards Corcyra sent out a colony and founded Epidamnus on the coast of Epirus. The latter, however, as well as the former, regarded Corinth as her mother city. The Epidamnians, like the other Greek states, expelled the oligarchical party, and the latter brought in the Illyrians to restore them. The authorities appealed to Corcyra for aid, which was refused; for the Corcyræans sympathized with the oligarchs. The Epidamnians then applied to Corinth. The latter sent out an expedition, and the democracy in Epidamnus was sustained. But the authorities of Corcyra resented the interference, sent a squadron, blockaded the town, and restored the oligarchs. The Corcyræans then tried to persuade the Corinthians to refer the matter to arbitration, but the latter sent a still larger fleet to the western coast, and this was defeated and destroyed by the Corcyræan squadron at Actium. This left the Epidamnians at the mercy of the oligarchical party.

The Corinthians immediately went to work rebuilding their fleet. Within two years they had gathered with their own exertions and from their allies a squadron of one hundred and fifty ships. The Corcyræans, seeing these preparations and remembering that Corinth was a member of the Lacedæmonian league, applied to Athens for support. The Athenian

assembly, after hearing the ambassadors, resolved upon a defensive alliance with Corcyra, and agreed to defend the island in case of invasion. To this end a fleet of ten sail, under command of Lacedæmonius, was sent to the Corcyræans. In the mean time the Corinthian fleet arrived, and a hard battle was fought, in which the Corcyræans were defeated. But, as the Corinthians were preparing to press their advantage on the morrow, a new contingent of twenty vessels hove in sight from Athens. The Corinthian captain, believing this to be but a detachment of a larger fleet, at once stood away and sailed for home.

In this condition of affairs Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, appeared on the scene. Having certain grievances against the Athenians, he sought revenge by instigating the inhabitants of Potidæa, a dependency of Athens occupying the neck of the peninsula of Pallené, to revolt against the mother city. At the same time he urged the Spartans, as the head of the Lacedæmonian league, to make an invasion of Attica. Hereupon the Ephors called a meeting of the Peloponnesian states. The dissatisfied delegates addressed the assembly, and all were loud in their denunciations of the Athenians. An agent of Athens then resident in Sparta spoke in favor of his country, but the adverse opinion prevailed, and near the close of B. C. 432 war was resolved upon by the Peloponnesian league against the Athenians.

Sparta did not, however, proceed to immediate hostility. With her usual cunning she undertook, first of all, to secure the overthrow of Pericles. The opponents of this statesman were instigated to attack him. He was charged with peculations. His friend, the philosopher Anaxagoras, was persecuted for opinion's sake. He was not orthodox on the subject of the gods. With him was involved Aspasia, that paragon of beauty and genius, who for years had shared the counsels and affections of Pericles. The philosopher fled, but Aspasia was tried. The haughty Pericles, who for a generation had stood unmoved in every storm, wept as he pleaded her cause before the court. She was acquitted; but the enemies of the statesman next turned upon Phidias, and he was prosecuted on the charge of having appropriated the gold which had been voted for the Acropolitan statue of Athene. The great sculptor died in prison before the day of trial.

None the less, the party of Pericles stood firm, and he retained his grip on the rudder of the state. The Spartans continued to prod him with demands, and finally sent an ultimatum to the effect that if the Athenians would avoid war they should at once liberate all of their dependent states. The assembly replied that Athens did not desire war, that she would give satisfaction for her seeming violation of the Thirty Years' truce, but as for the rest she would resist force with force.

Actual hostilities were begun by the Thebans who, in the interest of the Peloponnesian league, fell upon Platæa by night. The band, however, that thus unexpectedly to the Platæans gained possession of their city was soon overwhelmed, and before daybreak all but one hundred and eighty were killed and the rest made prisoners. When the main army of Thebes came up it was induced to retire with the promise that the prisoners should be given up, but the Platæans took advantage of the lull, gathered in their friends and property from the surrounding districts, and then killed the prisoners to the last man. This perfidious and desperate deed, though done against a band of guerrillas, set the states on fire. Passion spread like a conflagration. The pent-up jealousy of forty cities, each with its long-smothered grievance, burst forth against the Athenian commonwealth as the common cause of all the ills that Greek flesh had inherited. Delos was rocked with an earthquake. Crazy soothsayers harangued crowds of the superstitious. The oracles lifted up their ambiguous voice and uttered two-tongued promises and imprecations. The blood was hot. Neutrality was hardly thought of. Every Peloponnesian state, except Argos and Achaia, ranged itself with Sparta; and in Central Greece Megaris, Bœotia, Phocis, and East Locris, besides the tribes of Leucadia and Anactoria, all gathered under the Lacedæmonian banners. One might think, from the sudden and universal

explosion of animosity, that the Greek race had become more wearied with hearing Athens called the *Great* than the Athenians themselves had been tired of hearing Aristides called the *Just:* and in either case there was equal reason—or the want of it. The continental allies of Athens were Thessaly, Platæa, Acarnania, and a part of Messenia about Naupactus. Her insular support embraced Chios, Lesbos, Corcyra, Cephallenia, and Zacynthus. In those resources which are said to constitute the sinews of war the Athenians had great strength. In the treasury of the Acropolis was deposited a sum equal to seven millions of dollars. The annual revenue of the state was very great, and the riches of the various temples and shrines—not, of course, to be rashly touched by the hand of war—gave another immense aggregate. The fleet consisted of three hundred vessels; the standing army of thirty-one thousand eight hundred men. The forces of the league were superior in foot soldiers, being about sixty thousand strong, but greatly inferior in the matter of a fleet. This defect the Spartans hoped to supply by the help of the Corinthians and the Dorian colonies of Italy, or in case of need to call upon their friends, *the Persians.*

The army of the confederation assembled at the isthmus of Corinth under command of Archidamus, the Spartan king. From this point the expedition began against Attica. By midsummer of B. C. 431 the march had proceeded to the Thriasian plain, near Eleusis. By the orders of Pericles the country was abandoned. The population withdrew within the walls of Athens, and the city was filled to overflowing. Archidamus was disappointed in his hope of bringing on a general battle. The cooped-up people clamored greatly at the policy adopted, and the Athenian cavalry was sent out to harass the enemy. From the Thriasian plain the Spartans next moved to Acharnæ, and continued their ravages. To appease the people as well as to punish the enemy Pericles sent a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships to fall upon the coast of Peloponnesus. The Corinthian settlement of Sollium, the town of Astacus, and the island of Cephallonia which, until now, had held a dubious attitude in the conquest, were taken by the squadron. The Locrian towns of Thronium and Alope were also captured by another detachment of the Athenian fleet, and the anti-Athenian party in Ægina was suppressed and driven out of the island. The effect of these bold diversions was such that late in the summer Archidamus evacuated the country, and his army was presently disbanded. As soon as this movement was known in Athens, Pericles marched out with thirteen thousand heavy armed soldiers, invaded Megaris, and ravaged the country as furiously as the Lacedæmonians had wasted Attica.

It was now evident that the war was destined to be of long duration. The Athenians accordingly made every preparation to maintain their cause. In accordance with a resolution of the assembly, one thousand talents were sacredly set apart for the service of the city in case she should be attacked by sea; and it was further resolved that each year a hundred galleys should be retained for the protection of the city.

In the beginning of the second campaign, B. C. 430, Archidamus again invaded Attica. At this juncture a foe appeared within the walls of Athens far more more dreadful than the enemy without. A dreadful pestilence attacked the people, with which they began to sicken and die by hundreds. It was a form of pestilence hitherto unknown in the city. The Greek physicians could in no wise stay its progress. Terror seized the public mind. Some ascribed the plague to the wrath of Apollo. Others said that the Spartans had poisoned the wells. The superstitious mountebank, who in every age of the world has afflicted human society with his pestilential presence, came out from his place and abetted the disease by playing upon the fears of the people. The malady attacked the mind as well as the body. A gloomy and despondent spirit foreran the approach of the pestilence. Athens was a universal funeral. Hundreds lay unburied. The air reeked with the stench of corpses. One fourth of the population died. The Lacedæmonian without and Death within stretched a pall over At-

tica. The mutterings of despair joined their volume with the howl of discontent, and a spirit less resolute than Pericles would have succumbed to the clamor. But he stood like a statue. To distract the public mind from its grief, and to empty the stricken city of a part of its population, he fitted up a squadron at Piræus, took command himself, sailed to Peloponnesus, and began to mete to the towns of the league the same vengeance which they had measured to him. But, notwithstanding his herculean efforts, sedition broke out in the city. Cleon, his political adversary, took advantage of his absence, and preferred against him the charge of peculation. Pericles was condemned to pay a fine; and for awhile it seemed that, at last, the influence of the great leader over the minds of his countrymen was broken.

But public opinion soon reacted; he was again chosen general of the army, and quickly regained his ascendency. The drama of his life, however, was now nearing the final scene. The members of his family were struck down by the plague. He himself survived an attack of the epidemic; but a low fever supervened, the forces of nature failed, and Pericles lay dying. In the last hours he said to those who were recalling the exploits of his brilliant career: "What you praise in me is partly the result of good fortune, or is, at all events, common to me with many other commanders. What I chiefly pride myself upon, you have not noticed: on my account no Athenian ever wore mourning."

Meanwhile the Lacedæmonians continued to ravage Attica. In a campaign of forty days' duration they carried their devastations into all parts of the peninsula. During the year also the allied fleet seized the island of Zacynthus, but was not able to retain it. The fisheries and commerce of the Athenians suffered not a little from the attacks of Spartan and Corinthian buccaneers, whose plan of battle was to fight, filch, and flee. The prisoners taken by these pirates were generally put to death without mercy. It was not long, however, until the Athenians found opportunity to apply the *lex talionis*. A company of Spartan envoys, on their way to the court of Persia, paused *en route* to seduce Sitalces, king of Thrace, from his allegiance to the Athenians. But the seduction extended only so far as this—that they were themselves arrested and sent to the authorities of Athens, by whom they were killed as so many dogs. Among those who thus perished was Aristeus, one of the ablest generals of the league.

In the mean time the siege of Potidæa was at last brought to a successful issue. The resistance had been long and obstinate. The Potidæans defended their town with desperate valor, and when at last reduced by famine to the verge of despair, they ate the bodies of their dead sooner than surrender. Only when honorable terms were offered did they finally succumb to necessity and capitulate to the besiegers. The town was then destroyed and the territory occupied by a colony sent out from Athens.

The third year of the war opened with the siege of Platæa by the Spartans. The latter had now grown weary of ravaging Attica, and determined to strike a decisive blow by overwhelming the city by whose act the conflict had been kindled. On their approach the Platæans sent out an embassy solemnly protesting against the invasion on the grounds of the oath of Pausanias, who, after the overthrow of the Persians, had publicly vowed to Zeus Eleutherius that henceforth the freedom and independence of Platæa would ever be regarded and upheld by the Spartans. But the oath of the dead was not likely to prevail with a race whose notion of faith was to break it whenever it promised advantage to do so.

The Platæans were summoned to surrender. When this was refused Archidamus proposed that the inhabitants of the city should go whithersoever they pleased, that the Lacedæmonians would till the country until the war was ended and then restore it to the original owners. But on referring the question to the Athenians the latter advised the Platæans to hold out against the invaders, and the proposal was accordingly declined.

The siege at once began. The town contained less than six hundred people, and yet this handful defied the army of the league and determined to defend themselves to the

last. Archidamus began to build a mound outside of the wall, from the summit of which his soldiers might surmount the barricade. But the Platæans built a second wall inside of the first, and at the same time undermined the mound which was thrown up outside. After three months of vain endeavor the Lacedæmonians were obliged to adopt the policy of a mere blockade, which should of necessity reduce the garrison by starvation. For two years the Platæans held out, and then when their provisions were nearly exhausted, two hundred and twelve of their number, choosing a dark December night, scaled the ramparts which the Spartans had built around the town, and escaped. The remainder still defended themselves, but were at last compelled by sheer famine to capitulate. There remained of the garrison two hundred Platæans and twenty-five Athenians.

As soon as all were surrendered they were brought to trial. Each one was led before the Spartan judges and asked the question whether during the present war *he had rendered any assistance to the Lacedæmonians or their allies?* The question was, of course, not even a decent mockery, and was necessarily answered in the negative. Thereupon without further ceremony every man of the number was led off and executed. The town of Platæa was leveled to the earth and the territory given to the Thebans.

During this third year of the war, Sitalces, king of Thrace, acting on the suggestion of the Athenians, invaded the dominions of Perdiccas of Macedon; but the expedition was undertaken at so late a season that its serious consequence was to drive the Macedonians to take refuge in their towns until the Tracians were withdrawn. About the same time, the Spartans, using Corinth as a base of operations, prepared a fleet of forty-seven vessels, and proceeded to make an expedition against Acarnania. At this time a small Athenian squadron of twenty sail, under command of Phormio, lay at Naupactus. Notwithstanding the disparity of the fleets, the Athenian captain attacked the Peloponnesian armament, and gained a decisive victory. The Lacedæmonians, enraged at this result, prepared a new fleet of seventy-seven vessels and again started to cross the gulf; but nothing daunted, Phormio a second time gave battle, and if not positively victorious, so crippled the enemy's squadron that the expedition had to be abandoned. As a slight compensation for these disasters, the Spartans succeeded in surprising Salamis by night and ravaging a good part of the island before the Athenians could rally and drive them off.

From this time forth for several seasons the annual invasion of Attica occurred, with its monotonous repetition of pillage and destruction.

What with these perpetual devastations, and what with the wasting plague, Athens was becoming exhausted; but her spirit rose with the occasion. New levies were made for the fleet from the upper classes of society. An income tax was laid upon the people, by which two hundred talents were to be annually added to the treasury. The Lacedæmonians were surprised by the appearance of two new squadrons at a time when they were imagining the maritime strength of the Athenians to be nearly extinct. It was fortunate for the latter that they were thus able to recuperate, for the fourth year of the war brought them a serious trial in the revolt of Mitylene. An armament was, however, immediately sent against the rebellious island, and the Mityleneans were subjected to a rigorous blockade. Assistance was promised by the Spartan government, and a squadron was sent out under Alcidas, but before he arrived off Lesbos the Athenians had compelled the place to capitulate.

During the debates in the Athenian assembly as to what disposition should be made of the prisoners, the demagogue Cleon, already mentioned as a would-be rival of Pericles, appeared as a leader. He had been a leather-seller,[1] and had every quality of mind and character requisite in a rabble-rouser. In the present instance he proposed in the very face of the terms granted by Paches, the Athenian commander before Mitylene, that not only the prisoners now in the power of the authorities, but also the whole adult male

[1] See the satire of Aristophanes, *supra*, p. 494.

population of the captured city, *should be put to death!* And the resolution was carried. A trireme was immediately dispatched to Lesbos to order the execution of the edict. The mad democratic mob that had ordered this butchery then slept and woke up sober. The atrocity of the thing staggered the city, and on the morrow a new meeting was called to reconsider. After an acrimonious debate, a revocation of the previous order was carried by a bare majority. A second trireme, now twenty-four hours behind the other, was at once sent away to stay the execution of the Mitylenean. The galley reached Lesbos just in time. The former order was already in the hands of Paches, and he was preparing to carry it into effect when the panting oarsmen of the second boat reached the shore. The merciful edict of the assembly, however, extended only to the citizens of Mitylene, and not to the prisoners who had been taken in the siege and sent to Athens. These, to the number of more than a thousand, were led out and put to death.

The Mitylenean atrocity was excused by the Athenians on the ground that it was a measure of just retaliation for the massacre of the Platæans by the Lacedæmonians. It was not long till another scene of still more fearful cruelty was enacted in Corcyra. For some time there had been in that island a bitter struggle between the oligarchical faction supported by Sparta and the democratical party backed by Athens. After much mutual violence and several counter revolutions, the oligarchs were, by the arrival of an Athenian fleet, completely overthrown. The popular vengeance broke forth furiously against them. They were pursued into their hiding places. They were dragged from the temple-altars and butchered without a sign of mercy or compunction. For seven days the horrible massacre continued, and then ceased only because there were no more to murder.

In the next epoch of the war the plague reäppeared in Athens, and Peloponnesus was again shaken by an earthquake. The Athenians, attributing their woes to the anger of Apollo, ordered a purification of the island of Delos, provided that no more births or deaths should occur in that sacred seat, and instituted a festival in honor of the offended god. In the seventh year's invasion of Attica by the Spartan general Agis, the devastation was suddenly brought to an end by the news that the Athenians, under the lead of Demosthenes, had succeeded in establishing a military station at Pylus, in Messenia, thus menacing the peace of all Western Peloponnesus. Agis was recalled and ordered to dislodge Demosthenes from his foothold in Messenia. The latter, with a small force of about one thousand men, built fortifications and awaited the onset. A Spartan fleet, commanded by Brasidas, arrived in the bay and made an unsuccessful attack upon the Athenians. Then came a squadron from Athens, and the Spartans were driven away with a loss of five ships. They, however, continued to occupy the densely wooded island of Sphacteria, which lay across the entrance to the bay of Pylus.

This place was now closely blockaded by the Athenian squadron, and it presently became apparent that the Peloponnesian army was reduced to great straits. The Spartan Ephors, after having themselves reconnoitered the situation, decided that there was no hope but to surrender. An embassy was accordingly sent to Athens, and the assembly at last had the inexpressible joy of seeing a company of saturnine Spartan envoys humbly suing for peace! Cleon was in his glory, and, taking advantage of the occasion, insisted upon such extravagant terms as could not be granted but by the ruin of the Lacedæmonians. The views of the demagogue prevailed over prudence, and the opportunity for a favorable peace was thrown away. The envoys were sent back to Pylus, and Demosthenes was ordered to press the siege of Sphacteria to a successful issue. The armistice broke up in mutual bad faith, and hostilities were at once renewed.

The Spartans, now grown desperate, succeeded by one means and another in getting a considerable quantity of provisions to the island, and the siege was indefinitely prolonged. While the Athenians were expecting to hear of the capture of the Spartan army, a demand came for reënforcements. There was a reäc-

tion in the assembly, and Cleon was about to lose his grip; but he turned furiously upon Nicias, one of the generals, and accused him of being the cause of the delay and disappointment. The braggart then went on to declare that if *he* were *strategus*, he would take Sphacteria in twenty days. Thereupon Nicias moved that Cleon be given the command! In spite of an attempted escape from his own trap, the demagogue was obliged to accept what the assembly now thrust upon him, and without one day's military experience he departed with a small force to take command at Pylus!

On arriving at the scene Cleon found the Athenians already preparing for an assault on the island. By accident a fire was kindled in the edge of the forest, which, blown into a conflagration by the wind, swept through the island and destroyed the forest, which had thus far been the main protection of the Spartans. The latter were thus exposed to an attack. The Athenians, led by Demosthenes and Cleon, landed in force, and a battle of unusual severity was fought, in which the Spartans were completely defeated. In answer to a demand for surrender, the remnant threw down their shields and *held up their hands!*

Such a scene had not before been witnessed in Greece. It was the Spartan code to conquer or die; but now two hundred and ninety-two of the supposed invincibles, many of them of the best families in Laconia, gave themselves into the power of an enemy. The victory was complete. Pylus was strengthened. The prisoners were taken to Athens; and before the expiration of the twenty days Cleon, by the strange favor of fortune, stood in the assembly and presented his prisoners!

After the siege of Sphacteria, the Athenian fleet, under Eurymedon and Sophocles, proceeded to Corcyra, and aided the people of that island in reducing the last post held by the oligarchs, the fortress of Istone. This place was surrendered on condition that the prisoners should be spared until they should be condemned after a formal trial before the assembly; but they were presently induced to try to escape, for the express purpose that a pretext might be found for their destruction. Eurymedon consented to this atrocious piece of business, and all the prisoners were led out two by two and put to death.

At this juncture the Athenians were undoubtedly in a position to have procured terms of peace most advantageous to the state; but they gave themselves up to passion and continued hostility. In the beginning of the eighth year they reduced the important island of Cythera, and once more ravaged the coasts of Laconia. They then undertook a campaign against the Megarians, and another into Bœotia. In the first of these some advantages were gained, and the town of Nissæa was taken and occupied by an Athenian garrison. But the Bœotian expedition ended in disaster. The state was invaded on both sides simultaneously, by Demosthenes and Hippocrates. The former found the country preöccupied, and was obliged to retire, and the latter, after having gained possession of the temple of Apollo at Delium, and garrisoned the town, was overtaken in the plain of Oropus and completely routed. Nothing but the approach of night saved any part of the Athenian army from the fury of the heavy-armed soldiers of Bœotia. Delium was retaken, and the campaign closed with the complete recovery of the country from Athenian influence.

In the mean time the long-cherished plan of Sparta to overthrow the rule of her rival in Thrace was successfully carried out by Brasidas. With a force of one thousand seven hundred picked troops he made his way through Thessaly, and, forming a junction with the forces of Perdiccas of Macedon, proceeded into Thrace. Here his conduct was such as to win over a large part of those who adhered to the Athenian cause. The two towns of Acanthus and Stagirus received him gladly. He then urged his way to the important colony of Amphipolis, on the river Strymon. Even this place was surrendered without a siege, as were also most of the towns in the Chalcidician peninsulas.

The effect was such that Athens was now, in her turn, anxious for peace. In the ninth year after the opening of hostilities (B. C. 423), a truce was agreed to for twelve months,

and both parties found time to breathe from the long struggle in which they had been engaged. In the beginning of the next year, however, the war was renewed, and Cleon made an effort to recover Thrace. With a large army he went against Amphipolis, which was defended by Brasidas. The latter, with his large military experience, was more than a match for the loud democrat whom accident had once led to victory. Brasidas soon lulled his antagonist into fancied security, and then sallied out and inflicted a terrible defeat. Cleon was killed, together with half of the Athenian soldiery. The rest were scattered to the winds. Brasidas, however, was mortally wounded in the battle, and was carried into the town to die. He was buried in the agora, and was henceforth honored as *œcist*, or founder of Amphipolis.

The war had now degenerated into personal antagonisms and recriminations. By the death of the two leaders, the one a "king" of Sparta and the other the popular despot of the Athenian assembly, the principal agents in perpetuating the strife were removed. Nicias, who now assumed the leadership in Athens, and Pleistoanax, the other Spartan king, were both favorable to peace. In B. C. 421 negotiations were opened, and were soon brought to a successful issue in a proclamation of peace for fifty years. The leading principle assumed in the pacification was a mutual restitution of prisoners and conquests. Upon this, however, there were some restrictions. Thebes was permitted to retain Platæa. Athens kept Nissæa—the seaport of Megaris—Anactorium, and Sollium. Several towns regained their independence. Others, which were left tributary to the Athenians, had their tax reduced to the scale established by Aristides. The allies of Athens were generally pleased with the settlement, but the dependent states of the league against her were filled with resentment towards Sparta, for whom they had fought eleven years, and by whom they were now abandoned. Bœotia, Corinth, Elis, and Megaris refused to sign the treaty, and their attitude became so hostile that Sparta made an alliance with Athens to maintain the compact.—Thus did the PEACE OF NICIAS at last afford to distracted Greece an opportunity to recuperate her powers, so terribly shattered by the shocks and ravages of civil war.

Much difficulty was experienced in attempting to secure compliance with the terms of the treaty. The Spartans found it impossible to surrender Amphipolis to the Athenians, for the inhabitants refused to accede to the transfer. Thereupon the authorities of Athens declined to surrender the harbor of Pylus. The disaffected Corinthians, now entirely alienated from Sparta, projected the scheme of a new Lacedæmonian confederacy, with Argos at the head. In the midst of these complications, ALCIBIADES appeared on the stage of Athenian politics. He soon became one of the most striking figures that had risen in that stormy arena. Young and brilliant, of an illustrious descent, dashing and courageous, quick in conception and fertile in expedients, unscrupulous and reckless, he possessed the very qualities which in success would make, and in disaster mar, an Athenian statesman. His ambition was as boundless as his conduct was notorious. Not even the austere genius of his instructor, Socrates, could bring the audacious and extravagant youth to any thing like a decent discipline.

ALCIBIADES.—Visconti.

The first noted public appearance of this distinguished youth was on the occasion of the coming of the Lacedæmonian ambassadors requesting the surrender of Pylus. He at first violently opposed the petition, and even went so far as to urge the sending of an embassy to Argos to solicit that city to become a member in a new Athenian league. In spite of the earnest efforts of Nicias and of the protests of the Spartan ambassador, Alcibiades,

by means of intrigue and bluster, succeeded in this work, and not only Argos, but also Elis and Mantinea, agreed to maintain an alliance with Athens for a hundred years.

In the next year, B. C. 419, the Athenians were again admitted to the Olympic games. It was supposed that, just emerging from a long and ruinous war, she would present but a sorry figure at the great festival. What, therefore, was the surprise of the assembled states when Alcibiades himself entered for the games seven four-horse chariots, and with these gained both the first and the second prize? Besides his display in the races, he procured from his countrymen one of the richest general exhibits ever presented on such an occasion; and at the conclusion of the celebration all Greece rang with the praises of the Athenians.

But Alcibiades was a politician as well as a racer. He visited several Peloponnesian towns, with the purpose of alienating them more and more from the Spartan cause. These proceedings continued until the Lacedæmonians were obliged to resist. They marched into Argos and gained a position from which they might soon have won a marked success; but Agis, the commander, permitted himself to be tricked into a truce by the machinations of Alcibiades, who then gathered a force of Argives and Athenians and invaded Mantinea. Near the temple of Hercules they were met by the Spartan army under Agis, and were disastrously defeated. It was estimated that one thousand one hundred men of the allied forces perished in the battle. This success induced the state of Argolis to detach itself from Athens and return to its old relations with the Lacedæmonians.

In the year B. C. 416, the Athenians succeeded in the capture of Melos and Thera, the only islands in the Ægean not hitherto brought under their dominion. In the conquest of the Melians—whose only offense consisted in refusing to surrender to those who had attacked them in a time of peace—the Athenians crowned all their preceding atrocities by putting the male citizens of the island to death and selling the women and children into slavery.

In the mean time, about B. C. 428, the Dorian race in Sicily, under the leadership of Syracuse, had become identified with the Peloponnesian league, then at war with Athens. War had been declared against the towns of Leontini and Camarĭna, as well as the Italian city of Rhegium. Hereupon the Leontinians sent their orator, Gorgias, to Athens to solicit aid. At that time the Athenians voted aid to all the enemies of Sparta; so a fleet of twenty sail was sent to help the anti-Lacedæmonian league in the West.

In the following year another squadron of forty galleys was sent to Sicily, and it now became apparent that Athens instead of helping others entertained the covert purpose of helping herself to the possession of the whole island. A reäction occurred among the Sicilians, and the expedition was obliged to sail home in disgrace. Three years later, however, the Leontinians again asked for assistance, but the Athenians were not then in a condition to give it; but when, in B. C. 416, the application was renewed from the town of Egesta, then at war with Selinus, Alcibiades espoused the project, and a resolution of support was about to be voted; but the cautious Nicias interposed and induced the assembly first to send an embassy to Egesta to see whether the game was worth the expenditure. The Egestæans entertained the envoys. They took them into the temple of Aphrodite and displayed a vast heap of treasures which were *borrowed for the occasion!* They gave a banquet which nearly exhausted the resources of the town. But the ambassadors were generously hoodwinked, and took home a glowing account of the luxury of the western city! So it was at once resolved to espouse the cause of these wealthy petitioners, and a squadron of a hundred ships—under the joint command of Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus—was dispatched to Sicily.

No enterprise ever undertaken by the Greeks was more enthusiastically prosecuted. Crowds of volunteers came forward and begged to be accepted for the expedition. The three commanders vied with each other in the equipment of their respective ships.

The Athenians gave themselves to the work of preparation as if to a holiday. Finally, when every thing was in readiness, and the fleet was on the eve of departure, an event occurred which not only dampened the public ardor but stirred the superstitions and fears of the people to their profoundest depths. In a single night the statues of the god Hermes, which stood at the street corners and in all the public places of the city, were mutilated and knocked to pieces. No such a shocking sacrilege had ever before been known in the history of the country. No reason could be assigned for the act. The universality of the destruction indicated that it had been accomplished by a band of conspirators acting secretly in the dead of night. No one was detected in the work. The people awoke in the morning to find the sacred busts in front of their houses wantonly disfigured or broken into a shapeless mass. The excitement and indignation of the public knew no bounds.

A commission was at once appointed to examine witnesses and discover the perpetrators of the crime; but the investigation was without practical results. Suspicion fell upon Alcibiades, but no proof was discovered against him. The suspicion, however, held fast, and when no evidence could be adduced of his guilt in the mutilation of the Hermæ, Pythonicus, one of the leaders of the Assembly, preferred against him the charge of having profaned the Eleusinian mysteries by giving a representation of them in private. In proof of this the testimony of a slave was given; but Alcibiades denied the charge and demanded an investigation. The inquiry, however, was, by the machinations of his enemies, postponed until after the return of the expedition. It was thus contrived that Alcibiades should depart under a cloud. Meanwhile, the preparation of the fleet was completed, and Corcyra was named as the place of rendezvous. The departure of the squadron was such a scene as the Athenians had never witnessed. The force consisted of two thousand two hundred and fifty heavy-armed soldiers. At day-break these marched on board of the gayly decorated vessels lying at the wharves of Piræus. Nearly the whole population of the city lined the shores. A blast of the trumpet proclaimed silence. Then was heard the voice of the herald lifted in prayer to the country's gods. The war pæan of the Greek was chanted, and libations were poured into the sea from goblets of gold and silver. Then each galley, as if in a race, started for the island of Ægina. Thence the squadron sailed to Corcyra, where it was augmented by the arrival of thirty-four galleys and nearly six thousand troops sent by the states in alliance with Athens. On arriving at Southern Italy, the Greeks were coldly received. Even at Rhegium permission to purchase supplies was granted with reluctance. In the mean time the news was borne to Syracuse and preparations were immediately made to defend the city.

While lying in the harbor of Rhegium, the Greek commanders fell into serious disputes about the purposes and plans of the expedition. Nicias was in favor of limiting the campaign to the reduction of Selinus; while Alcibiades and Lamachus proposed that the capture of Syracuse should be included in their conquest. Lamachus favored an immediate attack upon the Sicilian capital while it was yet unprepared for defense. Alcibiades, however, preferred such a delay as would enable him to procure assistance from the Italian allies of Athens. This view prevailed. For the present nothing was done except to explore the harbor of Syracuse and to take possession of Catana, which was henceforth used as a base of supplies and operations for the Greek squadron.

At this point news was received from Athens indicating an extremely unfortunate state of affairs in the city. Terror had seized the public mind on account of the mutilation of the Hermæ. The charge of having committed that crime was again brought forward against Alcibiades. Many persons were arrested, among whom was an orator named Andocides, who turned informer, and by means of his own testimony and that of slaves secured the conviction and execution of a number of citizens. This had the effect to quiet public excitement, but the persons put to death were doubtless innocent of the crime.

The charge of having profaned the Eleusinian mysteries was still unanswered, and a vote was passed by the assembly demanding the return of Alcibiades for trial. A galley was dispatched to Sicily to bring him to Athens; but on his way home he effected his escape and sailed to Sparta. The Athenian court regarding this flight as a confession of guilt, condemned him to death, and ordered the confiscation of his property. On hearing of his sentence, Alcibiades remarked with nonchalance, "I will show the Athenians that I am still alive."

Meanwhile the operations in Sicily had made no progress. The Syracusans were not even annoyed at the presence of an enemy so little aggressive. Their horsemen rode around the Athenian camp and insulted the garrison. A rumor was now blown abroad that the inhabitants of Catana were themselves on the eve of expelling the Athenians. In order to assist this movement, the Syracusan army drew out of the city and marched to the aid of the Catanæans. Seizing the opportunity afforded by their absence, Nicias succeeded in conveying his whole squadron into the harbor, effected a landing near the temple of the Olympian Zeus, and threw up fortifications. Here he was presently attacked by the Syracusan army returning from Catana, but the victory remained with the Athenians, who presently withdrew into winter-quarters at Naxos. From this point Nicias sent messengers to Athens asking fresh supplies of troops and means. A reënforcement of cavalry was accordingly sent out, with three hundred talents in money.

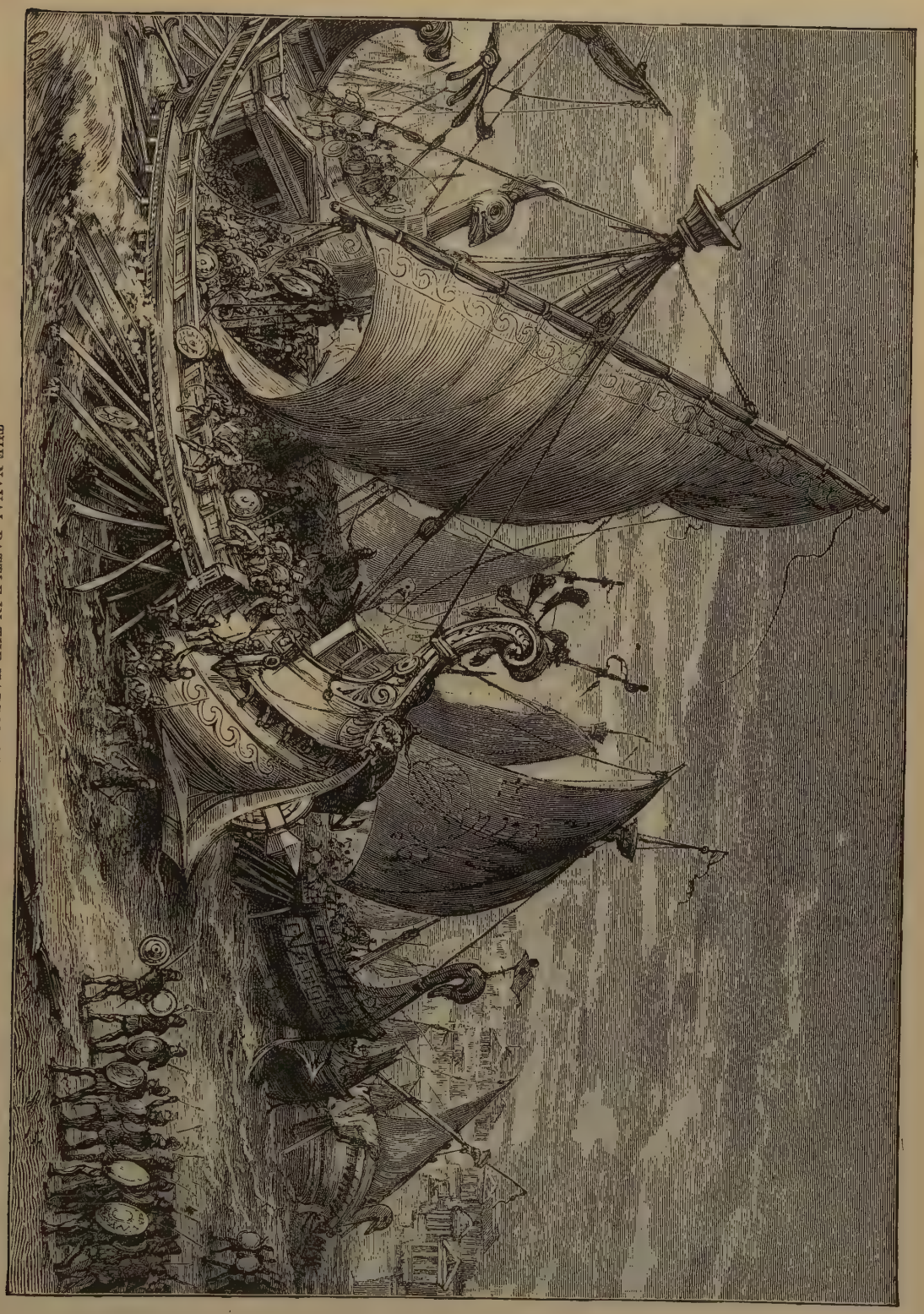
With the spring, the siege of Syracuse began. The city lay upon a peninsula between the Great and Little harbors. On the land side it was defended by a wall, and the sea-front was protected by the nature of the ground and by fortifications. In the northern suburbs of the city, however, was a high ground called Epipolæ, and of this the Athenians succeeded in gaining possession. An attempt of the Syracusans to dislodge them was repulsed. Here Nicias constructed a fort, and the siege was pressed by both sea and land.

In the mean time Lamachus had died, and the whole command devolved upon Nicias, who was inferior to his colleague in energy. By this time the Syracusans became discouraged and made overtures of surrender: but Nicias, over-confident of success, paid little attention to the proposals and continued the siege. At this juncture, however, Gylippus, the Spartan general, arrived with a small squadron in the bay of Tarentum. Thence he proceeded to Himera, and, publishing to the people that other forces from his country would soon arrive, he gathered an army of three thousand men and marched to the relief of Syracuse. He succeeded in passing the heights of Epipolæ, and entered the city without opposition. Having effected a junction with the Syracusans, he sent an audacious message to Nicias, allowing him five days to gather his effects and leave Sicily.

It would have been well if Nicias had taken the advice of his enemy, for the latter very soon turned the tide of success against the Athenians. The Syracusans in their turn captured and fortified the heights of Epipolæ. Nor was it long—such was the activity of Gylippus—until the Athenians were put into the attitude of a besieged rather than a besieging army. Nicias fell sick and asked to be recalled. Instead of complying with this request, however, the Athenians sent out additional troops under command of Demosthenes and Eurymedon. The Spartans also reënforced their Sicilian army, and the Syracusans presently gave battle to the Athenian fleet.

The latter gained an indecisive victory, but while the battle was in progress, Gylippus made an assault upon some of the forts erected by Nicias and captured them, with large quantities of provisions. In a short time the Syracusans sailed boldly out into Great Harbor, and again gave battle to the fleet. This time the Athenian squadron was routed, and the remnant of the ships was only saved from destruction by being drawn to the shore under protection of the Athenian works.

At this juncture a new fleet of seventy-five vessels, carrying five thousand heavy-armed troops, arrived from Athens. Demosthenes, the commander, immediately made an



THE NAVAL BATTLE IN THE HARBOR OF SYRACUSE.

attempt to take Epipolæ, but was repulsed. He then urged Nicias to withdraw from his dangerous position in Great Harbor and retire to Thapsus; but just as this movement was about to begin an eclipse of the moon occurred, and the seers declared that the fleet must not leave its moorings for a lunar month.[1] Their decision was complied with, and the Syracusans, learning how matters stood, determined to make a league with superstition and destroy the foe before the next full moon. They accordingly blocked up the mouth of Great Harbor with a cordon of galleys. So the Athenian squadron of one hundred and ten triremes was cooped up, with no opportunity of escape except by battle.

It was, however, resolved to break through at all hazards. Accordingly, on an appointed morning, the fleet of Nicias loosed its moorings and proceeded to the attack. Nearly the whole population of the city lined the shores of the bay. The larger part of the Athenian land-forces were put on board of the ships, and the remainder looked on from the fortifications. The attack was directed first against the line of galleys by which the mouth of the harbor was blockaded. But the latter held their position. Presently the whole armament on both sides was engaged, and for some time the battle hung dubiously between the combatants. Then the Athenians began to give way. Nearly a half of their vessels were destroyed, and the rest driven back to the protection of the shore. The victory was in every respect complete and overwhelming.

The Athenians were still about forty thousand strong. As soon as the battle was decided, they determined, if possible, to escape from their perilous position. The only course remaining was a retreat overland to the shelter of some friendly town, where they might defend themselves until succored by reinforcements. But instead of taking advantage of the confusion of the first night after his defeat, Nicias waited till the next; and the Syracusans thus found time to gather and fall upon the retreating column. In the attempt to reach the coast, Demosthenes, who commanded the rear division, was cut off, and after fighting until his forces were greatly reduced, was obliged to surrender. Finally, Gylippus overtook Nicias, who, with the army, now numbering no more than ten thousand men, was still struggling to gain the coast. Arriving at the river Erineus, they attempted to cross, but the enemy crowded them down the banks and into the stream. All hope was abandoned. The army became a disorganized mass and was forced to surrender at discretion. The remainder of the fleet had been given up at the beginning of the retreat. Not a vestige remained. No such complete destruction of an army and squadron had ever been known. The prisoners were sent to work in the stone-quarries, where, huddled together, driven to their tasks without sufficient food, and exposed to the elements, they soon began to die of exhaustion and pestilence, until the survivors sickened and fell over the bodies of the dead. All were enslaved except the Athenians and the Sicilian Greeks. Among these were many men of culture and refinement; and a tradition recites that not a few of these gained the esteem of their masters by enacting for them the plays of the Greek dramatists. Demosthenes and Nicias were both condemned to death, the only favor shown them being the concession of suicide instead of a public execution.

Soon after the appalling disaster just recorded, the news was carried into Athens by a barber of Piræus. So incredible appeared his story that the authorities put him to the torture. Presently, however, straggling fugitives began to arrive with confirmation of the awful intelligence. The Athenians were first furious and then gave themselves up to despair. It was seen at a glance that no power could much longer prevent the capture of the city by the Lacedæmonians. Nevertheless the authorities began to bestir themselves for the public defense. It was, however, the misfortune of the city of Athens that military success was constantly necessary to preserve the loyalty of her dependent cities and islands. Whenever the tide turned against her, these dependencies would not only abandon her interests, but enter into leagues for her destruction.

[1] This eclipse occurred August 27, B. C. 413.

DESTRUCTION OF THE ATHENIAN ARMY IN SICILY.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

In the present emergency the first to revolt was the island of Chios. The insurrection was instigated by Alcibiades, who, now residing at Sparta, lost no opportunity to inflict on his country some humiliating injury. He crossed over in person to the island, and aided the insurgents in overthrowing the party favorable to Athens. The islands of Zeos and Lesbos and the city of Miletus followed the example of Chios; and the Ionian cities on the coast of Asia Minor were given up by a treaty with Tissaphernes to their masters, the Persians. Samos, however, remained faithful to the Athenians. The oligarchy in that island was suppressed, and Samos became a kind of stronghold of Athenian influence in the Ægean.

In the mean time, Athens began to recover from her overthrow. The reserve of one thousand talents which had lain undisturbed in the Acropolis since the administration of Pericles, was now voted by the assembly to be used in the construction of a fleet. When this was completed, an expedition was fitted out against Chios, and that island was rapidly overrun and restored to its former relations. A victory was also gained over the Lacedæmonian squadron at Miletus, but that city still remained under the control of the Persians. The Spartans soon prepared another armament so powerful in numbers and equipment that its ability to overcome all opposition could not be reasonably questioned.

Alcibiades, in the mean time, from his long-continued duplicity, had gained the distrust and aversion of the Spartan government. The Ephors first denounced him as a traitor and then condemned him to death, but he escaped the penalty by fleeing to the court of Tissaphernes. He at once set about to persuade the satrap to adopt a new line of policy with regard to the Greek states. The wily Greek soon convinced him that the interest of Persia required that the Grecian commonwealths should be allowed to wear each other out in mutual conflicts to the end that the Great King might absorb the fragments into his empire. It was this influence aided by bribery that prevented the activity of the Spartan squadron. Persia was thus won over to favor the Athenian cause. The real purpose of Alcibiades was to get himself restored to his country. He communicated with the Athenian generals at Samos, and made it appear that he was able to secure a Persian alliance and would gladly do so on condition of his own restoration, and the substitution of an oligarchy for the democratic form of government in Athens. A proposition to this effect was brought forward in the assembly by Pisander. The democracy was furious at the proposal; but the necessity of the state was so great that a vote was procured in favor of the overthrow of the constitution of Clisthenes. Pisander was then dispatched at the head of an embassy to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes with respect to the proposed alliance; but when the ambassadors were received by the satrap, Alcibiades, speaking on his behalf and knowing his own inability to perform what he had promised, made such extravagant demands of his countrymen that they were obliged to break up the conference.

In the mean time oligarchical clubs were multiplied in Athens, and under their influence the democracy was subjected to a reign of terror. Assassination became the order of the day, and it was soon evident that the revolution in the government would be accomplished. Pisander, on his return from Asia proposed a committee of ten to draft a new constitution. The instrument when produced provided first for the overthrow of the existing magistrates; secondly, for the abolition of all official salaries; thirdly, for the appointment of a council of Four Hundred, with whom the principal functions of governments should be lodged; and fourthly, for the limitation of the right of suffrage to a body of five thousand citizens. The revolution was completed by force. The old senate was ejected by the Four Hundred, who were installed in the ancient seats of authority. Then followed proscriptions and confiscations. The principal leaders of the democracy were assassinated. The next movement was to send an embassy to Sparta with overtures for peace; but Agis, the king, preferred to compel a settlement on his own terms. He accordingly made an attempt to capture Athens,

but being foiled, he concluded to enter into negotiations with the Athenians.

It was one of the peculiarities of this stormy period in Greek history that the democracy, which had been overthrown in its original stronghold, was still upheld in Samos. The army now in that island, led by Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, remained loyal to the old institutions of Athens. It was through the influence of these leaders that Alcibiades, who was now on the side of democracy, but always on the side of himself, was elected one of the generals of the army. That distinguished patriot began at once to magnify his office by passing to and fro in the assumed character of an ambassador between Asia and continental Greece. Thus would he induce the belief among his democratic countrymen that he was busy with the construction of the Perso-Athenian alliance.

As soon as the Four Hundred heard of the condition of affairs in Samos they sent thither an embassy to explain the change in the government and to demand the acceptance of the same by the people. The envoys were met with disdain both by the citizens and soldiery. A proposition had already been made in the army to proceed against Athens and overthrow the usurpers, and but for the influence of the more dispassionate there is no doubt that such a movement would have been undertaken. As it was the ambassadors were dismissed with ill-disguised contempt. They were told that the Four Hundred must surrender their places, and that the old Senate must be restored as conditions precedent to the maintenance of peace.

Already in Athens there were symptoms of an anti-oligarchic revolution. The extreme leaders under the new *régime* had gone to the length of proposing that a Spartan garrison should be established in Piræus. The Lacedæmonians, however, did not fall in with this scheme, but sent a fleet to cruise in the neighboring waters, until a more favorable season. In the mean time the democracy gained constantly, and in a short time an assembly was held at Piræus by which the old forms of government were again instituted.

About this time a revolt broke out in Eubœa, instigated by the Spartans and supported by their fleet. Athens was astounded to learn that her greatest and nearest dependency had renounced her friendship and assumed her freedom. An Athenian fleet hastily sent to the rescue was attacked and annihilated by the Lacedæmonian squadron. Athens was thus left naked to her enemies. The popular voice clamored in the streets, and an assembly was called in the Pnyx. A vote was passed by which the Four Hundred were deposed and the Senate reïnstated in its ancient authority. The old constitution was restored in all of its features, except that the restriction by which the right of suffrage was limited to five thousand citizens was allowed to stand. Those who had participated in the late oligarchy were permitted to leave Athens or to hide themselves in obscurity. Only two of the leaders, Antiphon and Archiptolemus, were condemned and executed, and a few others were punished by the confiscation of their property, or the destruction of their houses. In a short time the office of archon was recreated, and this was followed by a vote recalling Alcibiades and his friends from exile.

In the conduct of the war the next important movement was a naval battle between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians in the strait between Sestos and Abydos. The former were victorious, and set up a trophy on the headland of Cynossema, from which place the battle takes its name. The Spartan squadron, now lying at Eubœa, hearing of the disaster which had overtaken their friends, sailed for the Hellespont, but while doubling Mount Athos the fleet was caught in a storm and totally wrecked. The remnant of the other armament which had survived the battle was presently overtaken by Alcibiades, and only saved from total destruction by being drawn ashore, when the vessels were defended by the Persians. A short time afterwards, however, Mindarus was enticed to sea, attacked by the Athenian squadron, followed to the shore, and slain. Every Spartan ship was either taken or destroyed. The victory was so decisive as to recover for the Athenians the whole of the Propontis.

The Persians now actively aided the Lace-

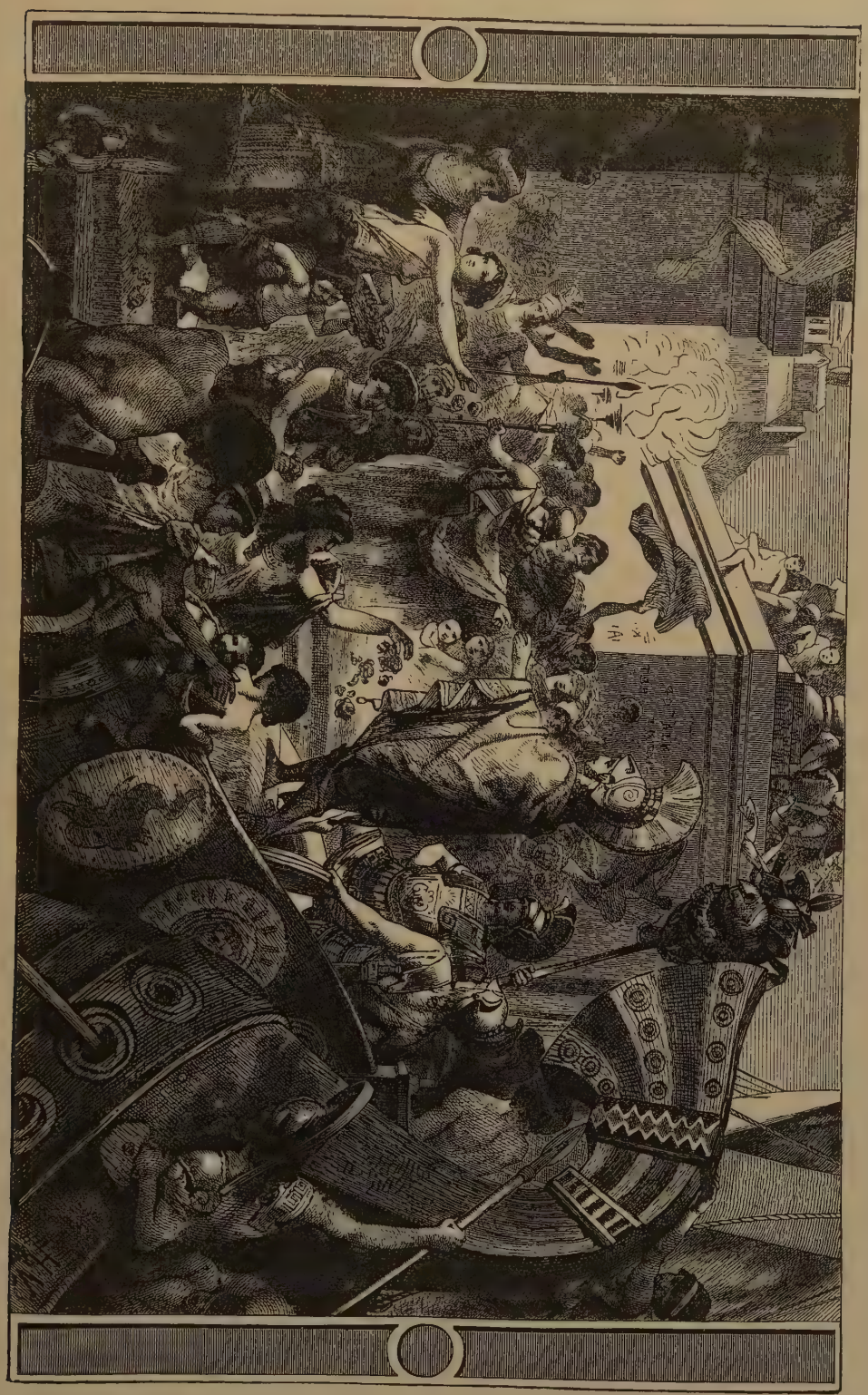
dæmonians, but the energy of the Athenian fleets, now directed by Alcibiades, secured, in the years B. C. 409 and 408, complete control of the Hellespontine countries. Until this time the banished Alcibiades had not returned to Attica. In the spring of B. C. 407 he determined to avail himself of his recall and make a public visit to Athens. He accordingly sailed for Piræus, where he was met by nearly the whole population of the city and escorted in triumph to the scene of his earliest career. Before the Senate and the Assembly he protested his innocence of the charges preferred against him, and the sentences of confiscation and banishment were unanimously revoked. As for himself, he now through policy gave great attention to the national superstitions, and publicly conducted the procession in the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. In the following September he put to sea, and was presently worsted by the Lacedæmonian fleet in the battle of Notium. His conduct, moreover, became as reckless and dissolute as ever. The news of his proceedings was carried to Athens, and the good democracy of that city voted him out of command and gave his place to CONON.

Meanwhile, Callicratidas succeeded Lysander in the command of the Spartan squadron. He was a man of great energy, and soon diffused a new life in the moribund frame of his country. Shortly after assuming control of the fleet he gained a victory over the Athenians in the harbor of Mitylene, but Conon maintained his position until reënforcements arrived from Athens, and then took his station near the islands of Arginusæ, close to the coast of Asia Minor. Here the Spartans gave battle. The Athenian fleet numbered one hundred and fifty vessels, and the Lacedæmonian one hundred and twenty. The conflict was long and desperate. After losing seventy-seven ships and their brave commander, who was thrown overboard and drowned, the Spartans were disastrously defeated. The battle was followed, however, by an event which took away the spirit of the victors. Twelve of the Athenian ships, which were disabled during the fight, were through some carelessness left drifting helplessly with their crews of wounded and dying men until a sudden storm, swooping down upon them, sent the whole to the bottom of the sea.

The Athenians immediately summoned the commanding generals—except Conon, who had followed the remnant of the enemy's fleet to Mitylene—to answer for this neglect. Passion ran high, and in spite of the protest of Socrates and a few other cool-headed patriots, the assembly voted that the commanders should be put to death. They were accordingly compelled to drink the fatal hemlock. Among those who thus perished was the young Pericles, the promising son of the great statesman, and Aspasia.

After the death of Callicratidas the command of the Spartan fleet was again conferred on Lysander. He—after the year B. C. 405 had been mostly consumed in recuperating the squadron, and in negotiations with Cyrus the younger, now satrap of Asia Minor—laid siege to the Hellespontine town of Lampsacus. Thither he was followed by Conon, but the latter arrived too late to save the place from capture.

The Athenian fleet in September of B. C. 405 took its station at ÆGOSPOTAMI, or Goat River, on the opposite side of the channel from Lampsacus. The position was an exposed one, but the Athenians were over-confident, and for several days in succession they sailed into the open channel and offered battle to the Spartans. This, however, was declined. Lysander kept his forces in hand and waited his opportunity. Alcibiades, who now lived in a castle in the neighborhood, and was to all appearances out of politics, came down to his countrymen, and besought them to find a stronger position; but his precautions were treated with indifference. The Athenians scattered themselves about their camp and gave no further thought to the situation. On the fifth day of these dilatory proceedings, Lysander, having watched his opportunity, swooped down upon the Athenians while a large part of them were dispersed through the country, and inflicted upon them the most ruinous defeat of the whole war. Of the one hundred and eighty ships which composed the squadron only eight or ten succeeded in



RETURN OF ALCIBIADES TO ATHENS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

escaping. The remainder were either captured or destroyed. The prisoners, to the number of three or four thousand, including the generals—with the exception of Conon, who escaped and found a hiding-place in Cyprus—were condemned and put to death! The whole force was annihilated.

Athens was left without a shadow of defense, except what measures she could extemporize, against the coming doom. When the Paralus[1] arrived at Piræus and the news was known, there was universal despair. Xenophon declares that on that night no man slept. It was now a question of *existence* with her who had so long been mistress of the sea. Two out of the three harbors of the city were blocked up in the vain hope of defending the third. Lysander was in no haste. The Athenian supplies from the Euxine were wholly cut off, and from afar Famine and Sparta both lifted a sword against the doomed city.

Beginning his progress towards the capital, Lysander compelled the garrisons of the various towns *en route* to quit their places and repair to Athens. In every city the democratic form of government was overthrown, and an oligarchy, consisting of ten members with a Spartan *Harmost* at the head, appointed in its stead. In their desperation, the people of Athens gathered in an assembly and voted a general amnesty. The prisons were opened, and all except a few of the worst criminals were liberated. Then the oligarchic and democratic factions swore an oath of mutual forgiveness, and agreed henceforth to labor only for the common weal.

Finally, Lysander made his appearance. With a fleet of one hundred and fifty galleys he landed at Ægina, and then proceeded to blockade Piræus. Salamis was ravaged by the army, which marched without opposition to the very gates of Athens. Inside the walls, however, determination was mixed with despair, and the first proposals made to them by the Spartans were rejected. The people began to die of hunger, and yet Archestratus was imprisoned for proposing to accept the proffered terms. After three months of dreadful suffering, the spirit of the people was at last completely broken, and Theramenes was sent to Sparta to conclude with the Ephors the best treaty which they would grant.

The states in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, more particularly Corinth and Thebes, insisted that the very name of Athens should be blotted out, and the residue of her population sold into slavery; but the Spartans themselves interfered to prevent so brutal a proceeding. One of the Ephors even ventured on a figure of speech, and declared that Sparta would never consent that one of the eyes of Greece should be put out. Still the terms were sufficiently severe and humiliating. The Long Walls of Athens should be thrown down. The fortifications of the Piræus and Phalerum should be razed. The territorial limits of the Athenians should be contracted to Attica. All foreign possessions should be given up. All ships of war should be surrendered. All exiles should be unconditionally restored. The Athenians should become the allies of the Spartans. These terms, hard as they were, were immediately accepted by the assembly, and it only remained for the Athenians to comply with the conditions.

The winter had now worn away. In March of B. C. 404, the city was formally surrendered. It was the last act in a war which, through every grade of ferocity, had continued for twenty-seven years. Lysander at once proceeded to exact the fulfillment of the terms of the treaty. The dock-yards were burned and the arsenals destroyed. All the Athenian galleys except twelve were sent to Sparta. Then came the demolition of the fortifications. It was no light task, for the works were of great solidity and massiveness. The overthrow of the Long Walls was a task tedious and difficult. But the Spartans, in mockery, converted the work into a festival! Bands of flute-players and dancers wreathed with flowers accompanied the workmen, and as the heavy stones were pried from their beds and cast down, shout after shout echoed the downfall of Athenian glory. Nor did the demolition cease until not one stone was left upon another. She who, by the splendor of

[1] The *Paralus* was the commander's galley in an Athenian fleet, corresponding to the flag-ship in a modern navy.

her genius, had diffused a lustrous light into the abodes of barbarism, was left naked to her enemies—a pitiable spectacle of wretchedness and despair.

As soon as the Spartans had completed their work and the dismantled city was left to herself, there was a revival of faction. The oligarchic minority was reënforced by the return of many exiles who owed their banishment to democratic votes. Among these the most prominent character was CRITIAS, the uncle of Plato. He, with Theramenes, having organized clubs and perfected arrangements for a revolution, invited Lysander to return from Samos, whither he had gone after the capitulation of Athens, and aid by his presence and influence in the contemplated *coup d' état* by which an oligarchy was to be established over the Athenians. A proposition was then made in the assembly that a committee of thirty members be appointed to revise the constitution and provide for the future government of the city. Lysander himself addressed the assembly, and informed them that their personal safety depended upon an affirmative vote. Of course it was so recorded. Critias and Theramenes headed the list of committeemen, who were henceforth known as the Thirty Tyrants.

It will be remembered that Samos showed herself to be the last stronghold of Greek democracy. This island was accordingly invaded by Lysander, after the conquest of Attica had been completed, and, like the mother state, was soon driven to submission. This was the completion of the work of the Lacedæmonian fleet in the Ægean. As soon as terms of surrender had been accepted and the government settled on a new basis satisfactory to Lysander, he sailed for Sparta. No other general of those hitherto sent out by the Ephors had ever returned so completely victorious. He brought home the spoils and figure-heads of all the ships which he had taken. The booty was enormous, and besides what he had taken by force he turned over to the treasury four hundred and seventy talents which had been given him by the Persians for the prosecution of the war.

In Athens the Thirty proceeded to organize a reign of terror. Butchery was the order of the day. Sometimes there was a formal condemnation of the accused; sometimes there was none. The newly appointed senators—mere tools of the Tyrants—were required in voting to deposit their pebbles openly on a table in front of their masters—this on questions of life and death! Bands of assassins were hired to complete the work of exterminating the democracy. At the last a proscription list was made out, and the adherents of the Thirty were permitted to insert therein what names soever they pleased.

The object became plunder rather than political vengeance. No such scenes had ever before been witnessed in Athens. Neither rank nor virtue was spared. The orator Lysias and his brother Polemarchus were among the condemned. Theramenes, refusing to participate in the diabolical business, was himself denounced by Critias in the senate-house, and though clinging to an altar was dragged away to execution. When given the cup of hemlock he swallowed the draught, threw a drop of the poison on the floor, and exclaimed, "Here's a health to the gentle Critias." It was amid such scenes that the liberties of Greece went out in darkness.

It was in the midst of these proscriptions, but not by means of them, that Alcibiades met his fate. From his castle in Thracian Chersonesus he had watched the downfall of Athens and the progress of the oligarchical revolution. When the proscription began he became apprehensive of danger, and with good reason, for the Thirty had already included his name in a list of the condemned. Sacrificing a great part of his property, he fled for safety, with as much of his wealth as he could carry with him, to the court of Pharnabazus, satrap of Phrygia. From him he sought the privilege of continuing his flight to Susa, where he thought to play the same part with Darius that Themistocles had played with Artaxerxes. But Pharnabazus refused him conduct through the province, and in the meantime Lysander sent a dispatch to the satrap to have the Athenian put to death. Acting under this order, a band of assassins set fire to the house of Alcibiades

and stood ready to cut him down. With unflinching courage he seized his sword and rushed forth upon the dastards; but before he could reach them they pierced him through with their javelins. Thus, in a foreign land and unfriended, save by the woman Timandra, who remained faithful to him until his death, and performed alone for her brilliant and eccentric lord the rites of sepulture, perished the famous Alcibiades, who, but for a certain want of principle, which was indeed but the common vice of his countrymen, would have been one of the greatest Greeks of his age.

DEATH OF ALCIBIADES.

It was a part of the strange, bad temper of the Hellenic states that they always turned against the strongest. Sparta was now, after the complete humiliation—almost extinction—of her rival, destined to feel the force of this law. A reäction took place in the Greek mind unfavorable alike to the Lacedæmonians and their leaders. Lysander himself, after a career of unparalleled popularity, power, and honor became, in the course of a single year, an object of suspicion and hatred. Even Thebes and Corinth turned their sympathies to the fallen Athens. A band of Athenian exiles, temporarily domiciled in Bœotia, found a leader in THRASYBULUS, seized the fortress of Phylé, and bade defiance to the oligarchy. The Thirty marched out with a force of Spartans and native cavalry, but were several times repulsed. Nor was it certain but that the troops whom they commanded, at least such of them as were Athenian born, sympathized with Thrasybulus rather than with their masters. Encouraged by his success and the manifestations of public support, the Greek patriot abandoned Phylé and seized Piræus. A large force was immediately sent against him, and a severe battle was fought, in which the army of the Thirty was completely routed. Among the best trophies of the field was the dead body of Critias, who was killed in the engagement.

The death of this unprincipled tyrant threw the government into the hands of the more moderate of the oligarchical party, and a new revolution was effected, by which the Thirty were deposed, and a council of Ten appointed

in their stead. Such were the mutterings of discontent that the new governors felt constrained to call upon PAUSANIAS, the Spartan king, for assistance. The latter at the head of an army marched into Attica, and had several indecisive combats with Thrasybulus. But a desire for peace now pervaded all parties. Pausanias himself was at enmity with Lysander, and for this reason was less severe in determining the terms of settlement. With singular liberality, considering the circumstances, it was agreed that the Athenian exiles now under the banner of Thrasybulus should be unconditionally re-admitted to Athens, and as for the rest full amnesty should be granted to all except the Thirty and the Ten.

As soon as this settlement was agreed to, Thrasybulus and the exiles returned in triumph to the city. There was a universal revival of democracy. An assembly was immediately convened, and a complete undoing of the work of the oligarchy was determined on. The whole field where tyranny had so long cultivated her brambles was plowed up to the subsoil and harrowed to a level. The laws of Solon and Draco were revised by a committee and adopted by the assembly and the Senate.[1] The old *régime* was revived in every part, and every effort was made by the new government to obliterate forever from public memory and the records of the state the history and infamy of the recent tyrannies of the Thirty and the Ten.

It was at this juncture that SOCRATES, greatest spirit of the pagan world, was arrested and brought to his death. He fell a victim to superstition. As early as B. C. 423 he had been attacked—but not with great bitterness—by Aristophanes, in the comedy of the *Clouds*. From this, however, he rallied and continued his teaching. For twenty-four years he disseminated his views on those subjects concerning which men have always felt the deepest interest. Towards the close of the fifth century he fell under the suspicion of heterodoxy in the matter of the national religion. Nor is it likely that his resolute and glorious genius did tamely bow to the absurdities which he as a teacher was expected to uphold and honor. In B. C. 399 an open accusation was brought against him by three fellows whose base spirits were fit for nothing else—Meletus, a seller of leather; Anytus, a third-rate poet; and Lycon, a bad rhetorician.

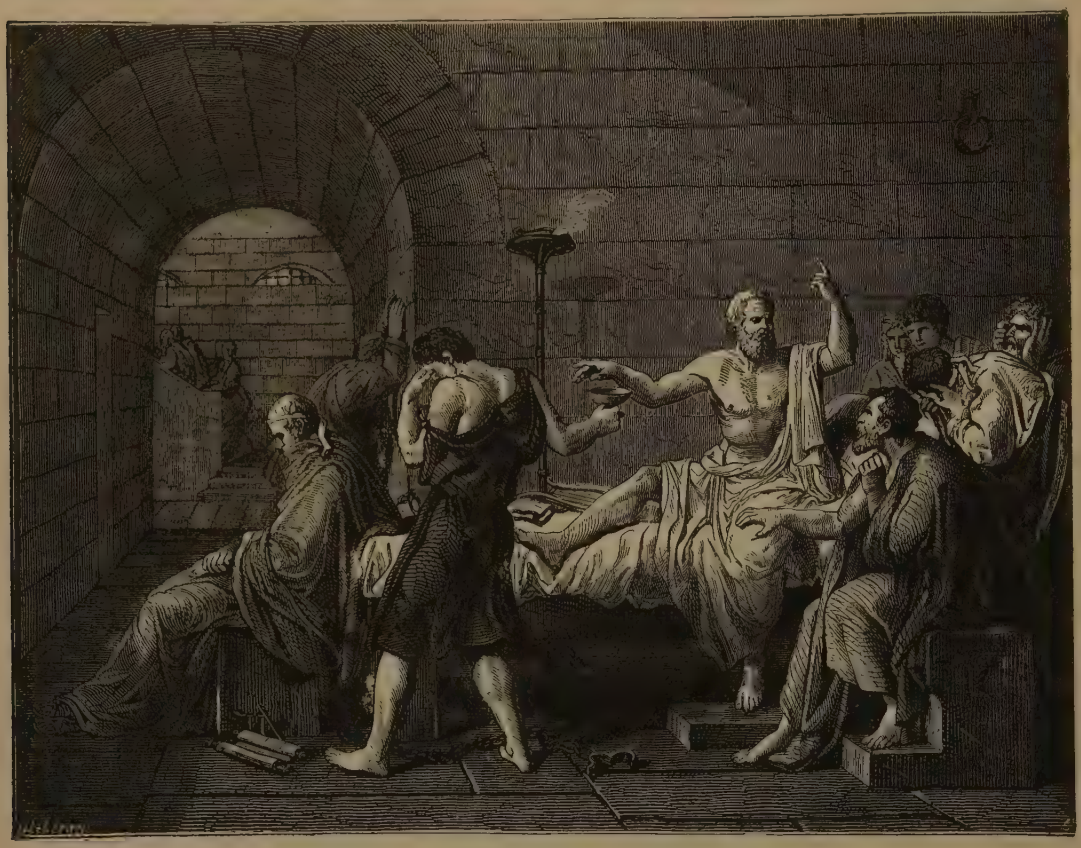
This trio charged the philosopher before the assembly with neglecting the worship of the gods, with introducing new deities, and also with corrupting the youth of the city. Socrates said little in defense, but rather provoked his fate by a bold avowal of his principles. A small majority was obtained against him. Even then by the use of means within his reach he might have escaped death, but with lofty disdain he allowed the bigotry of his countrymen to take its course, and he was sentenced to drink the hemlock. He told his judges that instead of being put to death he ought to be supported at public expense to teach in the Prytaneum! He would neither retract, nor modify, nor explain, but stood like a Titan at bay.

The sacred vessel which had just gone to the annual festival at Delos, until the return of which it was unlawful to put any one to death, did not again reach the city for thirty days. During the interval Socrates remained in prison. Nor was his manner of life much changed from what it was before his condemnation. He continued to converse with his friends. He refused to escape when the means were afforded of his doing so. He spoke cheerfully of his death and of his hope of immortality. It was the custom of the Greeks when one recovered from sickness to sacrifice a cock to Æsculapius. When the last hour came and the cup of hemlock was calmly drained, the philosopher said to his friend Crito who stood with other comrades beside him: "Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius; discharge the debt, and by no means omit it." Thus was eclipsed the sublimest genius of antiquity.

[1] It was in the inscription of these revised statutes of Athens on the walls of the Pœcilé Stoa that the full Ionic alphabet of twenty-four letters was for the first time publicly employed. Its use for some time previously had been common among the Athenian scholars, but for the public acts of the government the old Attic alphabet of sixteen or eighteen letters had always been hitherto used.

But his work survived. The teachings of Socrates can never fail to interest and instruct the seeker after truth. Every enlightened age will drink from the exhaustless fountain of his wisdom. The enunciation of his doctrines marked an epoch, not only in the ethics of Greece, but in the morality of the human race. His contribution to the wisdom of mankind was greater than that which any other philosopher has brought into the store-house of ages. The breadth and profundity of his understanding, his sturdy defense of the truth, his generous nature, his masterful grasp of the greatest themes, his honest assaults on error, and the pungent speech and dramatic method in which his immortal aphorisms are set before us,—all conspire to stamp him as the loftiest genius of the ancient world.

Socrates turned the mind of man from idle speculation to practical ethics—from vagaries to morals. His theme was human conduct. He sought to impress upon his hearers a conviction of the barrenness of those speculative systems in which the Greek so much delighted. He would reduce the current beliefs to an absurdity. His weapon was dialogue; his method, interrogation. His antagonist—real or imaginary—was a Sophist whose propositions were admitted only to be quickly ground into dust under a *reductio ad absurdum*.



LAST HOURS OF SOCRATES.—After the painting by David.

Woe to the fallacy-monger who fell into the power of this inexorable and humane giant! The world beholds him yet, and will ever behold him as he sits among his companions and delivers to them his immortal sayings. His magnificent, ugly face; his tremendous head; his beetling brows, and eyes that darted their Promethean fire into the soul of mystery and scorched the wings of falsehood—it is Socrates, whom Plato and Xenophon have pictured, whom hemlock could not kill.

CHAPTER XLVII.—SPARTAN AND THEBAN ASCENDENCIES.

WHAT has been called the SPARTAN SUPREMACY in Grecian history may be dated from the battle of Ægospotami, in B. C. 405. That conflict decided the fate of Athens, and there was none other of the Hellenic states at all able to compete either on land or sea with the Lacedæmonians. The latter, therefore, as if by right, assumed the mastery of Greece, and for a while her dominion was as unlimited as it was arbitrary.

Among her first acts was the punishment of certain states that had in some way injured her interests or insulted her pride. The Eleans had on a certain occasion excluded the Spartans from participation in the Olympic games, and more recently had refused permission to King Agis to offer sacrifices in the temple of Zeus. The inclination of Elis to the democratic rather than the oligarchic form of government was especially distasteful to the Lacedæmonians, who now determined to regulate the affairs of their western neighbors and punish them for previous misconduct.

In B. C. 402 Agis began a campaign against Elis, but was stopped by his superstition. An earthquake aroused his fears, and the expedition was postponed until the following year. With the ensuing summer, however, the campaign was again undertaken. The allies, even including a body of Athenians, joined the expedition, and the Eleans were soon reduced to submission. The pious Agis performed his sacrifices and dictated the terms of peace.

In the mean time, Lysander, now a private but ostentatious citizen of Sparta, became a source of trouble in that state. His ambition had grown with what it fed on, and he contemplated no less than a revolution of the government, by which he hoped to have Agis set aside and himself made king. To this end he consulted the oracles of Zeus at Dodona and at Ammon, in distant Libya, as well as that of Apollo at Delphi; but, though he used the persuasive power of money, the answers were adverse to his schemes. He succeeded, however, in getting Leotychides, the eldest son of Agis, set aside, on the ground that he was an illegitimate son of Alcibiades. But AGESILAUS, a younger son, born of another mother, obtained the throne, and soon became a popular and efficient ruler. A conspiracy was organized against him on the ground of his lameness, an old oracle having warned the Spartans to beware "of a lame reign." But Lysander, hoping to use the new king for his own purposes, explained that a lame *reign* and a lame *king* were two very different things; so the insurrection was suppressed, and the leaders put to death.

Nearly all the states of Greece were now subject to Sparta. The system of government, established through the agency of Lysander in the dependencies, was that of the *Decarchy*, or Council of Ten, under the leadership of a Spartan *Harmost*, or governor. It was essentially a tyranny, and the Lacedæmonian supremacy, which was based thereon, contained no element of strength or perpetuity. There was, moreover, in the present state of affairs a certain inconsistency which weakened the Spartan authority. The state had fought through the whole of the Peloponnesian wars for the ostensible purpose of liberating Greece from the dominion of Athens. What good to substitute the dominion of Sparta? On the whole, the Greek mind sympathized with the Ionian race and the democratic tendencies of the Athenians rather than with the austere Dorians and their oligarchy.

Meanwhile, a stirring drama had been enacted in Asia Minor. The conspiracy of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes had gathered head and broken into nothing at the battle of Cunaxa. The part

which the Spartans bore in the great campaign, their heroism in the battle, their escape from the clutches of the Persians, their celebrated retreat and return into Europe, have already been recounted in the History of Persia.[1]

As soon as the great expedition had collapsed, the satrapy held by Cyrus was conferred on Tissaphernes. The latter began his administration by attacking the Ionian cities, and the Spartans were obliged to send out an army under Dercyllidas for their protection. After holding his own for a year and gaining some advantages over the Persians, he was confronted by Pharnabazus, who secured the services of Conon the Athenian as commander of a fleet to operate against the Lacedæmonians.

King Agesilaüs himself went to Asia, in B. C. 396, and took command of the Peloponnesian army. After wintering at Ephesus he advanced upon Sardis and won a victory over Tissaphernes on the banks of the Pactolus. The latter was soon afterwards put to death at the instance of Parysatis, who still proved herself to be the mother of mischief as well as of Artaxerxes. The satrapy of Lydia was transferred to Tithraustes, and he soon induced Agesilaüs to withdraw into the country of his friend Pharnabazus, satrap of Phrygia. The latter had always had the confidence of the Spartans, and he now protested with the king in such manly terms that the latter was induced to withdraw to Thebé, on the gulf of Elæus; and from that place he was erelong obliged to repair to Sparta to protect his own country from impending dangers.

For, in the mean time, the energies of Conon, backed by Persian gold, had brought into existence and equipped a fleet superior to that of the Lacedæmonians. The appearance of this armament in the western waters had the effect to incite in the island of Rhodes a democratic insurrection by which the oligarchy had been suppressed. Afterwards, in August of B. C. 394, the allied squadron of Sparta and Phœnicia was overtaken at the peninsula of Cnidus, in Caria, and defeated with a loss of more than half of the armament. The effect of these successes of the enemies of Sparta was such as further to weaken her hold upon her dependent states and to hasten the day of the overthrow of her power.

About this time Timocrates, a prominent Rhodian, was dispatched to the leading Greek cities, well supplied with Persian gold, to induce a revolt against the Lacedæmonians. Thebes, Corinth, and Argos were all induced by his arguments to renounce the Spartan alliance, and hostilities were almost immediately begun. A quarrel occurred between the Locrians and Phocians respecting the ownership of a narrow strip of territory, and the former appealed to Thebes for aid. The Phocians on their part called on the Spartans for help, and the latter at once responded in full force under Lysander himself. After devastating the Phocian territory he proceeded to attack the town of Haliartus, where the insurgents were posted; but the latter made a desperate sally, defeated the Lacedæmonians and killed Lysander. In the following night, so complete was the Theban victory, the invaders disbanded, and left the country. A few days afterwards, when Pausanias, who expected to join Lysander at Haliartus, arrived, he found only the unburied Spartan dead of the recent battle. He was forced by the actual peril of the situation to accept the terms prescribed by the Thebans and withdraw to his own home. The victorious insurgents followed in his rear and virtually drove him beyond the border. Afraid to return to Sparta, the king found a hiding-place in the temple of Athene, at Tegea, and being condemned to death was obliged to save himself by remaining at the altar of the protecting goddess.

The effect of this decisive reversal of fortune was to strengthen and encourage the enemies of Spartan rule. Athens, Thebes, Corinth, and Argos now entered into a formal league against the Lacedæmonians. The Eubœans, the Ozolian Locrians, the Acarnanians, the Ambracians, the Leucadians, and the Thracian Chalcidicians were presently added to the alliance, which now made no

[1] See Book Sixth, pp. 367–369.

concealment of its purpose of open war. In the beginning of B. C. 394, the allies gathered at the isthmus of Corinth and bade defiance to the Peloponnesians. It was at this juncture that the Spartan Ephors, becoming with good reason more anxious for the safety of the country than for foreign conquest, recalled Agesilaüs from Asia Minor to defend his own dominions.

The Spartans rallied for the conflict with unusual energy. They advanced by way of Mantinea to Sicyon, where they were confronted by the allies, twenty-four thousand strong. The latter, however, fell back to the more defensible country in the immediate vicinity of Corinth. Here was fought a severe battle, in which the Spartans won an indecisive victory.

In the mean time Agesilaüs had left Asia Minor, and was approaching by the old Thracian route marked out by Xerxes. He was joined *en route* by the Ten Thousand Greeks, who were now making their way homewards from the Euxine. After reaching Phocis, Agesilaüs heard of the defeat and death of Pisander at the battle of Cnidus, but he concealed the news from the army. On the plain of CORONEA he was confronted by the allied army. The Thebans, who led the advance, made a headlong charge and broke the opposing lines, but in other parts of the field the Spartans were victorious. The Thebans turned about and fought their way back to their friends in one of the most desperate hand-to-hand conflicts recorded in Grecian history. Though the field remained to Agesilaüs, his success was so little decisive that the only mark of defeat on the side of the allies was their petition for the privilege to bury the dead. After the battle the Spartan king at once made his way into Peloponnesus, where he was received with great joy by the alarmed Lacedæmonians and their allies. In the three battles which had been recently fought, two on land and one at sea—Corinth, Coronea, Cnidus—the naval engagement had been especially disastrous to the Spartans, while the land conflicts had given them no decided advantage. On the sea, Conon and Pharnabazus, acting in concert, were sweeping every thing before them, and the Spartan dominion in the Ægean faded away more rapidly than it had been acquired by the battle of Ægospotami.

In the year B. C. 393, the allied fleet, having completed its work among the islands, bore down upon Greece. Presently the strange spectacle was witnessed of a friendly *Persian* armament lying in the harbor of Piræus! Pharnabazus, in his intense dislike of the Spartans, assented heartily to the plans of his colleague, Conon, who took advantage of the situation to secure the resurrection of Athens. The gold of Persia was freely used in the work of restoring the walls and fortifications of the city. Nor was the hearty aid given to this enterprise by the Thebans—at whose instance Athens had been dismantled and destroyed—a less conspicuous example of the mutability of parties among the Greeks. By the assistance thus lent by her former enemies most bitter and unrelenting, the capital city of Attica again assumed her place, and though shorn of her renown and glory, was soon a scene of busy life and ambitious projects.

The whole brunt of the war now fell on Corinth. The allies, attempting to penetrate Peloponnesus by way of the isthmus, were resisted by the Spartans, who from their headquarters at Sicyon ravaged the country along the gulf at will. They finally broke down a considerable portion of the long walls by which the city of Corinth was connected with her seaport of Lechæum, and also gained a victory over those who tried to prevent the demolition. An army of carpenters and masons was soon sent out from Athens, and the walls were quickly rebuilt; but Agesilaüs, by the aid of his brother Teleutias, who commanded the fleet, gained possession of Lechæum, and rendered the barricades of no further use to the city. Corinth herself was driven to the verge of capitulation, and a company of Thebans, who came as an embassy to sue for peace, were treated with insult and contempt by the king, who was now confident of his ability to inflict a complete discomfiture upon his enemies.

Just at this juncture an unexpected turn occurred in the relations of the parties.

Hitherto the important wing of a Greek army had always consisted of the *hoplites*, or heavy-armed soldiers. The *peltastæ*, or troops of light armor, had ever been regarded as of but secondary importance in battles. It was considered the business of the peltasts to skirmish—to annoy and distract the enemy rather than actually to beat him from the field or into the dust. That work was reserved for the hoplites, who came to the death grapple and were the actual combatants—the determining force of a Greek army.

Some of the allied forces in Corinth were at the time referred to under command of the Athenian IPHICRATES. For two years he had been engaged in the training of a body of peltasts with a view to making them more formidable in battle. For the coat-of-mail worn by the hoplites he substituted a linen corselet, which did not impede the freedom of the body. He lessened the weight and diameter of the shield. The length of the javelin and short sword hitherto carried by the peltast was increased one half. The new tactics laid stress upon rapidity of evolution in the field rather than upon the mere momentum of the column.

Having got his corps well disciplined, Iphicrates succeeded in several unimportant engagements in inflicting considerable injury upon the enemy. An opportunity now offered to test the value of the new service on a more extensive scale. A body of hoplites from Amycla, desiring to participate in a festival at home, were escorted by a division of Spartans, also hoplites; and when the latter were returning, Iphicrates, with what appeared to all a piece of reckless audacity, drew out his corps of peltasts, and gave them battle.

The conflict grew sharp and then furious. The heavy-armed Spartans began to fall on every side under the assaults of their more active and less encumbered assailants. They were bewildered at the novel and dangerous onsets of the new soldiery. After a large part of their number had been cut down without ability on their part to inflict much injury in return, they broke and fled. They were pursued, decimated, driven into the sea. The effect was such that Agesilaüs withdrew from before Corinth and returned in a very humble plight to Sparta. Iphicrates thereupon sallied forth and retook nearly all the towns in the eastern and northern districts of Corinth.

The Spartans, now thoroughly alarmed by the successes of the allies, and especially by the exposure of their coast to the ravages of Conon's fleet, liable at any moment to drop upon them, concluded that it was time for peace. They accordingly opened negotiations by sending ANTALCIDAS, their best diplomatist, to the court of Tiribazus, who had succeeded Tithraustes as satrap of Ionia. For the time, however, the ambassador was unsuccessful. The representatives of the allies were able to thwart his efforts, although Tiribazus was in hearty sympathy with the Spartan cause. It was at this juncture that, by the connivance of the satrap and the Persian court, Conon was seized—a perfidious act—and imprisoned. Though he soon afterwards made his escape and returned to his old refuge at the court of Evagoras in Cyprus, he never again took part in the public affairs of his country.

By this time Athens had sufficiently revived to send out a fleet of forty triremes to recover her possessions on the Hellespont. The command of the expedition was given to Thrasybulus, who had complete success in his mission. The Athenian authority was reëstablished, and the toll of ten per cent reïmposed on all vessels sailing out of the Euxine. After this work was accomplished, Thrasybulus sailed to Lesbos and deposed the Spartan governor of the island. Landing on the coast of Pamphylia, he began to lay contributions on the inhabitants; but the latter gathered a force, attacked his camp by night, and killed him. Like many another illustrious Greek who had served his country in the day of her need, he was doomed to perish in an ignominious way on the shore of a foreign land.

The attention of the Athenians was next called to the condition of affairs in the island of Ægina. It will be remembered that Lysander had restored the exiled Æginetans and reëstablished the oligarchy. Without sufficient resources to create a regular navy, the

people of the island began to fit out privateers to prey upon Athenian commerce. The Lacedæmonian commander, Teleutias, went to Ægina with a small squadron, and turned the attention of the buccaneers to an enterprise hardly less dangerous but somewhat more honorable. This was an attempt to capture Piræus. With a fleet of only twelve ships he sailed audaciously into the bay, landed his men on the quays, seized all the portable merchandise which was exposed about the warehouses, robbed most of the ships in the harbor, and sailed back to Ægina.

In the mean time Antalcidas, accompanied by the Ionian satrap Tiribazus, had made his way to the Persian court at Susa. The Great King was now more inclined than hitherto to favor the establishment of a general peace. After much negotiation the conditions were finally determined; and in B. C. 387 the ambassadors returned to Asia Minor to promulgate the terms of the treaty. The forces with which Antalcidas was now backed were so overwhelming, both by land and sea, as to render resistance well-nigh hopeless. Ambassadors from the Grecian states were invited to meet Tiribazus, and before them, under the royal seal of Persia, the treaty was delivered. It was couched in the following terms: "King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia and the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus should belong to him. He also thinks it just to leave all the other Grecian cities, both small and great, independent—except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which are to belong to Athens, as of old. Should any parties refuse to accept this peace, I will make war upon them, along with those who are of the same mind, both by land and sea, with ships and with money."

Such was the celebrated PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS, dictated, as it was, by an Asiatic monarch, the threats of whose ancestors had been laughed to scorn by the Greeks in the heroic days of old. Now, however, the conditions were tamely accepted by a degenerate race, whose resources had been consumed in internecine strife and whose patriotism had perished in the miserable heats of faction. The only incident in the acceptance of the treaty by the Greek states was that Thebes, instead of taking the oath in her own name only, persisted in swearing for the whole Bœotian confederacy, of which she claimed to be the head.

It was this assumption of something more than local independence on the part of the Thebans that gave to the Spartans their first excuse for interfering with the terms of the treaty. They accordingly insisted, at the earliest opportunity, that the other Bœotian cities, as well as Thebes herself, should be locally independent. These cities, with the exception of Orchomenus and Thespiæ, all preferred to remain in their present relations as members of the confederacy; but Sparta, determining to have her will by force, proceeded to establish garrisons in the two towns which favored her views, and at the same time undertook the resurrection of Platæa, in order to make the same a basis of her future operations in Central Greece. After the destruction of this place, as previously narrated, the Platæans who escaped destruction became domiciled in Athens, and by intermarriages were now distinguished only by tradition from the other inhabitants; but when their city was rebuilt, most of these descendants of the exiled families were induced to return. Thebes, meanwhile, looked on and witnessed these insulting proceedings without the present power to interfere.

As soon as this work was accomplished in the North, Sparta found time to settle an old grudge which she held against the town of Mantinea, in Arcadia. There was nothing more specific to be alleged against this place than that in the course of the Lacedæmonian wars the Mantineans had always been unfriendly, supplying encouragement to the enemies of Sparta and rejoicing in her misfortunes. Agesipolis was now dispatched to punish the spirit rather than the overt acts of Mantinea. When the city refused to demolish her walls, the Spartans dammed up the river Ophis until the back-water, rising against the bulwarks of sun-dried bricks, undermined them. The people were then obliged to surrender at discretion. All the fortifications were destroyed, and the city was

resolved into the five villages of which it was originally composed. Over each of these villages a petty oligarchy was established, and then the Lacedæmonians retired to their own place.

Meanwhile, the city of Olynthus, at the head of the Toronaic gulf, in the southernmost of the Chalcidician peninsulas, had become the center of a formidable confederacy. Nearly all the towns in that region, with the exception of Acanthus and Apollonia, had entered a league for the maintenance of their independence. But the two just named, being under the influence of oligarchies, and threatened with war by the confederate cities, appealed to Sparta for aid. Their ambassadors were supported by Amyntas of Macedon, and the Lacedæmonians were not hard to convince of the propriety of taking up arms against Olynthus. An army of ten thousand was at once put into the field, and two thousand of these were hurried to the North.

This advance force gained some advantages over the league, and Potidæa was won over to Sparta. When the remainder of the Lacedæmonian army, under the command of Phœbidas, was sent forward, it passed through Bœotia, and by a singular act of treachery gained possession of Thebes. The Thebans had joined the Olynthian alliance, and thus aggravated the existing animosity of the Spartans, but the latter concealed their purposes, and acting in conjunction with Leontiades, one of the Theban polemarchs, laid a plan to overthrow the government. It happened that at this time the festival of the Thesmophoria was celebrating in Thebes, and that in accordance with the custom the Cadmea or citadel, was given up to the women. While the city was thus in a defenseless condition, Phœbidas, pretending to continue his march, suddenly turned about, seized the Cadmea, arrested and put to death Ismenias, the popular leader, and compelled three hundred of his followers to fly for their lives.

The sequel of this audacious villainy was in keeping with the Spartan character. With profound duplicity the Ephors, *who had authorized the act*, now, in answer to the indignant voice of Greece, disavowed what Phœbidas had done and imposed on him a fine for his conduct. Then they restored him to his command, and were meanwhile careful to keep possession of the Cadmea!

Thebes, thus overrun, was obliged to enter into a Spartan alliance, and to furnish troops to assist in the prosecution of the Olynthian war. For four years (B. C. 383–379) the conflict was continued. Agesipolis died and was succeeded by Polybiades. The Spartans gradually gained on the allies until the latter were broken up. Olynthus was besieged, and after a long investment, was taken and dismantled. All the Macedonian towns which had been in rebellion against Amyntas were restored to his authority. The influence of the democratic states in the North, so necessary as a counterpoise to the growing power of Macedon, was destroyed, and the floodgates left open for the coming deluge.

For three years the city of Thebes remained in the hands of the Spartan confederates. The leaders of the democracy were living in exile in Athens. Chief among these was the wealthy young PELOPIDAS, who had already, by his virtues and abilities, acquired an ascendency over the minds of his countrymen. The leader in Thebes was the great EPAMINONDAS, between whom and Pelopidas the warmest ties grew up. On one occasion, when Pelopidas was scarcely of the military age, he had fought rashly in battle and was beaten down by the enemy; but, in the critical moment, Epaminondas threw his broad shield between the gallant youth and destruction.

Ever afterwards Pelopidas looked to Epaminondas as to a father. Between the two heroes communication was now opened, and a conspiracy was formed for the liberation of Thebes from thralldom. A banquet was given to the polemarchs, Archias and Philippus, and when they were well drunken Pelopidas, and six others, who had come into the city in disguise, were introduced dressed as women. When the intoxicated officers undertook to lift their veils the conspirators drew their daggers and stabbed them. Leontiades, the military governor, was surrounded in his

house and killed. Epaminondas issued a proclamation of freedom, and the Thebans from every side rushed to arms. An assembly was called and the conspirators were publicly crowned with wreaths of flowers. The old office of *Bœotrarch* was revived, and Pelopidas, Charon, and Mellon were chosen to administer the affairs of the state. The city was soon filled with returning exiles. Athenian volunteers poured into the country, and but the fact of the invasion remained, and the exasperation of Athens could not be appeased.

Having once more completely broken with the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians set to work with great energy to establish a new league which should be powerful enough to uphold the independence of the democratic states. The plan proposed was the constitution of the old confederacy of Delos. A congress was to

EPAMINONDAS SAVES THE LIFE OF PELOPIDAS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

Epaminondas soon found himself at the head of a courageous and powerful force.

Sparta was thunderstruck with the intelligence. Rallying from her consternation she dispatched an army under CLEOMBROTUS and SPHODRIAS to suppress the alarming insurrection. The former soon retired from Bœotia without accomplishing any thing, and the latter was bribed by the Thebans to invade Attica—this for the purpose of compelling the Athenians to enter into an active alliance with themselves. The ruse was successful. The Spartans disavowed the act of Sphodrias, be created of delegates from the seventy independent cities composing the league, and this body was to have the power to advise and direct in all matters of common interest, under the leadership of Athens. It was at once voted to raise an army of twenty thousand hoplites and five hundred cavalry, and to equip a fleet of two hundred galleys. A special tax was assessed in Athens to push forward the preparations, and in Thebes the army was rapidly brought into a state of perfect discipline.

Now it was that the military genius of

Epaminondas began to shine with inextinguishable luster. He had every quality requisite in a popular hero. He was a man of the people. To the intellectual acquirements most prized in his own country—music, dancing, and gymnastic skill—he added the best accomplishments of Athenian learning. By the study of Pythagoras and Socrates he had familiarized himself with the best aspects of Greek thought. To the gifts of persuasive eloquence he added personal virtue, and to courage of the most heroic pattern the highest military genius ever produced in Greece.

After the failure of Cleombrotus and Sphodrias, the now aged Agesilaüs himself took the field to restore the fortunes of Sparta. In B. C. 378 he invaded Bœotia with a large army. The country was ravaged to the gates of Thebes, but no decisive battle was fought, nor did the Spartans manifest any extreme anxiety to incur the hazard of a general engagement. In the next year the same scenes were witnessed and the same results reached, except that Agesilaüs was injured in his lame leg and for several seasons disabled from command. The campaign of B. C. 376 was intrusted to Cleombrotus, but the Thebans met him in the passes of the Cithæron and he was obliged to retire without crossing the Bœotian frontier.

During this same year the Athenian fleets under Chabrias and Phocion gained complete control of the seas. The Spartan squadron commanded by Pollio was defeated off Naxos, and on the western coast the islands of Cephellenia and Corcyra were recovered for the league. So great was the success of the allied navy that by the close of the year there was less cause to apprehend danger from the fleet of Sparta than from the privateers of Ægina. But for a growing jealousy between Thebes and Athens every thing would have foretokened the complete triumph of the allies.

The years B. C. 375 and 374 were marked by still greater successes of the Theban arms. In the former summer Pelopidas gained a decisive victory over the Spartans at the town of Tegyra. The harmost of Orchomenus had begun an invasion of Locris, and at the same time Pelopidas undertook the capture of Orchomenus; but both leaders were foiled in the objects of their campaigns. In returning, however, the Thebans fell in with the enemy near Tegyra, and although greatly inferior in numbers Pelopidas did not hesitate to join battle. Depending upon the splendid Theban phalanx known as the Sacred Band, he boldly made the onset, and when a messenger big with alarm ran to him and cried out, "We are fallen into the midst of the enemy," he coolly replied, "Why then the enemy are fallen into the midst of us!" The result of the battle was ruinous to the Lacedæmonians. Both of their generals were killed, and the losses in the ranks were very severe. All of the region round about, with the exception of Orchomenus and Chæronea, was detached from Spartan rule.

By this stage of the war it had become with Thebes not so much a question of independence as how far she might extend her influence. Phocis was the first state against which she felt called to take up arms. The Phocians had refused to pay the tribute levied by the congress of the confederacy, and felt comparatively safe in doing so because of the support of her ancient allies, the Athenians. The latter, offended at the attitude of Thebes, proposed peace to the Spartans, and terms were at once agreed upon. But the treaty was broken almost as soon as made, and hostilities continued.

After a few years of varying successes, the desire for a settlement became general throughout Greece. Antalcidas was again dispatched (B C. 372) to the court of Persia to represent that Thebes, by the restoration of the Bœotian confederacy, had violated the terms of the treaty dictated by the Great King, and to ask his intervention. This proceeding quickened the desire for peace on the part of the democratic states; for they greatly preferred to settle the affairs of Greece without the aid or interference of Persia. In furtherance of such a desire a conference was held at Sparta in the spring of B. C. 371, and after considerable discussion the conditions of peace—known as the Peace of Callias from the name of the Athenian ambassador — were agreed to by the deputies.

The terms of the compact were—the independence of the various Greek cities, the disbanding of the hostile fleets, and the dismissal of all the Spartan garrisons from the towns now occupied by them. When it came to signing the treaty there was a strange incident, which revealed more plainly than words the hollowness of the settlement, or perhaps it might be said of *any* settlement between the states represented in the congress. Sparta ratified the terms for herself *and her allies*. Athens signed for herself only, and each of the confederate cities gave a separate ratification until it came to Thebes. Epaminondas insisted that he would sign for himself *and for the Bœotian confederacy*. When this proceeding was resisted by Agesilaüs, the Theban boldly defended his right, maintaining that the same differed in no respect from the right of Sparta to sign for the Lacedæmonian league. He declared that in either case the right depended on the sword, and that a Bœotian sword was as good as a Spartan. Agesilaüs was greatly angered at this "insolence," and the altercation became so violent that the king in a rage ordered the name of Thebes to be struck out of the treaty. So Epaminondas was left to himself and his sword.

Of course there was but one thing to be expected—the immediate invasion of Bœotia by the Lacedæmonians. Nor was it regarded as within the range of things possible that Thebes, even with the support of her great general, could long withstand the assaults of her inveterate and powerful foe. Nevertheless, when Cleombrotus, who now held command of the Spartan army in Phocis, was ordered to march into Bœotia and put down all opposition, Epaminondas, nothing daunted, made preparations to give him battle. The combatants met on the plain of LEUCTRA. The Thebans were greatly discouraged at the approach of the enemy. Bad omens were reported by the seers. Three of the seven Bœotrarchs voted to return to the city and to send their wives and children to Athens.

But Epaminondas could not be appalled. Just before the battle began an exile discovered that the field contained the tombs of two Theban virgins who had killed themselves after having been violated by Spartan soldiers. The general had their graves covered with garlands, and demanded that the outraged honor of Theban womanhood should now be vindicated on the dastardly race that had committed the deed. The spirit of the soldiers was fired with the appeal, and the conflict began.

The tactics adopted by Epaminondas were a novelty in Grecian warfare. Hitherto there had been but little variation from the established usage of the field. The Greek commander generally arranged his forces so as to "attack in line." The theory of battle was that the whole line—center, left wing, right wing—must be maintained unbroken. It is to Epaminondas that the method of attacking in column, that is, of throwing upon some particular part of the enemy's lines a heavy mass of men moving in a column with a narrow front, but of great depth, must be referred. He adopted this policy for the first in the battle of Leuctra. Concentrating his best troops in the left wing, where they were massed to the depth of fifty files, he threw them with irresistible force against the Spartan right. The Theban center and right were not advanced at all, but held in reserve to act according to the emergency. With the onset the Lacedæmonian right wing was utterly routed. Cleombrotus was mortally wounded—the first Spartan "king" who had fallen in battle since the day of Thermopylæ. The rout was complete. The Spartans were granted the privilege of burying their dead, but these were first stripped of their armor, which was hung as a trophy in Thebes.

The effect of this victory was tremendous in all Greece. It had been believed that in a general field battle the Spartan hoplites were invincible. Here at Leuctra, though superior in numbers, advantageously posted, and ably commanded, they had been beaten down by the hitherto comparatively undistinguished soldiery of Thebes, and this, too, by a method of attack which was an innovation upon the established rules of battle. Sparta had never before suffered so great a disaster in the field.[1]

[1] As illustrative of Spartan character and manners, the reception of the news of the battle of

Whether viewed in itself as a ruinous defeat, or considered as a precedent of what might be expected hereafter, the shock might well be regarded as fatal to Spartan military fame.

At this epoch in Grecian history appeared on the stage JASON OF PHERÆ, generalissimo of Thessaly. After the battle of Leuctra, the Thebans sent to him for assistance in the further prosecution of their war with Sparta. Already ambitious of extending his own influence in Northern and Central Greece, he gladly joined his forces with those of Thebes to complete the expulsion of the Lacedæmonians from the country. This was accomplished, however, rather by strategy than by force; for Jason assumed the office of an arbiter, and the three hundred surviving Spartans were permitted to escape from Bœotia and return home.

It was evident from this transaction that Jason of Pheræ, having had a taste of Greek politics, was enamored of the situation, and that he saw in the same an opportunity for the extension of his own influence and authority. After scanning the horizon, it appeared to him that Southern Greece offered the most favorable field for his operations. Accordingly he announced his intention to participate in the ensuing Pythian Festival of August, B. C. 370. He caused it to be proclaimed that he would himself take charge of the celebration, and that his sacrifice to Apollo should consist of one thousand bulls and ten thousand sheep, goats, and swine. The Delphian priests and Amphictyons were thrown into consternation by these tidings, but the oracle gave assurance that Phœbus would guard his shrine. A short time afterwards, and before the date of the festival, Jason was brought to a pause by assassination. Seven young men rushed upon him and gave him his quietus while he sat in public hearing causes.

In the mean time the Mantineans, whose city, as heretofore related, had been dismantled by the Spartans, had availed themselves of the decline of Lacedæmonian influence to rebuild their ramparts. In this work they were supported by other Arcadian towns and also by Thebes; for the latter saw in these movements a sign of the cloud that was to break over Sparta. Agesilaüs marched into Arcadia, but was unable to prevent the Mantineans from restoring their city. He, however, did much damage by ravaging the country round about, and then withdrew.

Epaminondas was already on the march to the south, where he was joined by the Argives and the Eleans, by whom his already large army was increased to seventy thousand men. His plan now contemplated the restoration to independence of Messenia, whose people for generations had been scattered into all parts of Greece. So great was the enthusiasm created by the presence of Epaminondas in Peloponnesus that the enemies of Sparta, availing themselves of the manifest paralysis of that power, exhorted him to make an invasion of Laconia. To this he assented, and his army was immediately advanced across the border and was soon at Amyclæ, on the the Eurotas, only a few miles from the capital.

The alarm at that city knew no bounds. The women of Sparta, who had never seen the face of an enemy, went about wailing. Nothing but the energy and courage of Agesilaüs saved the city from capture and destruction; but through his exertions, assisted by the Ephors, the walless capital of Laconia was soon brought into a state of defense. And though the king did not dare to go forth and give his antagonist battle, he yet succeeded in protecting the city. Epaminondas, however, wasted the country at will, and withdrew unmolested to the west. Here, in Arcadia and Messenia, he prosecuted successfully his purpose of establishing an Arcadian confederation and restoring the state of Messenia to independence. To secure the latter object, the ancient cliffs of Ithome were se-

Leuctra forms a striking incident. The festival of Gymnopædia, which was celebrating at the time, went on without interruption. Women were forbidden to wail for their dead. The relatives of those who were slain went about the streets laughing; while those whose friends had survived from the battle wept from shame and mortification. As for the rest, Sparta merely prepared to rescue her army.

lected, and a new capital, called Messené, was established on the summit.

Such was the present abasement of Sparta that she now sent humbly to Athens to solicit an alliance against the Thebans. The Athenians readily assented, but Sparta, in order to secure the league, was obliged to renounce her claims of leadership. It was agreed that the command both by land and sea should alternate in periods of five days between the generals of the two states. The first movement of the new allies was to occupy the isthmus of Corinth. Thus should Epaminondas be cut off from communication with his confederates in Peloponnesus. But the Thebans soon broke through the passes, and in B. C. 369 made the usual invasion of Southern Greece. Still the campaign was not attended with much success, and in the mean time the Lacedæmonian cause was considerably revived by the arrival of a squadron from Syracuse, the same being sent out by the Sicilian tyrant, Dionysius.[1] With the approach

BANQUET OF DAMOCLES.

[1] It was at the court of the Tyrant Dionysius that the celebrated incident occurred in which the courtier Damocles figured as the principal actor. As narrated by Cicero, this distinguished sycophant had, after the manner of his kind, lauded Dionysius, and ascribed to him such happiness as belongs only to the immortals. In order to rebuke this unseemly flattery, the Tyrant in-

of winter Epaminondas retired to Thebes and the allies to their respective states.

The year B. C. 368 was mostly occupied by an expedition of Pelopidas into Thessaly. After the death of Jason, Alexander, a Thessalian prince, had succeeded, by murdering his two brothers, in becoming generalissimo of the country. Against him—for he entertained the same ambitious projects of his predecessor—the Theban campaign was directed. Pelopidas was entirely successful. Alexander was obliged to solicit a settlement, and the cities of Thessaly were mostly induced to enter into a league against the extension of his power. As soon as the state was reduced to quiet Pelopidas marched into Macedonia, whose regent Ptolemy was induced to make an alliance with the Thebans; and to bind the compact the young Macedonian prince, PHILIP, son of Amyntas, was given as a hostage and taken to Thebes, where he spent several years, keenly alive to the influences of Greek politics and the culture of the South. Thus was brought about the first contact between the Greek states and the great power of the North by whose sword their liberties were so soon to be extinguished.

Meanwhile, the league of the Arcadian cities had grown strong as well as over-confident under the leadership of Lycomedes. Like all the other Greeks the Arcadians, as soon as freedom dawned, rushed forward to gain first independence and then ascendency. This haste to be great roused the jealousy of Thebes, and she now looked coldly on the Arcadian confederation or even sympathized with its enemies. After the arrival of the Syracusan reïnforcements the Spartans, feeling strong enough to assume the offensive, invaded Arcadia, and succeeded in bringing on an action in which the forces of the towns of the league were completely routed. Not a single Spartan fell in the conflict, and the fight was for this reason given the name of the Tearless Battle.

The important event of the years B. C. 367–366 was the embassy sent by Thebes to Persia. Ever since the Peace of Antalcidas the Great King had claimed and exercised the rights of an arbiter in the internal affairs of Greece. The Thebans, now claiming the position of leadership, felt that it was necessary for their assumption to be recognized by the Persian court. Pelopidas and Ismenias were accordingly sent to Susa to secure the sanction of the royal power to the claim of Thebes, and also to obtain the decision of the king respecting several disputes now pending between the Greek states. The Athenians, in order if possible, to counteract the arguments of the Theban ambassadors, sent Timagoras and Leon to represent Athens and the Peloponnesian league. But the king, who had now learnt that the easiest way to maintain his ascendency in Greece was to support the strongest state, readily inclined to the side of Thebes. Her leadership was formally recognized, and the pending difficulties in Peloponnesus were all decided according to her wish.

The settlement, however, was unfavorably received in Greece. In vain did Thebes insist that the rescript of the Great King should be accepted by the assembly convened to hear the conditions of the adjustment. The Arcadians withdrew from the council. Other states refused to ratify the terms. Pelopidas and Ismenias went in person to Thessaly to secure a ratification. Alexander had them seized and imprisoned at Pheræ. When the Thebans undertook to recover their general and sent an army of more than eight thousand men into Thessaly they were defeated and driven from the country. For in a fit of folly they had refused that year to reëlect Epaminondas Bœotrarch, and the commanders who went against Alexander were incompetent as leaders.

The great general, however, was serving in the ranks, and when the army, pursued by Alexander, was about to be ruined, the soldiers called on Epaminondas to save them. He accordingly took command and the Theban forces were delivered from their peril. A reäction in his favor was the imme-

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vited Damocles to a banquet. When the courtier arrived and was seated, he glanced upward and beheld above his head a sword *suspended by a single hair!* Thus would his master teach him the peril and precarious tenure of greatness.

diate result. He was restored to his office and intrusted with a new expedition to secure the release of Pelopidas. He at once proceeded into Thessaly and induced Alexander rather by diplomacy than by force to set Pelopidas at liberty. Epaminondas then refrained from any severe retaliation against the generalissimo on the ground of expediency.

The next incident of the struggle to maintain the Theban ascendency was the capture of Oropus. This town, situated near the border line between Athens and Thebes, had for a long time been in possession of the former city; but the people of Oropus, composed for the most part of Theban exiles, sympathized with the mother state, and watching their opportunity seized the city and delivered it over to Thebes. About the same time the Arcadians, under the lead of Lycomedes, having been alienated by the course of the Theban authorities, sought and obtained an alliance with Athens, though in the course of the negotiations Lycomedes was assassinated by some exiles acting in the Theban interest.

By this league it became more than ever desirable for Athens to have possession of the isthmus of Corinth to the end that she might keep a free communication between herself and her Peloponnesian allies. She accordingly with singular moral obliquity formed the design of seizing Corinth, though between herself and that city there was not the slightest cause of quarrel. The Corinthians, however, gathered an intimation of the scheme, and were able by judicious measures to thwart the purpose of her *friend*. They then turned to Thebes with a proposition for a general peace. To this the Thebans assented, and a conference was accordingly convened at Sparta, but only the minor states could agree on the terms of settlement. Thebes, Athens, Sparta, and Arcadia could not be reconciled, and the struggle continued as before.

During the years B. C. 365–364 the Athenians regained in some measure their ascendency at sea. A fleet under command of Timotheus conquered Samos and restored the authority of his country in most of the Cyclades. The effect of this revival of maritime power was to arouse and exasperate the Thebans, who had never hitherto wielded any influence in the Ægean. Epaminondas encouraged his countrymen to build a fleet of one hundred triremes and was himself put in command of the squadron. Sailing to the Hellespont in B. C. 363 he made as though he would begin a conquest of the countries adjacent thereto, but nothing came of the expedition. The sea-service was a novelty both to himself and his men.

While this maritime ambition had possession of the mind of Epaminondas, Pelopidas organized a land force and again invaded Thessaly. The recollection of his imprisonment rankled within him, and he determined that Alexander should feel the force of his vengeance. The latter raised a large army and advanced to meet the Thebans. The two enemies confronted each other in the field of Cynoscephalæ, where the Thessalians, though greatly superior in numbers, were completely routed. Pelopidas, however, like Cyrus the Younger at Cunaxa, inspired by a sudden rage on beholding Alexander in the enemy's confused ranks, made a rash and furious charge with the hope of reaching him. But Alexander was surrounded by his friends, and Pelopidas, cutting at them with blind fury, was himself struck down and killed. His loss was so great as to counterbalance the victory. Shortly afterwards, however, a second Theban campaign against Thessaly was completely successful. Alexander was stripped of all his dependencies and confined to the limits of his own city of Pheræ.

In the mean time a war had broken out between Elis and Arcadia. The latter state in B. C. 364 had transferred the presidency of the Olympic games from the Eleans to the Pisatans, and the former endeavored to maintain their rights by force. During the progress of the festival they came armed into the sacred precincts, and were resisted by the Arcadians. The temple of Zeus was seized and used as a fortress, and the celebration was broken up in a shameful conflict. The Eleans were finally compelled to retire, but they sought revenge by striking the one hundred and fourth Olympiad from the list of the

festivals and counting it ever afterwards a *dies non.*

After the war had continued for two years Epaminondas again undertook the pacification of Peloponnesus and marched a large army across the isthmus. He was joined by reënforcements from those states and towns favorable to the Theban cause, while those who were opposed rallied in great force at Mantinea. The aged Agesilaüs, of Sparta, set out for this place at the head of the Lacedæmonian forces, and Epaminondas seeing the Laconian capital thus exposed, once more formed the design of capturing it. By a swift movement he reached the city before Agesilaüs could reënter; but the houses were so well defended and the old king so alert that the Theban was obliged to retire. Sparta again escaped destruction by the skin of her teeth.

Epaminondas, however, at once made his way to MANTINEA, and here was fought the decisive battle of the war. The conflict occurred in the plain between the city and Tegea. On coming upon the field Epaminondas ordered his soldiers to ground arms. From this movement the Spartans and Mantinæans inferred that the battle would not occur until the following day. They accordingly took off their breastplates and disposed themselves at ease. But Epaminondas was busy with preparations, and had no thought of procrastination. He adopted the same plan of battle as at Leuctra. He massed his best troops into a column of great depth and hurled them upon the enemy, who, hurrying into rank, were unable to withstand the shock. The field was swept at a single charge, and the soldiers of Sparta were again seen in flight. But the victory was purchased by Thebes at too dear a price. Epaminondas, fighting in the foremost ranks, was struck in the breast with a spear and fell mortally wounded. He was carried from the field in a dying condition. Having satisfied himself *that his shield was safe*, and that the victory was certainly won, he ordered the spear-head to be drawn from his breast, and died.

The Theban ascendency perished with him. Both of those—Iolaïdas and Daiphantus—whom he had indicated as his successors perished in the battle, and his own dying advice to make peace was as necessary as it was judicious. His great rival, Agesilaüs, survived him but a short time, and then ended his career in a most dramatic manner. At the age of eighty years, the indomitable old man, hobbling about on his lame leg, organized a force of one thousand hoplites and went on an expedition into Egypt. That country, under the leadership of Tachos, was now engaged in an insurrection against the Persians, and the Spartan king went to his aid. He cut so ridiculous a figure on his arrival that Egyptian ridicule could not be restrained.

But the party of Nectanebis, who presently rose against Tachos, better appreciated the military genius of the short old octogenarian, who went stumping about the ranks with the imperturbable spirit for which his race had always been noted. Agesilaüs actually raised Nectanebis to power, and was by him rewarded with a present of two hundred and thirty talents. But on his way homeward the old man died. His body was embalmed in wax and carried to Sparta, where it was buried with great honor. The ancient prophecy which had confronted him at the beginning of his reign, and which Lysander had to explain away, had indeed been fulfilled. Sparta had good reason to beware of the "lame reign," for her prominence in the affairs of Greece ceased with the death of Agesilaüs.

Mention has been recently made of a squadron sent to the aid of the Lacedæmonians by Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse. The incident naturally suggests a few paragraphs on the progress of Grecian civilization in Sicily and Southern Italy. After the complete collapse of the Athenian expedition of B. C. 413, at which time the government of Syracuse was in the hands of the oligarchic or Spartan party, a revolution occurred in favor of the democracy. One Diocles, a learned and patriotic citizen, was appointed to draft a popular constitution. Hermocrates, the leader of the oligarchy, was banished; but a counter revolution was soon organized by which he was enabled to return and Diocles was himself sent into exile. While the oli-

garchic chief was endeavoring to regain possession of Syracuse he was slain; but his cause was immediately taken up by the young Dionysius, a man of great abilities and audacity, who soon obtained a vote of the assembly by which he was raised first to authority and then to despotism. He first made successful war upon several of the Sicilian cities, and then began a conflict with Carthage. But this undertaking proved beyond his capacity to manage. The island was invaded by an immense force of Carthaginians, and Syracuse was only saved from capture, and perhaps destruction, by the ravages of a pestilence which broke out in the camp of the besiegers. Imilcon, the Carthaginian general, then purchased from Dionysius the privilege of a safe retreat from the island.

Under the direction of the tyrant, Syracuse soon became the foremost city in the west. And, indeed, in all continental Greece, Sparta only could rival the power and grandeur of the Sicilian capital. Dionysius himself set the example in artistic and literary culture. He courted the Muses. He had his poems publicly recited, not only in his own city, but also in Athens. He contended for prizes at the Lenæan festival and at the Olympic games. Several second and third prizes were awarded to him, and finally the first prize in tragedy, given for his play entitled the *Ransom of Hector*. For thirty-eight years he wielded the destinies of the city, and died without an overthrow.

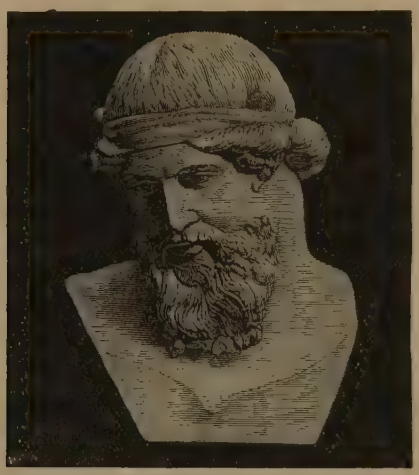
After him his son, known as Dionysius the Younger, became master of Syracuse, and for a while, under the influence of PLATO, who was invited to his court, showed some signs of mitigating the rigorous rule established by his father; but the influence of courtiers prevailed against these tendencies, and Plato himself, falling into disrepute, was for a season in danger of his life. At length, however, the philosopher escaped and returned to Greece.

Soon afterwards, in B. C. 357, Dion, the leader of the opposing party in politics, headed an insurrection against the tyrant, and the latter was overthrown, to the great joy of the people. Dion then became ruler of the city, and was expected to make an effort at reform. He had been the friend of Plato, and had imbibed that great thinker's profound but somewhat impracticable views of government, and the people looked for a millennium; but in this they were so grievously disappointed that Dion was soon assassinated by one Callippus, who held the city for about a year, when he was in turn driven out by a nephew of Dion. Several revolutions followed in quick succession, until finally an appeal was sent to Sparta for the restoration of order. The Lacedæmonian authorities thereupon dispatched the celebrated Timoleon to quiet the disturbances in Sicily, and especially to restore the ascendency of Spartan influence in Syracuse.[1]

The squadron given to Timoleon numbered only ten vessels, but with this small armament he made his way into Sicily. Having arrived at Adranum he encountered Hicetas, the then leader of the democratic party in the island, who came out with a large force to drive back the Spartans. Timoleon, however, gained a decisive victory, and then marched into Syracuse without further opposition. Dionysius (the third of that name), who now headed the oligarchy, surrendered to him, and he thus became master of the city. He at once proceeded to the demolition of the fortifications of Orytigia and the destruction of the other relics of the reign of the Elder Dionysius, including his splendid mausoleum; and when this work was accomplished the new governor erected courts of justice on the sites of the overthrow. Those who had been banished were invited to return, and of these—together with companies of citizens who joined them—there came from Corinth ten thousand in a single colony. The constitution was revised, and most of the statutes of Diocles again made operative in the government of the city.

[1] The story of Timoleon's previous life is a tragedy. Once in battle he saved the life of his elder brother Timophenes, but afterwards, when the latter was overtaken in a piece of treachery to his country, he consented to his death. Then remorse seized him, and, loaded with the imprecations of his mother, he slunk out of sight and tried to starve himself to death. After a long seclusion he was, by one of those strange caprices for which the Greek mind was so peculiarly noted, called to take charge of the expedition just organized in aid of the Syracusans.

After the defeat of Hicetas, that leader still held out for a season, defending himself in the town of Leontini. Here he was presently besieged by Timoleon and obliged to capitulate; but he sought revenge by inviting in the Carthaginians, who immediately responded by sending into the island an army of seventy thousand men. Against these Timoleon could muster but twelve thousand; but with this small force he went boldly into battle at the river Crimesus, and, assisted by a terrible storm which burst suddenly in the face of the enemy with hail and lightning and wind, gained a complete and decisive victory. Ten thousand of the Carthaginians



PLATO.
Museum of DePauw University.

were destroyed in the battle and fifteen thousand made prisoners. The effect of the victory was such that the enemy was glad to accept the terms of peace which, in B. C. 338, Timoleon saw fit to offer.

In the mean time, Hicetas was overthrown, taken prisoner, and condemned to death for his treachery. The various despots who under the influence of the oligarchy had obtained possession of most of the Sicilian towns were now ejected, and the whole island speedily brought to a condition of quiet never before enjoyed. As soon as this happy condition of affairs had been reached, Timoleon resigned his trust and retired to private life. For his services he would accept nothing but a modest house given him by the city. He soon afterwards brought his family from Greece, and passed the rest of his life in honorable seclusion. It was impossible, however, that his influence should not be sought and felt in the public business of the city and island. He was frequently consulted as a kind of patriotic oracle in deciding the gravest questions of state. After his blindness, which ensued not long after his retirement, he continued to be a mark of the distinguished esteem and confidence of the Syracusans, who took delight in bringing him in a car into the public assembly or theater, and on such occasions he was always received with a burst of popular enthusiasm. At his death, in B. C. 336, he was honored with a splendid funeral at the public expense, and a concourse of weeping people gathered at his tomb to bear witness to his heroic virtues and unselfish patriotism.

Before the events which have just been narrated, the final act in Hellenic history had begun in Greece. It will have been noticed that, with the decline of Sparta, the apprehensions of the Athenians and Thebans were directed to the North rather than to Peloponnesus. The imbroglio with Alexander of Pheræ had indicated that even within the limits of Northern Greece the elements of danger to the independence of the smaller states lay hidden ready for development; but more particularly was there cause for alarm from the growing power of the great kingdom just beyond Olympus.

The giving of the youth, Philip of Macedon, as a hostage to the Thebans, and his residence of several years among the Greeks, have already been mentioned. While in Thebes the young man made good use of his opportunities. He studied the Greek language and literature. He made the acquaintance of Plato. He studied military science under Epaminondas, and familiarized himself with the current condition of the affairs of Greece. His great natural abilities were thus stimulated in a school well calculated to bring out the best energies of his genius. Before leaving Thebes—which he did in B. C. 359—to assume the duties of the Macedonian government during the absence of his brother Perdiccas on the Illyrian campaign, he had

already attracted the attention of the most eminent Greeks of his time. Nor were there wanting those who could discover in the young prince the forecastings of a remarkable career.

When Perdiccas was slain by the Illyrians, the crown of Macedonia fell to his son, with Philip for regent. Two claimants to the throne now arose—Pausanias, who was supported by the king of Thrace, and Argæus, with whom the Athenians were leagued on account of the favor which he had shown them in gaining possession of Amphipolis.

But Philip, by his address, soon secured the withdrawal of support from both of the pretenders, and thus brought their cause to naught. Having thus provided for peace at home, he at once entered upon his campaign against the Pæonians and Illyrians. Both of these peoples were quickly and easily subdued. The tactics which Philip had learned from Epaminondas were put to use in the very first battle, and with terrible effect upon the Illyrians, who were put to utter rout by the heavy column which the Macedonian massed against a single point in their lines. The effect of the victory so strengthened Philip at home that by common consent he assumed the crown; but the son of Perdiccas was treated with consideration by the new king, who gave him his daughter in marriage.

The first contact of Philip with the Athenians was respecting the possession of Amphipolis. It will be remembered that this city had been wrenched from Athens by Brasidas of Sparta, and had subsequently had a nominal independence. With the organization of the Olynthian league the members of that confederacy became extremely anxious that Amphipolis should become a member of the alliance. The position of the city at the mouth of the Strymon rendered it of vast importance to Philip, whose ambition reached towards the ocean as well as landward. With extraordinary skill, not unmixed with craftiness, he secured the friendliness and support of Athens by promising to give her Amphipolis if she would yield Pydna to him; and at the same time he procured the withdrawal of the claim of Olynthus by agreeing to cede to that city the town of Anthemus. These measures having cleared the field of opposition, he suddenly laid siege to Amphipolis and took it before assistance could be rendered by any. He also kept Pydna; and the Olynthians and Athenians were left to nurse their complaints. The people of Olynthus were soon placated by the recovery of Potidæa, which town Philip graciously turned over to them as a kind of compensation for the loss of Amphipolis.

The year B. C. 356 was a fortunate epoch for the Macedonian king. In that year his general, Parmenio, gained a great victory over the Illyrians, by which the previous conquest of Philip was strengthened and confirmed. In the Olympic games the king's chariot won a prize in the face of the sharpest competition; and last, but not least, a son was born and named—ALEXANDER.

At this time Central Greece—especially Athens—was distracted by the Social War. A coalition was formed against that state by Byzantium, Rhodes, Chios, and Cos; and the efforts of the mother city to suppress the revolt proved unavailing. The conflict, however, was continued (B. C. 357–355) until Artaxerxes interfered, and Athens was obliged to assent to the independence of her insurgent dependencies. Meanwhile another contest, known as the Sacred War,[1] had broken out between Thebes and Phocis. The people of the latter state had long been held in dislike by the Thebans, who now, using their great influence in the affairs of Greece, secured a vote at the Amphictyonic council by which a heavy fine was imposed on the Phocians, who had—as was alleged—been cultivating a portion of the consecrated plain of Cirrha.

Phocis, after protesting in vain and being afflicted with a second fine, flew into a passion, and, under the lead of Philomelus, seized Delphi, temple, oracle, and all. With the enormous treasures thus secured, the Phocians bid defiance to the Thebans. Ten thousand mercenaries were hired, and with this force Philomelus, making his way into Locris, defeated the army which Thebes had put into

[1] This was the *second* conflict so-called. See *supra*, p. 518.

the field against him. But the tide soon turned, and in a second battle the Phocians were routed and their leader killed. Onomarchus succeeded to the command, and the war continued with varying success and great barbarity; for the sacrilegious nature of the quarrel embittered the contest by as much as superstition is more cruel than reason.

Thus by the Social and the Sacred War was Greece weakened. Philip saw in the distractions of his neighbors on the south an opportunity to interfere for the aggrandizement of his own influence. First he invaded Thessaly, where the exactions of Alexander of Pheræ and his successors had so embittered the people that an easy conquest was open to any liberal-minded and sagacious general. The town of Pheræ, however, more subjected to the influence of the recent tyrants than other Thessalian cities, resisted Philip and was besieged. Onomarchus, the Phocian, who had received some assistance from the Pheræans, now sent a force of seven thousand men to their aid, and Philip was obliged to retire for a time from the country. Returning, however, with an army of twenty thousand men he overran all Thessaly, but Onomarchus again marched into the country and gave the Macedonian battle near the gulf of Pagasæ. The latter was this time completely victorious. The Phocian general was slain. Philip proclaimed himself the defender of the Delphic shrine, and was about to march at once into Central Greece, but was turned back by a strong force posted at Thermopylæ.

DEMOSTHENES.—Berlin.

Now it was that the great DEMOSTHENES appeared in the arena at Athens. The people of the city divided into a Macedonian and an anti-Macedonian party. The latter was led by the orator; the former, by his rivals, Phocion and Æschines. The story of the life of Demosthenes is full of interest and instruction. Defrauded by his guardians and turned out in poverty on the world, weak in body, and subject to great dejection, he began a struggle for preëminence against every disadvantage. His first public appearance on the bema was a failure; but he applied himself with indefatigable industry to study and practice, and soon wrested from public opinion the palm of oratory which twenty-two centuries have not plucked away.

The subject which then agitated the Athenians—the encroachments of Philip and the consequent peril to the liberties of Greece—was of a sort to evoke the highest interest and to arouse the most patriotic passions. In a series of orations known as the *Philippics* the orator discussed the whole question involved in the present state of his country, and more particularly sought to stimulate the Athenians to a vigorous and united effort to stay the approach of the Macedonians. His efforts, however, were comparatively unavailing. In B. C. 352 the assembly voted to organize a fleet to operate against Philip, but the movement was marked by neither energy nor success. Two years later the city of Olynthus, still at the head of the Northern confederacy, sent an urgent appeal to Athens to assist in repelling the insidious, but now scarcely disguised, ambitions of Philip. Demosthenes delivered three orations, known as the *Olynthiacs*, on the question thus presented to the assembly. But no energetic action could be evoked, even by the fiery appeals of the matchless orator. Greece sat languidly by and saw town after town of the Olynthian league won over or conquered by Philip, until finally Olynthus herself was taken, her fortifications leveled, her people sold as slaves, and the whole Chalcidician peninsula reduced to a Macedonian province.

Meanwhile, the disgraceful Sacred War continued. As long as the treasures in the Delphian temple held out, the Phocians were able year after year to hire new armies of mer-

cenaries and continue the struggle. Thebes was, perhaps, as nearly exhausted as her rival. In this condition of affairs the question was bruited of a league which, beginning with the Thebans and the Athenians, should extend to most of the states of Central Greece—to the end that civil hostilities might cease, and the country be united to repel foreign aggression.

The news of this promising enterprise, however, was carried to Philip, and in the summer of B. C. 347 he sent indirect proposals to Athens inviting a conference in the mutual interests of the two powers. In response the Athenians sent an embassy to the court of Philip headed by Demosthenes, Æschines, and Philocrates. They were entertained by that wily monarch, but nothing came of the negotiations. The Macedonian king soon afterwards sent an embassy to Athens, and the terms of a treaty were agreed upon. In order to secure the ratification of this compact the former Athenian envoys were again dispatched to Macedon, but Philip was absent on a campaign; and even when he was found he insisted that the ambassadors should accompany him into Thessaly to mediate, as he averred, between Pharsalia and Halus. The whole object was to gain time to prosecute his plans in Central Greece.

The treaty, however, was ratified. The envoys of Athens returned home. Demosthenes entered a protest against the conditions of the settlement. His following in the city declared that Æschines had deluded the people with a false notion of security. The usual political wrangle occurred; but the Macedonian party was in the ascendant, and *a vote of thanks to Philip was passed by the assembly for the terms which he had dictated!* That monarch was already on his march into Greece. The supine Athenians sent him word that unless the Phocians would redeliver to the Amphictyons the shrine of Apollo they would unite with him against the defilers of the sacred city. The curtain was up for the last scene in the independence of Greece.

In the mean time, Phalæcus, general of the Phocian army, entered into negotiations with Philip and withdrew, with the monarch's consent, into Peloponnesus. The Macedonian then entered Phocis without opposition. The towns made a virtue of necessity by surrendering. Delphi was taken. The Amphictyons were convened. To them was referred the question as to what disposition should be made of those who had profaned the temple of Apollo and wasted his treasures. The council voted that every Phocian town, with

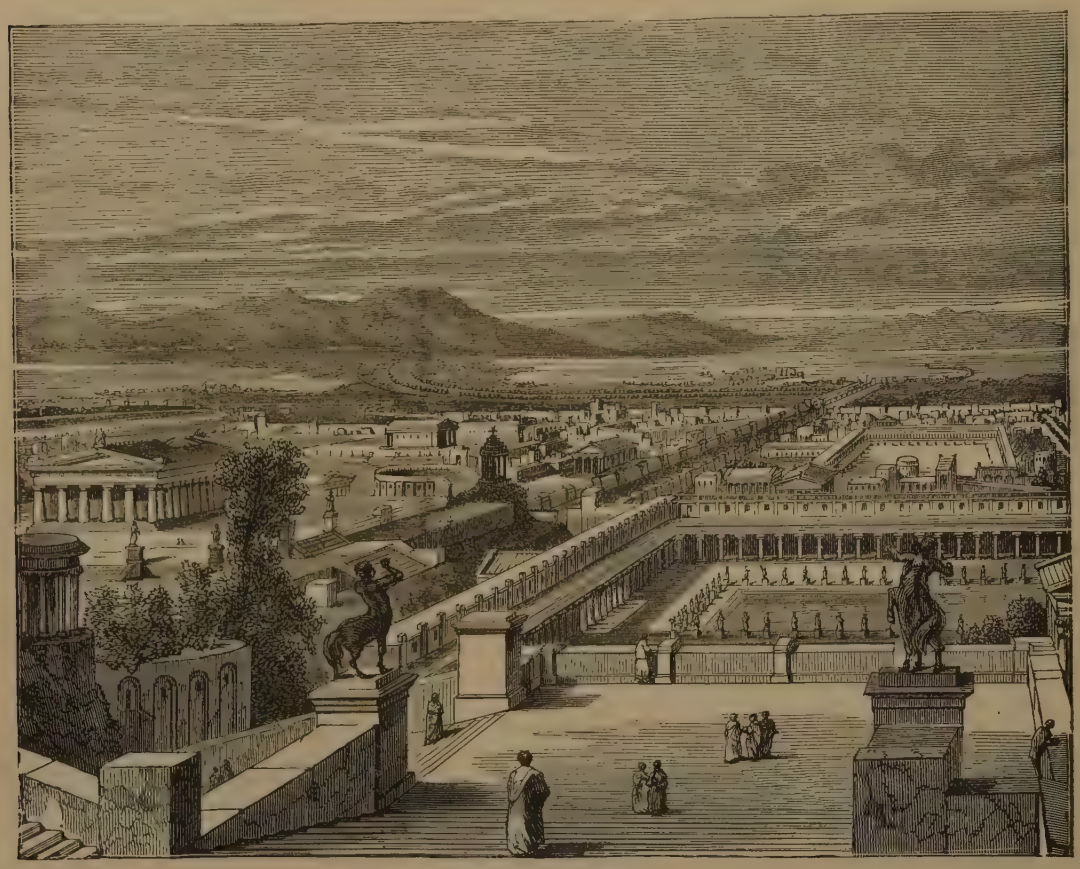
ÆSCHINES.—Naples.

the exception of Abæ, should be leveled to the ground. The people should be scattered into hamlets of not more than fifty houses. The Phocians should be taxed until the annual tribute should amount to ten thousand talents—this to replace the squandered treasures of the temple. The Spartan members of the Amphictyony should be deposed. Finally and specially: the two votes of Phocis in the council should be taken away and conferred on Philip of Macedon! Thus, in the year B. C. 346, was a foreign king, with full power to enforce his will, given a seat at the head of that venerable body, which for so

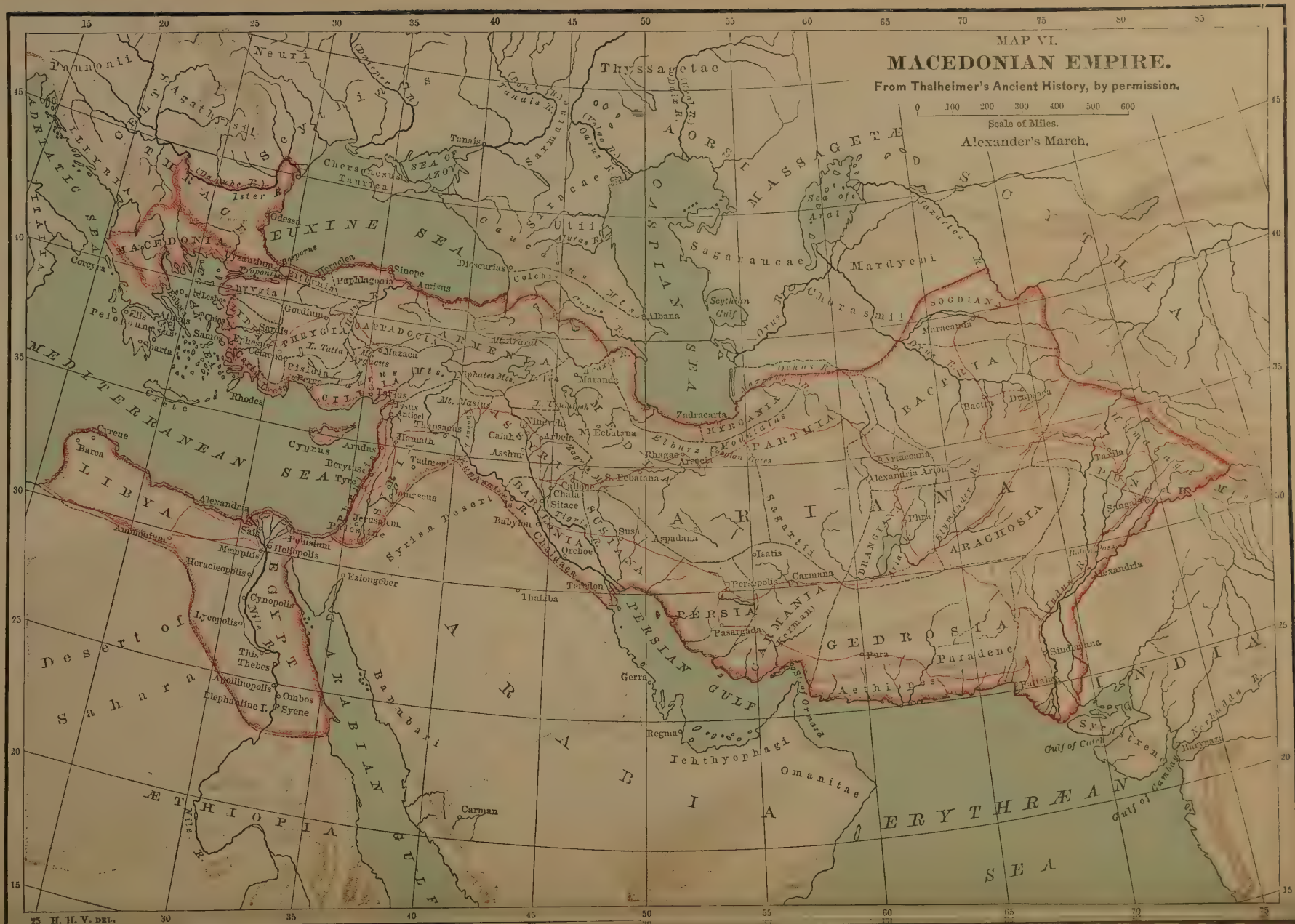
many centuries had been reserved with sacred fidelity for members of the Hellenic race.

It was now no more than a question of time when the Macedonian monarch would assert his advantage and absorb the Greek states in his dominions. The cry of patriotism might now be lifted in the streets, but to what purpose? The rapid decline of the Grecian communities, their failure in public spirit, the decadence of Grecian institutions, and the substitution of centralization for individuality—all this will come properly into the field of view in the course of the following Book, which will contain the history of the Macedonian ascendency.

For the present, it is sufficient to take leave, not without regret, of that brilliant and versatile people who contributed to antiquity her brightest pages. The voice of the Greek, so shrill in battle so musical in peace; his gay activities, his energy, so often reviving from humiliation and ruin; his brush, his chisel—alas, for all these! where are they? The beauty of Athens has sunk into the dust. The wolves of Mount Taygetus howl in the dark among the broken stones of Sparta. The splendor of Corinth is no more. Only by the imperishable Thought—the verse of Homer, the page of Herodotus, the infinite spirit of Plato, the clarion of Demosthenes—has the renown of Hellas survived, illumining the world that now is, and shedding a glory over her name, even to the far-off shores of the setting sun.



ANCIENT CORINTH.


MAP VI.
MACEDONIAN EMPIRE.
From Thalheimer's Ancient History, by permission.
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
Scale of Miles.
Alexander's March.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
EUXINE SEA
CASPIAN SEA
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIAN GULF
Gulf of Cutch
Gulf of Cambay
ERYTHRÆAN SEA
Sea of Aral
Scythian Gulf
Desert of Sahara
Syrian Desert
Arabia
Ethiopia
Libya
Egypt
Italia
Illyria
Macedonia
Thessalia
Epirus
Achaia
Peloponnesus
Asia Minor
Phrygia
Cappadocia
Armenia
Cilicia
Pisidia
Lycaonia
Lycia
Pamphylia
Mysia
Bithynia
Paphlagonia
Pontus
Colchis
Albania
Iberia
Sarmatia
Scythia
Sogdiana
Bactria
Margiana
Hyrcania
Parthia
Media
Assyria
Babylonia
Susiana
Persia
Carmania
Gedrosia
Arachosia
India
Pannonii
Neuri
Agathyrsi
Thyssagetae
Massagetæ
Sacæ
Sauromatæ
Tauri
Chersonesus Taurica
Sea of Azov
Danube R.
Ister R.
Dniester R.
Don (Tanais) R.
Volga R.
Ural R.
Jaxartes R.
Oxus R.
Tanais
Odessa
Byzantium
Bosporus
Heraclea
Sinope
Amisus
Dioscurias
Colchis
Caucasus Mts.
Cyrus R.
Araxes R.
Paphlagonia
Gordium
Sardis
Ephesus
Cnidus
Samos
Lesbos
Chios
Rhodes
Corcyra
Mt. Taurus
Mt. Argæus
Mazaca
Tyana
Issus
Antioch
Thapsacus
Maranda
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Nineveh
Calah
Arbela
Ecbatana
Rhagæ
Arsacia
Zadracarta
Hyrcania
Elburz Mts.
Caspian Gate
Alexandria Arion
Artacoana
Bactra
Drapsaca
Maracanda
Oxus R.
Jaxartes R.
Tabæ
Syngamus
Phra
Alexandria
Indus R.
Hydaspes R.
Acesines R.
Hydraotes R.
Sindomana
Paradene
Pura
Pattala
Aesthylus
Arbis R.
Nearchus' Harbour
Barygaza
Omanitæ
Ichthyophagi
Regma
Gerra
Carmana
Pasargada
Persepolis
Isatis
Susa
Aspadana
Orchoe
Charax
Babylon
Chaldæa
Sitace
Chuba
Ctesiphon
Seleucia
Thapsacus
Damascus
Jerusalem
Gaza
Pelusium
Heliopolis
Memphis
Alexandria
Ammonium
Heracleopolis
Cynopolis
Lycopolis
This
Thebes
Apollinopolis
Ombos
Syene
Elephantine I.
Nile R.
Ezion-geber
Thalba
Carnan
Barca
Cyrene
Cyprus
Arados
Berytus
Tyre
Tadmor
Hamath
Ancyra
Pessinus
Mt. Masius
Mt. Argæus
Mt. Tmolus
Mt. Sipylus
Mt. Ida
Mt. Athos
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Pindus
Mt. Parnassus
Mt. Œta
Mt. Pelion
Mt. Ossa
Mt. Cithæron
Mt. Hymettus
Mt. Taygetus
Mt. Lycæus
Mt. Erymanthus
Mt. Cyllene
Mt. Ægialus
Mt. Panachaicus
Mt. Parnes
Mt. Helicon
Mt. Pangæus
Mt. Rhodope
Mt. Hæmus
Mt. Scardus
Mt. Orbelus
Mt. Cambunian Mts.
Mt. Lingon
Mt. Bermius
Mt. Cercetius
Mt. Dindymus
Mt. Ararat
Mt. Zagros
Mt. Paropamisus
Mt. Caucasus
Mt. Imaus
Mt. Taurus
Mt. Sipylus
Mt. Ida
Mt. Athos
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Pindus
Mt. Parnassus
Mt. Œta
Mt. Pelion
Mt. Ossa
Mt. Cithæron
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Mt. Bermius
Mt. Cercetius
Mt. Dindymus
Mt. Ararat
Mt. Zagros
Mt. Paropamisus
Mt. Caucasus
Mt. Imaus
Mt. Taurus

Book Ninth.

MACEDONIA.

CHAPTER XLVIII.—COUNTRY, CITIES, AND TRIBES.

THE most ancient name of the country known in the times of Philip and Alexander, as MACEDON, or MACEDONIA was Emathia. By this appellation it is referred to in the *Iliad*. Doubtless the more recent name was derived from the mythical founder of the nation, a certain Macedo, who was, of course, one of the sons of Zeus. Another ancient appellative of this country was Macetia, or the land of the Macetæ, which name, in its turn, has been associated by the curious with the word Kittim, used in the tenth chapter of Genesis.

Already in the times of Herodotus the more ancient names had been rejected in favor of Macedon; but the region so called was, in the times of that ancient story-teller, only a small district in the vicinity of Mount Pindus. A better acquaintance with the primitive language of the Macedonians would, no doubt, throw much light, not only on the origin of the tribes by which Macedon was peopled, but also on the geographical districts in which they settled.

Of the general character of the countries which constituted the empire of Alexander, much has already been said. Nearly all of the provinces within the limits of that vast dominion, except Macedonia Proper, had been previously included in one or more than one of the kingdoms which preceded the advent of the conqueror. What had been Egypt, Chaldæa, Assyria, Media, Babylonia, became Persia; and the various countries dominated by Cyrus and Cambyses were in turn subdued by the son of Philip. These countries, having been described in the preceding Books, from the First to the Seventh inclusive, will here require no further consideration as it respects their geography or productions. It is only of the character of the original kingdom of Philip that something should now be added.

Macedonia, then, is bounded on the south by the Cambunian mountains, which divide it from Thessaly. On the west rises the chain known in different parts of its course as Scardus, Bernus, Pindus. Beyond this range lies Illyria. From Mæsia on the north, Macedonia is divided by the Orbelian mountains, while on the east it is separated from Thrace by the river Strymon. The country was thus included on three sides by mountainous eleva-

tions, and on the fourth by a stream of considerable volume. In the time of Herodotus, Macedon had boundaries not nearly so great as those here given; but in the age of the geographer Strabo, the limits were made to include a large part of Illyria and Thrace.

The rivers of Macedonia are three in number; the Axius, the Lydias, and the Haliacmon. All of them find their way into the Thermaic gulf. The most easterly and largest is the Axius, now called the Vardar. It gathers its waters from the hill-country, between the ranges of Scardus and Orbelus, and flows in a course somewhat south-easterly, receiving several tributaries, the most important being the Ericon. The second of the principal streams is the Lydias, now called the Kara Azmac. This is the river which passes through the lake on which Pella, the capital of Macedonia was situated. It drains the central part of the country, and becomes confluent with the Axius about a league above the entrance of that stream into the sea. Still further to the south-east is the Haliacmon which gathers its streams from the Cambunians, and flows through the marshy districts of Macedonia into the sea. In the time of Herodotus, however, it was in its lower course deflected to the north and joined its waters with those of the Lydias before falling into the gulf.

The valleys of these three rivers are separated from one another by tranverse chains of mountains, branching from the Scardus. The range dividing the Haliacmon from the Lydias is called Bermius, and that between the Lydias and the Axius, Dysorum. Macedonia was thus geographically constituted of three principal valleys, all opening out upon the Thermaic gulf.

It is, however, with the political divisions of the country rather than its physical constitution that the historian is mostly concerned. Within the limits of Macedonia, then, as it was inherited by Philip, son of Amyntas, were to be found the following provinces: Lyncestis, Stymphalia, Orestis, Elimea, Eordæa, Pieria, Bottiæa, Emathia, Mygdonia, Chalcidice, Bisaltia, and Pæonia with its subdivisions. Lyncestis, the first of these districts lay to the west, next to Illyria, from which it was divided by the Bernus range. It was bounded on the north by Pæonia. The principal stream was the Erigonus, and the principal thoroughfare the Egnatian Way. The district was originally inhabited by an independent tribe governed by their own king.

To the south-east of Lyncestis lay the territory of Orestis. The barbarians of this district also were originally independent of the Macedonian kings. The country was of small extent and contained but few towns, the principal being Celetrum and Orestia, the latter the birthplace of Ptolemy Lagus. Immediately south of this district was the small country of Stymphalia, the principal town of which was Gyrtona. Like the two preceding, the original Stymphæi were barbarians, and retained their independence until conquered by the Macedonian kings. Immediately east was the province of Elimea, a mountainous and barren country, but of great importance to the Macedonians; for through this district lay the passes into Epirus and Thessaly. The principal river of Elimea was the Haliacmon; the principal towns were a city of the same name as the province and Æane, said to have been founded by colonists from Tyre.

Adjacent to Elimea on the east was the little barbarian state of Eordæa, which, like its neighbors, maintained its independence until subjugated by Macedon. Through this district passed the great Egnatian Way, which reached from Edessa and Pella into Greece. The two principal towns of the state were Cellæ and Arnissa. Further to the south-east was the celebrated district of Pieria, said to have been the birthplace of Orpheus and the native seat of the Muses. Pieria was contiguous to Thessaly, and was nestled at the base of Olympus. It contained the towns of Phila—situated near the famous Thessalian vale of Tempe—Heraclia, and Dium, one of the chief cities of Macedonia; also the small town of Pimplea, in which Orpheus was born, and near which is the conical tumulus, said to be the tomb of that mythical maker of song. In this same district was the city of Pydna, celebrated for the great victory gained there by Publius Æmilius over the Macedonians under

Perseus—by which event the Empire founded by Philip was at last extinguished. Some miles to the north of this city was the town of Methone, before the walls of which, as will be remembered, the right eye of Philip was shot out by an archer.[1] Another Pierian town of some importance was Phylace; and a short distance to the north of this was Agassæ, which was occupied by Æmilius after the battle of Pydna.

The next subdivision of ancient Macedonia was the province of BOTTIÆA, situated between the Haliacmon and the Lydias. One of the principal towns of this district was Alorus, on the left bank of the Haliacmon. At the mouth of the Lydias was the city of Jehnæ, and a hundred and twenty stadia up that river was Pella, the Macedonian capital.

EMATHEA was, as already said, the most ancient of the Macedonian districts. It was the small but fertile region in which was planted the central root of that great tree which was destined to overshadow the nation. According to tradition this province was first colonized by a company of Argives, called the Temenidæ. The chief city was Ægæ, or Edessa, which up to the time of Philip was regarded as the capital of Macedonia. The other important cities were Cydræ, Brysi, Mieza, and Cyrrhus, in the latter of which was the temple of Athene, built by Alexander. Nor should failure be made to mention the two cities of Citium and Idomene, the former of which was the head-quarters of Perseus, and the latter of some note on account of its capture by Sitalces, king of the Odrysæ.

The province of MYGDONIA extended from the Axius to the Strymon. It remained under the dominion of the primitive barbarians until they were expelled by the Temenidæ. The principal river of the district was the Axius, and the chief town Amydon, which is mentioned in the Iliad as a place of note. At the mouth of the Axius was the city of Chalastra, which was one of the first places taken by Xerxes in his invasion of Greece. On the river Echedorus, which loses itself in a vast marsh close to the Axius, was situated the ancient city of Thernæ, the modern Thessalonica, one of the most celebrated of the Macedonian cities.

To the south and east of Mygdonia lay the peculiar province of CHALCIDICE, consisting of several peninsulas, jutting into the Ægean. This region was originally colonized by people from the island of Eubœa. The Chalcidicians for a long time maintained their independence, but were at length subjugated and added to the conquests of the Macedonian kings. The peninsula of Pallene was of special importance. Here was said to have occurred the combat between the gods and the Titans. A more authentic distinction was the possession of the rich city of Potidæa, which occupied the neck of the isthmus by which Pallene was joined to the main-land. This place was founded at a very early date by a colony of Corinthians, but in after times it became a dependency of Athens. Afterwards, near the same site, was founded by Cassander the city of Cassandrea, which at one time was the most opulent municipality in all Macedonia. Other important towns in the peninsula were Clitæ, Aphytis, Neapolis, Thrambus, Mende, and Seione, all of which are mentioned by Herodotus.

Between Pallene and the next of the three peninsulas, named Sithonia, at the head of the gulf, was the celebrated city of Olynthus, founded by Eretrians from Eubœa. This corporation at a very early date adopted a democratic form of government, and taking up the federative system, which had been so successfully employed by the Athenians, became the center of that Olynthian league which will occupy our attention in the times of King Philip. The people of the Sithonian peninsula were of Thracian origin, though several of the towns—such as Galepsus and Torone—were founded by Greek colonies.

The third of the Chalcidician peninsulas is called Acte. It is that tongue of land which terminates in Mount Athos, and which was cut off from the shore by the canal of Xerxes. Acte abounded in towns, of which the principal were Sane—on the Singitic gulf—Uranopolis, Dium, Apollonia, Thyssus, Cleonæ, and Acanthus, which stood at the other extremity of the canal from Sane. This was perhaps the most important city in this part of Chalcidice,

[1] See *sequitur*, p. 621.

and will be frequently mentioned as the scene of historical events. Nor should Arethusa, the burial-place of Euripides, be omitted from a list of Chalcidician towns.

The next of the Macedonian provinces was BISALTIA, situated between the river Strymon and the lake Bolbe. This district was originally settled by colonists from Thrace. It was governed by native kings until the time of Xerxes, and soon afterwards fell into the hands of the Macedonians. The chief town of the province was Argilus, said to have been founded by a colony from the island of Andros. In the interior were several other towns—Ossa, Bisaltes, Berta, Arolus, and Callithera—of no great importance in Macedonian history.

The country of PÆONIA, though after the times of Philip included in Macedon, was previously an independent state. It was by far the largest of those original territories on which the son of Amyntas laid the foundations of his dominion. As early as the time of the Trojan war the Pæonians were powerful enough to be conspicuous in the host of Agamemnon. They embraced originally several barbarian tribes; but these were ultimately gathered into one nation, governed by a single chief. The subordinate provinces into which Pæonia was divided were Pelagonia, with its cities of Stubera and Bryanium; Deuriopis; and the countries of the Almopes, Iori, Agrianes, and Doberes. The various tribes inhabiting these districts gradually lost their individuality, and were absorbed into a single people.

The geography of Macedonia should not be dismissed without a reference to the great thoroughfare by which the different provinces and towns were connected. This was known by its Roman name of *Via Egnatia*, or the Egnatian Way. It was a great military road leading from Lyncestis, on the confines of Illyria to Edessa, Pella, Methone, and the other principal Macedonian cities. From the main way several roads branched north and south, the former leading into Pæonia, Dardania, Mœsia, and the Danubian districts, and the latter into the southern provinces of the kingdom, Thessaly and Central Greece.

In the course of these geographical notes on Macedonia references not a few have been made to the primitive peoples by whom the country was settled. It will now be appropriate to notice somewhat more fully those early populations and their movements down to the time when the kingdom was firmly established by the House of Amyntas. The origin of the Macedonian dynasty has been involved in much dispute. Only one thing may be regarded as certainly established, and that is that the royal family was sprung from the race of the Temenidæ of Argos, and that these were, according to tradition, the descendants of Hercules. The myth is to the effect that the Argive Cavanus, who was the son of Temenus, who was the son of Hercules, led out a colony from his native city, and, arriving in Emathia, overcame the reigning king, Midas, and took possession of Edessa, the capital. It would thus appear that the dynasty was Dorian in its origin, being thus allied with the Lacedæmonians, more than with the Æolian and Ionian races. Herodotus, however, recites the tradition somewhat differently. By him we are told that three brothers—Gavanes, Æropus, and Perdiccas—descendants of Temenus, left Argos, and making their way into Upper Macedonia, succeeded in establishing a kingdom which fell to Perdiccas, the youngest of the three; and with this statement of the Father of History the concurrent testimony of Thucydides may also be adduced. By some authors it is held that there was a double migration, and that the three brothers were the grandsons of Cavanus.

Of the reigns of the first four kings who succeeded the mythical PERDICCAS nothing is known; but in the reign of AMYNTAS (B. C. 537–498), who was the fifth in descent from the founder, the affairs of Macedonia begin to come into the light. It was already the beginning of the Persian aggressions in the West. Megabazus, the general of Darius, having already made considerable conquests in Thrace and Pæonia, advanced to the northern borders of Macedonia; and Amyntas was glad to make his submission as a condition of peace. Soon afterwards some of the Persian officers offered grave insults to the Macedonian women, whereupon Alexander, son of Amyntas, took summary vengeance on the offenders. A diffi-

culty thus arose which was about to bring on war, but hostilities were avoided by the timely marriage of Gygea, daughter of Amyntas, to Bubares, the Persian deputy, who had been sent out to obtain satisfaction for the murder of the Great King's officers.

On his accession to the throne this prince ALEXANDER presented himself for admission to participation in the Olympic games. He was at first refused, but on an examination of his claims to be an Argive by descent, the managers decided that the Macedonian dynasty was indeed Greek, and the prince was accordingly admitted.

The reign of Alexander covered the period of the great Persian invasion of Greece. Macedonia was occupied by the invaders, and the king had a difficult part to perform between the Greeks with whom he sympathized, and the Persians whom he dreaded. He sent much secret information to the allied commanders, but at the same time succeeded in retaining the confidence of the barbarians. At last Mardonius sent him to Athens in a final effort which he made to detach that commonwealth from the Greek league.

During the reign of Perdiccas, who succeeded his father, Alexander (B. C. 476), on the throne, the affairs of the kingdom became more complicated. The prince was of a crafty disposition, and took part according to his interest in the politics of Greece. He sided first with the Lacedæmonian and then with the Athenian party, as success inclined from one to the other. While in league with the Spartans, he induced the revolt of several Athenian dependencies in the north; but for this course he was presently punished with an invasion of his own kingdom by Sitalces, king of Thrace, by whom Macedonia was well-nigh overrun.

From a description given by Thucydides of the extent of the Macedonian dominions in the time of Perdiccas, it may be seen that the country then embraced nearly all the provinces and tribes which were included under the authority of Philip, the father of Alexander. Pæonia had not yet been subjugated, but the remaining districts were nearly all ruled by the house of Temenus. It was a proper retribution to the Macedonian king that the war which he fomented in the north between Athens and Sparta, and which led to the expedition of Brasidas, brought to him no augmentation of power, but only disappointment.

Quite unlike Perdiccas was his son and successor, ARCHELAÜS. He soon proved himself to be the most prudent and liberal of the earlier kings. To his single reign Thucydides ascribes a greater improvement in the condition of the kingdom than to all the eight that had preceded. The internal affairs of the state now began to receive the attention and support of the government. Roads were built, fortresses erected, the army equipped and organized. It was the dawn of art and literature at the Macedonian court. Distinguished men were invited thither by the king, who sought to substitute the reign of intelligence for the reign of force. At his capital Euripides resided for many years, supported by royal favor. Zeuxis, the celebrated painter, lent his genius to the work of decorating the residence of the king. Socrates also was invited to reside in Edessa, but, as usual, that resolute and saturnine genius refused to be beholden to any. A great light began thus to be diffused through the North, which, if less resplendent than the glow which kindled over Athens, was nevertheless such as to dispel the shadows beyond Olympus.

Archelaüs fell by the hand of an assassin, though the occasion and circumstances of his death are not fully known. After his reign Macedonia suffered a decline. Of the careers of the four following kings very little has been preserved either in history or tradition. The fifth sovereign from Archelaüs was AMYNTAS, who inherited the kingdom in a distracted condition, and suffered most of the ills of kingly misfortune. Domestic troubles kept him embroiled, and foreign foes were busy on his borders. Of these the most active were the Illyrians on the west, and the Olynthians on the north-east. From the former he purchased a respite by means of bribes and presents, and from the latter he was saved by the interference of the Spartans. For twenty-four years (B. C. 393–369) he supported the arduous duties of government and died, leaving three sons to the care of their mother, Eurydice.

Of these sons the eldest was Alexander; the second, Perdiccas; and the youngest, PHILIP—*that* Philip who was destined to make his power felt in all the West, and to pave the way for the still greater achievements of his son. Thus through the region of myth and tradition have been traced the brief annals of Macedonia from the days of the earlier Temenidæ to the time when the great state of the North, under the direction of the son of Amyntas, began first to be distinctly felt as a political power, and then to rise rapidly to an unequivocal ascendency over all the surrounding kingdoms.

CHAPTER XLIX.—REIGN OF PHILIP.

OF the career of Philip of Macedon a sketch has already been given in the History of Greece. To him the Macedonian Empire owed its foundation and strength. Without the masterful abilities of his more distinguished son, without the far-reaching ambition of Cæsar, he nevertheless possessed the genius to grasp the condition of his times, and to plant on the ruins of surrounding states the foot of power and dominion.

Philip was the third and youngest son of Amyntas. The eldest brother, Alexander, lost his life in a civil turmoil. PERDICCAS, the next eldest, was hard pressed by opposition, and was on the eve of losing the kingdom, when Pelopidas, the Theban, interfered in his behalf, and secured under his powerful influence the peaceful possession of the crown. It was in gratitude for this support that Perdiccas, as an earnest of good faith and a pledge for the fidelity of Macedonia to the interests of Thebes, gave into the friendly custody of Pelopidas the youth Philip and thirty others from the best families in the kingdom.

Thus it was that destiny prepared the way for greatness. For Philip could hardly have become the distinguished monarch that he was but for the incident which, bringing him to Thebes, threw him into contact with the civilization of the Greeks. His education was of precisely the sort to fashion a hero. He was established in the family of Polymnus, father of Epaminondas; and here he absorbed his first ideas of politics and generalship. He became at an early age familiar with the literature and customs of the Greeks, learned their language, became a Greek himself. The example and influence of Epaminondas, whose conversation and friendship he enjoyed without restriction, molded his views and sentiments. The Theban became his model. He grew like that which he admired; and although his native talents and ambitions were by no means subordinated to the Theban environment, yet so far as education could go towards the shaping of character and the determination of future activities, to that extent undoubtedly was Philip the result of the forces which played upon him while domiciled in Thebes. It must be confessed, moreover, that the Macedonian prince showed himself to be an apter pupil of Epaminondas in the matter of acquiring military skill than in imitating the sterling integrity and moral virtues of his model. For in essential soundness of character Philip was by no means comparable with the Theban general.

During his residence at the Bœotian capital the prince, accompanied by his masters, traveled into other parts of Greece. He visited Athens and was profoundly impressed with the institutions and peculiarities of that city. There he became acquainted with the greatest geniuses of the age. Among his acquaintances and friends were Plato, Isocrates, and Theophrastus. He studied the Athenian character and apprehended its weakness and its strength. He was initiated into the mysteries of Demeter, and while attending one of the celebrations held in honor of this divinity, had the good fortune to meet Olympias, daughter of

the king of Epirus, and mother that was to be of Alexander.

Soón afterwards the prince was called home to enter, under trying circumstances, upon the duties of the kingdom. For a long time Illyria had claimed tribute of Macedonia. During the period when Amyntas, and after him Perdiccas, was supported by the powerful influence of Thebes, the claim had been refused. But when Pelopidas fell in the struggle with Alexander of Pheræ and Epaminondas was presently killed at the battle of Mantinea, Macedonia was left to her own resources, and the claims of the Illyrians were renewed. This pretense, however, was resisted by Perdiccas, who raised an army and took the field to maintain the independence of his kingdom. A hard battle was fought with the king of Illyria, in which the latter was completely victorious. Perdiccas was killed and four thousand of his troops cut to pieces. Macedonia was thus to all seeming left to the mercy of the foe.

Now it was, in B. C. 383, that the youthful PHILIP was hurriedly recalled from his sojourn in Greece to assume the duties of the tottering government. It was, however, as regent for the infant son of Perdiccas, and not in his own right, that he began his public career. The circumstances were disheartening to the last degree. The Illyrians were ravaging the country as the sequel of the victory over Perdiccas. The Pæonians, encouraged by supposed immunity from punishment, descended from the mountains and plundered as they would. Two claimants to the throne, Pausanias and Argæus, came forward in open opposition to Philip. The Athenians were hostile on account of the alliance of Macedonia with Thebes, and sent an army to the North to prevent the rise of Philip to power. The Thracians also availed themselves of the opportunity to make an invasion of the country.

The prince of Macedon, nothing daunted, soon showed himself equal to the emergency of his country. His confidence inspired the people. An ancient oracle had said that Macedonia, under a son of Amyntas, should rise to the highest pitch of power. Philip was now the only son of Amyntas; and should the prophetic voice of the gods prove false? Soldiers rallied to the standard of the prince destined to victory. The Macedonian phalanx, modeled after that of Thebes as constituted by Epaminondas, was created. From every side of the huge living mass projected an impenetrable thicket of spears. With this invincible body of destruction, Philip bore down upon the Illyrians and Pæonians, and in a short time routed them from the country.

This work was less serious than that of disposing of the rival claimants. In the principal Macedonian towns there was a strong party in favor of Argæus. A fleet was sent out by Athens to uphold his pretensions. The squadron anchored before Methone, a city on the Thermaic gulf, and here a junction was effected between the Macedonian malcontents and the Athenians. The combined forces then proceeded to lay siege to Edessa, the capital of the province of Pieria; for it was believed that the capture of this place would decide the fate of the kingdom. But Philip was on the alert, and before the arrival of Argæus before the town, the defenses were so strengthened that it could not be taken. The pretender then became alarmed for his safety and sought to retreat to Methone; but on the way thither he was attacked by Philip and killed. The Macedonians in the army of the malcontents were kindly treated by the king and incorporated with his own forces; and with singular liberality the Athenians under the command of Argæus, were loaded with favors and sent home without any mark of contempt or cruelty. It was upon such acts as these that the future popularity of Philip in Central Greece was laid upon secure foundations. Generosity in the conduct of war was a new thing under Grecian skies—a fact which at the first it was difficult to understand or appreciate.

By this time the Illyrians had rallied from their first chastisement and gathered in great force on the western frontier. They were led by their king Bardyllus, now more than ninety years of age. A decisive battle was fought in which the new tactics and spirit of the Macedonians bore down all oppositon. A signal victory was gained by Philip. Bardyllus was slain and the shattered powers of his government were unable to offer further resistance.

Illyria was converted into a Macedonian province. This was the last of the premonitory struggles by which the authority of Philip was established on a basis that could not be shaken.

The ambition of the king, however, was by no means appeased by these initial successes. The condition of Greece, moreover, at this time was such as to furnish abundant food for the aspiring spirit of the Macedonian ruler. In the long struggle between Thebes and Sparta, by which the resources of each had been, in a measure, exhausted, Athens had, in some degree, regained her pristine influence among the Grecian states. Epaminondas was dead, and the brief but glorious ascendency of Thebes had perished with him. Sparta was so broken by the long struggle of the war, that she exhibited no present symptoms of a revival.

ARISTOTLE.—Museo Visconti, Iconographica Greca.

The Athenians were thus left in a temporary predominance in the affairs of Greece. But a foe more dangerous than the hosts of Persia, more to be dreaded than the Spartan Phalanx, was rapidly sapping the foundation of Attic strength. The spirit of the people had given way to fickleness and frivolity. Patriotism was well-nigh dead. The old heroic virtues were extinct. The new vices of licentiousness ran riot in the streets; and even the shrill clarion of Demosthenes was unable to evoke from the lethargy of his country, the indignant flash of ancient heroism.

Nor were the Phocians and Thessalians in a better condition to resist the possible growth of Macedonia. The former people, brave and daring as they were, had exhausted their energies in the conflicts of the Sacred War, and the latter had been so mischievously governed by Alexander of Pheræ, and were by disposition so reckless and eager for change as to form no bulwark against the designs of such a prince as Philip. That discerning monarch readily perceived in the condition of the Grecian states that Athens, being the most influential, should be first won to his interests.

Being by nature crafty and diplomatic, Philip adopted the policy of creating and fostering in Athens a Macedonian party, upon which he could rely in the work of extending his influence over Greece. He accordingly espoused the Athenian cause in the Olynthian war, and aided the Greeks in regaining possession of Amphipolis. The latter, with their usual duplicity, soon repaid him by inducing the seaport town of Pydna to revolt, and it was in vain that Philip remonstrated against the bad faith of his allies. Thus early in the relation of the two powers was a breach effected and the seed sown of unending distrust. The immediate effect was as unfortunate for Athens as it was displeasing to Philip; for the Greeks were obliged, for the time, to abandon the siege of Amphipolis, and to try to save the honor of the state by the capture of a few unimportant towns in Thrace. But what they thus failed to accomplish by force of arms was soon effected by one of their commanders. A certain Charidemus, having gone over to the Olynthians, succeeded in persuading the Amphipolitans that their interests required them to enter into an alliance with Athens.

In the mean time Philip added to the dignity and promise of his court by marrying Olympias, daughter of the king of Epirus, a princess of great vivacity and beauty. Within a year, and on the very day of the announcement of a great victory by his general, Parmenio, Philip received the news that an heir was born to the throne of Macedon. It was to the king an event of great joy. He immediately expressed his delight in the following letter the philosopher Aristotle, whom he at once selected as the future teacher of his son:

"King Philip to Aristotle. Health! You are to know that a son hath been born to us. We thank the gods not so much for having bestowed him on us as for bestowing him at a time when Aristotle lives. We assure ourselves that you will form him a prince worthy to be our successor, and a king worthy of Macedon. Farewell."

Returning to the relation of Philip to the Greeks, the next important complications to be noted were those arising from the Social War. Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, and Cos, supported by king Mausolus, rose against the Athenians and entered into a league for mutual defense. A declaration was published that the members of the alliance were "resolved henceforward to protect their own commerce with their own fleets; and wanting thus nothing from the Athenian navy they would, of course, pay nothing for its support." At the same time an insurrection broke out in the island of Euboea; and the Thebans, being solicited to aid those in rebellion, passed over thither with an army. But the Athenian general, Timotheus, succeeded without great difficulty in bringing the insurgents to submission, and as for the Thebans, who had rashly rushed into the conflict, they were glad to capitulate with the privilege of retiring from the island.

At this juncture, however, and before Timotheus could proceed against the other states in insurrection, the alarming news was borne from the North that Philip, justly angered at the Athenians for having induced the inhabitants of Pydna to revolt against him, had made an alliance with Olynthus, thus threatening the overthrow of Potidæa, Methone, and all the other dependencies of Athens in that region. Owing, however, to the distracted condition of Attic public opinion, it was thought better to enter into negotiations with Philip and the Olynthians rather than to take up the sword. Thus would the Athenians be left free to bring the Social War to successful conclusion. Ambassadors were accordingly dispatched from Athens to Macedon, and a counter embassy was presently sent by Philip.

Not much headway was made, however, toward the establishment of peace. The politic Macedonian king made some concessions to the Athenians, especially by the surrender of the town Anthemus, but he reserved his settled purpose to wrench from the Greeks, at the earliest opportunity, the possession of Amphipolis. Nor was the occasion long deferred. Having fomented the discord which already existed in the city, and strengthened as far as practicable the Macedonian party among the Amphipolitans, he suddenly besieged the place and compelled a surrender. The Athenian party within the walls was subjected to no persecutions. The prisoners were set at liberty, only a few of the more rampant leaders of the Athenian faction being reserved for banishment.

Having secured this important conquest, Philip immediately turned his attention to the two towns of Pydna and Potidæa. In both of these cities, as well as in all the other Chalcidician towns, a strong party remained attached to the interests of the king, and by a prudent use of this friendly faction the work of subjugation was abridged and facilitated. Such was the influence of the king with the inhabitants of both Pydna and Potidæa that both places were taken without any prolonged investment or serious opposition from within.

In both captures Philip again displayed his magnanimity. Indeed, Potidæa was voluntarily restored to the Olynthians, the king being careful, however, to protect the Athenian faction from the rage of the natives. His liberality extended even to supplying with a free hand the needs of those who had been suddenly reduced by the capitulation to poverty. The effect of this unusual procedure was still further to strengthen the ever-widening influence of the Macedonian. All the towns from the borders of Thessaly to the Thracian Chersonesus, acting of their own accord, renounced their relations with the Greeks and added themselves to the dominions of the king. Even in the streets of Athens the praises of Philip were freely spoken by his friends and admirers.

So great was the embarrassment of the Greeks, occasioned by the liberality of the popular monarch of the North, that the latter was left comparatively free to prosecute what plan soever he might adopt for the further extension of his power. His next enterprise was the conquest of Thrace. The king of this country was Sitalces—a kind of "genius," being a mixture of ruler and rhapsodist. He affected in his government the manners of the East. He chose not war as a pursuit, or to devote himself to those works which the ancients regarded as heroic. To Iphicrates, the

favorite Athenian general, he gave his daughter in marriage, trusting by this soft method of substitution to station a warrior between himself and harm. Thus might he find opportunity to retire with his court to some Arcadian river-bank, and there sit musing among the flowers while the brutal race of his fellowmen surrendered itself to the bloody intoxications of war. Albeit the king of Macedon made short work with this poetic sovereign, who, unable to meet the pupil of Epaminondas in the field, sent to him a literary effusion, with which he thought to soften the stony heart of Mars. But Mars and his officers were infinitely amused. They laughed immoderately at this new species of tactics, and then proceeded to complete the conquest of the country.[1] In the course of the expedition the gold mines of Thrace were captured by the Macedonians, who immediately began to work them with such success that Philip's revenues are said therefrom to have been augmented by more than a million of dollars annually.

The king of Macedon, caring nothing for his friend Sitalces, whom he had just subdued, permitted that ruler to remain in nominal authority. Scarcely, however, had Philip withdrawn from Thrace when an insurrection broke out under the leadership of Miltocythes. The latter was supported by the Athenian party. Nevertheless Philip, though seeing clearly that the movement was instigated by his enemies, permitted the revolt to take its course until Sitalces was assassinated by a certain Python, who thereupon repaired to Athens and was rewarded for the murder. Not even this circumstance, nor the subsequent persecution of the infant son of Sitalces by the Athenian party, induced Philip to interfere. Keeping steadily in view the one great purpose of extending his authority over the whole of the Grecian peninsula, he was willing—even desired—that the Athenians and Thracians should exhaust themselves in the struggle, to the end that he might be the gainer from their weakness.

The events which led to the outbreak of the Sacred War, beginning as it did in the animosity of Thebes and Phocis, and involving in its course nearly all of Central and most of Southern Greece, have already been narrated in the preceding Book.[1] It will be remembered that the Phocians, under the lead of the able Philomelus, and supported, though somewhat feebly, by Archidamus of Sparta, availed themselves of the resources of the Delphic temple, organized an army of mercenaries and defended themselves year after year against the assaults of the Thebans and their allies. They even defied the wrath of heaven, for the decree pronounced against them by the venerable Amphictyons was set at naught.

In the struggle that ensued the Athenians, though nominally arraying themselves with the enemies of Phocis, in reality stood aloof. For their own complications in the North, and especially the dread and suspicion of Philip, kept their attention directed to himward rather than to the vortex which was whirling around Delphi. There is good ground for believing that Athens, even at this time, contemplated sending an invitation to Philip to interfere actively against the defilers of the Delphic temple, and thus to become a member of the Hellenic body. Perhaps the suggestion of such a course was inspired by the king himself, who greatly desired in this half-peaceable way to become a participant in the affairs of Greece.

In the mean time, however, Philip's interest was more immediately excited by the project of adding Methone to his possessions. This city was accordingly invested, and was brought to the brink of capitulation before the Athenians could interfere. Nor did their troops arrive, even at the last, in time to save the Methoneans from the clutches of their adversary. The town was taken in B. C. 353, and although the fortifications were razed to the ground and the lands divided among the soldiers, the prisoners were treated with the greatest moderation and humanity. Each was allowed without molestation to go quietly forth

[1] It was during this campaign of Philip in Thrace that he came upon the Thæsian colony of Crenidæ. Liking the situation of the settlement, he dislodged the occupants, and substituted in their place a company of Macedonians. The new colony was named Philippi—afterward rendered famous by the overthrow of Brutus and Cassius.

[1] See Book Eighth, p. 605.

in search of a new home. Whether acting from humane and philanthropic motives or merely from the suggestions of policy, the conduct of the great Macedonian was in most grateful contrast with that of the other heroes of his age.

It was during the siege of Methone that Philip had the misfortune to lose one of his eyes. A random arrow discharged from the rampart fell square in the king's face and destroyed one-half of his sight. When the arrow-head was drawn away, it was found to contain the following label: "Astor to Philip's right eye." It appeared on inquiry that the unerring missile had been discharged by an offended archer who had recently offered his services to the king and been rejected. He had represented to Philip that his skill with the bow was so great that he could kill a small bird on the wing. The king not believing the story had put off the applicant with the remark, "Well, well, I shall make use of thee when I go to war with the starlings." Astor had then joined the Methoneans and now vindicated his skill in a way never to be forgotten.

"ASTOR TO PHILIP'S RIGHT EYE."

Meanwhile the Phocian general, Philomelus, was succeeded by Onomarchus, who in a short time effected an alliance with Lycophron, generalissimo of Thessaly, whom Philip had recently deposed from office. The issue was thus made of sustaining Lycophron by Phocian and overthrowing him by Macedonian influence. Philip marched into Thessaly, as did also Phayllus, brother of Onomarchus. A severe battle was fought and the Phocians were defeated; but Onomarchus immediately came to the scene with another army, and the victory was reversed by the overthrow of the Macedonians.

It was now the turn of Philip to rally and fight for his kingdom; for had Onomarchus successfully followed up the advantage gained by the defeat of his adversary, the king might have been hard pressed to save his crown; but to him the defeat which he had sustained was but a temporary reverse. He at once reörganized his forces and augmented them to twenty thousand men. Onomarchus again came to the contest with an equal number of troops. Philip openly avowed his cause to be that of the Greeks—the cause of Apollo and liberty against irreligion and the despotism of a tyrant.

Taking advantage of the superstition of the people, he decked the heads of his soldiers with laurel, the emblem sacred to Phœbus. A spirit of enthusiasm was thus diffused through the army; nor did the Phocians come to the conflict without the highest incentives of battle.

The struggle that ensued was long and bloody. As between the Macedonian and Phocian phalanxes, it seemed doubtful which would bear the other down. At length, however, the fate of the day was decided by a charge of the Thessalian cavalry which broke the lines of Onomarchus, and was the beginning of his overthrow. The Phocians wavered and then fled. They were pressed into the sea by the triumphant Macedonians. Nor did the Athenian squadron, which just then hove in sight, arrive in time to bring succor to the fugitives. Six thousand of the Phocians fell in the battle and the flight. Onomarchus himself was killed and his body hung on a gibbet, Departing from his usual method in victory, and yielding to that despicable spirit of religious bigotry, which caught from the supposed vindictiveness of the gods, has in every age converted men into demons, Philip gave his assent to the murder of the three thousand prisoners who fell into his hands. The effect of this decisive victory was to reverse completely the relative prospects of the two parties in the North, and still further to open the way for the ambitious projects of the king. His position was already such as to enable him to influence the destinies—at least indirectly—of most of the states of Greece. His army was the most effective in all Europe. His soldiers believed in his talents and courage. He had shown himself capable of magnanimity. Even superstition looked out from under her cowl, and gave him a sardonic smile as the avenger of sacrilege.

After the defeat and death of Onomarchus, the command of the Phocian army was devolved on Phayllus. The treasures of Delphi still sufficed to hire and equip armies. When it was seen that Apollo did not come down in sublime anger to destroy the profaners of his shrine, several of the other states seemed to have caught an itching palm for a share in the divine resources. The pliable Athens was not proof against the seductions of the sacred gold, and a force of five thousand of her citizens were enrolled under the mercenary banner of Phocis. The Achæans, too, were ready to share the spoils, and sent a contingent to be paid from the Delphic treasury.

Notwithstanding these preparations, however, the Thebans showed themselves more than a match for the heterogeneous soldiery commanded by Phayllus. The war continued with varying successes until finally at CHÆRONEA a decisive battle was fought in which the Phocians were disastrously routed. After this the scene of hostilities was transferred to Peloponnesus. Sparta took up the cause of Phocis. Megalopolis was besieged, and the adherents of the sacred cause were hard pressed, until the Thebans came to the rescue.

In the mean time the Athenians were busy in planning trouble for Philip in Thrace and Thessaly. Their most successful piece of diplomacy was in the instigation of the revolt of Olynthus. The king himself was absent on a campaign in Thrace when the news was borne to him of the Olynthian secession. It was not easy to perceive for what reason that people had rebelled against his authority; but it is certain that the Athenians were privy to what was done, for they immediately despatched a fleet under the command of Chares to uphold the insurgents. It was late in the year before Philip could return from his Thracian campaign and direct his attention to the rebellious city. When he approached with a large army the fears of the inhabitants got the better of their rash patriotism, and they sent out envoys to the king to discuss the question of a settlement. But Philip was now thoroughly angered, and resolved to punish the Olynthians according to their deserts. The city was rigorously besieged, and was soon obliged to surrender at discretion. In this case the discretion was used with great severity. Olynthus was leveled to the ground. The people were made prisoners and sold by public auction into slavery. No age or sex was spared by the enraged king, whose wrath, as is alleged, was fanned by the philosopher, Aristotle, who was present at the sale, pointing out to Philip the richest citizens, and suggest-

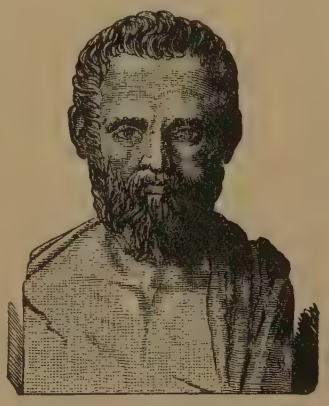
ing in what manner the heaviest ransoms might be obtained.

By this time the power of the king of Macedon was so well established, and his warlike fame had sounded so far, as to make even the factious Greeks wary of further hostilities. They accordingly made overtures for peace, and sending a deputation of their most distinguished citizens to represent the state, opened negotiations with the king. The two orators, DEMOSTHENES and ÆSCHINES, were the spokesmen on behalf of the Greeks. After some length of discussion, in which it is said that the former, owing to the strangeness of the situation and the importance of the business in hand, appeared to a great disadvantage as compared with his rival, the conference was adjourned, and a counter embassy was presently thereafter sent to Athens to make known the views of the king respecting the terms of peace.

Then followed the usual hot discussions in the Athenian assembly, and then in B. C. 346, five plenipotentiaries were appointed to go to Pella, the Macedonian capital, and conclude a settlement. Here the terms of the treaty were finally decided. All the states were brought to peace except Halus, which was excluded at the dictation of Athens, and Phocis, which was made an exception by the demand of Philip. Thus was a pacification effected between Athens and Macedonia, and Philip was freed to bring the Phocian war to a conclusion.

Accordingly, as soon as the treaty was made, a decree was passed by the Athenian assembly declaring that unless the Phocians should at once surrender the temple of Delphi to the Amphictyons, Athens would enter the league against them. Philip himself addressed a letter of the same tenor to his allies in Central Greece, inviting all to join him in bringing to a sudden end the resistance of the contumacious Phocians. This proposition was rejected, however, by the Athenians, who greatly desired the friendly interest of Philip when it was manifested at a proper distance. Their duplicity, moreover, soon led them to open negotiations with Phocis; but the latter distrusted the overtures of her would-be ally, and continued the war.

It was at this juncture of affairs that the scholarly and eloquent ISOCRATES gave to the Greeks his elaborate oration on the condition and true policy of the country. On the whole the theory of the address was that the Greek race should accept the leadership of Philip in a crusade against barbarism. A pacific tone was assumed throughout, and the idea of a common cause in which the Greeks and Macedonians should embark against a common enemy was made predominant. The oration was after the manner of the times addressed to Philip, and concluded in the following words: "The sum of what I advise is this—that you act beneficially toward the Greeks; that you reign constitutionally over the Macedonians; that you extend your sway as wide as may be over the barbarians. And thus will you earn the gratitude of all; of the Greeks, for the good you will do them; of the Macedonians, if you will preside over them constitutionally and not tyrannically; and of all others, as far as you relieve them from barbaric despotism, and place them under the mildness of a Grecian administration. Others must have their opinions of what the times require, and will judge for themselves how far what is here written may be adapted to them; but I am fully confident that no one will give you better advice or any more fitly accommodated to the existing state of things."



ISOCRATES.
Museo Visconti.

The effect of this able and dispassionate oration was favorable to a general pacification, but not on the basis of the local independence of the Greek states. The positions assumed by Isocrates were ably and passionately controverted by Demosthenes and other democratic orators. Nor does it appear that Philip himself was at this time especially anxious to assume the office of arbiter in settling the

quarrels of his southern neighbors. For the present he was detained with his campaign against Halus. That brought to a successful conclusion, he once more turned his attention to the affairs of Phocis and resolved to bring the Sacred War to a sudden end.

Collecting a large army, Philip advanced by way of Thermopylæ into Central Greece. Here he was joined by the Thebans. The Phocians quickly perceived that their day had come. Athens was not to be trusted. Sparta had designs of her own. All Peloponnesus was wavering toward the Macedonian interest. The Phocian army was now under command of Phalæcus, who, perceiving the hopelessness of the cause, offered to capitulate. Philip agreed that he should retire unmolested into Southern Greece. The principal towns of Phocis were then surrendered to the king.

The passions of the Thebans against those who had so long resisted them could hardly be restrained; but Philip insisted that the terms should be observed. The general question of what should be done with Phocis and her inhabitants remained to be settled by a congress of the states, which was now convened by Philip at Thermopylæ. Before this body the most cruel demands were made by the extreme party of the Amphictyons. The deputies from Œta demanded that all the Phocians should be hurled down from the cliffs about Delphi; but Philip was less vindictive than Phœbus, and the penalty finally voted by the council, though excessive in its severity, was less bloody than might have been expected.

The terms granted were these: The Phocians should lose forever their place in the Amphictyonic council; the three principal cities of Phocis should be dismantled, and the remaining towns destroyed; no hamlet should be permitted of more than fifty houses, nor any nearer to the next than a furlong; the heavy arms and horses belonging to the people should be given up; finally, a tax of sixty talents annually should be assessed upon the lands of Phocis until all the squandered treasures of the Delphic shrine should be replaced. To Philip was assigned the duty of enforcing the conditions; and in order that he might the more consistently undertake the settlement, the two votes hitherto belonging to Phocis in the council of the Amphictyons were transferred to him, with full membership in the body.

It appears that, with the exception of the anti-Macedonian party in Athens, nearly all the Greeks were satisfied with the conditions of peace. The moderation of Philip and the general wisdom of the measures which he promoted were such as to elicit hearty praises. Even Demosthenes, in his oration, *On the Crown*, concedes the great popularity of the king in the time just succeeding the treaty. Diodorus, who, however, was more favorable to the Macedonian interest, says: "Philip, after concurring with the Amphictyons in their choice for the common welfare of Greece, providing means for carrying them into execution, and conciliating good will on all sides by his humanity and affability, returned into his kingdom, bearing with him the glory of piety, added to the fame of military talents and bravery; in possession of a popularity which gave him great advantage for the future extension of his power."

The peace thus established was generally accepted as a finality. The smaller states, which had long been subject to the domination of the stronger, found the authority of Philip more tolerable than that of their former masters. All of the Peloponnesian states without exception favored the new *régime*, and in Central Greece, only Athens looked askance at the preëminent influence thus conceded to the king.

The promising heir to the throne of Macedonia was now fourteen years of age. ARISTOTLE, his instructor, resided at the court. Upon him and his influence over the prince, the king bestowed the most anxious attention. The philosopher received royal honors at the hands of his liberal master. He was loaded with favors. His birthplace, the town of Stagira, was rebuilt and beautified by the orders of Philip. The monarch, as a farther mark of consideration, laid out near Pella a spacious and beautiful park, in which were shady walks, rustic seats, marble statues, and cool retreats in which the Peripatetics gathered to discuss the origin of things and the destiny of man.

At this time the most disturbed region adjacent to King Philip's dominions was Thrace. In the eastern part of this country a leader named Cersobleptes arose, and acting under an inspiration from Athens, gathered a large force of insurgents. It was found necessary to bring a Macedonian army into the country before the rebellion could be suppressed. The work, however, was easily accomplished, and the coast districts of Thrace were incorporated with Macedonia.

ARISTOTLE AND HIS PUPIL, ALEXANDER.

Soon afterwards the king undertook an expedition into barbarous Scythia; but the northern wilds proved to him as they had done to Darius, a more formidable foe than a phalanx of spears in an open field. Philip was snowbound in a desolate country where he could find no enemies. After his army had been brought to the borders of starvation he was glad with the opening of spring to make his way back to his own capital.

Before his return, however, rumors of his sickness and death had been scattered throughout Greece; nor did such reports fail to produce the usual results. The Athenians seized the opportunity to organize a fleet and send it against the maritime dependencies of Macedon. Marauding expeditions were made along the coast, and in defiance of the terms of the recent treaty, the influence of the Greeks was used to induce revolt and dissensions in Philip's kingdom. The Athenian admiral, Diopithes, instigated by the clamors of the assembly, now under the lead of Demosthenes, proceeded to positive hostility, and took by storm two towns belonging to Philip. Those who escaped from the assault were dispersed into the Chersonesus, and the Macedonian envoys who were sent to remonstrate against the outrage, were thrown into prison. In the next place an embargo was laid upon all ships sailing into Macedonian ports, by which means the growing commerce of the kingdom was suddenly cut off and destroyed.

While this business was progressing in the North, Demosthenes entered into correspondence with Persia, with a view to securing the coöperation of that country against the growing power of Philip. The project was successful to the extent of obtaining from the court at Susa a large remittance of money to be used by the Athenians according to their discretion. By this means the fleets were still further strengthened, and the island of Eubæa, long alienated from Athens, was won back to her old relations.

Meanwhile Philip returned from his Scythian campaign. It is related that as he was making his way back to his capital he was attacked by a wild people called the Triballi, in the passes of the Mæsian mountains. So sudden and fierce was the onset that for a while the Macedonians were well-nigh overwhelmed. Nothing but the desperate exertions of the king and the valor of his soldiery saved him from utter rout. Philip himself was dangerously wounded in the thigh, and was about to be taken when the prince Alexander, rushed to his side and covered him with his shield. Victory finally declared for the Macedonians. The barbarians were driven back with great losses, but the king's army also suffered not a little, and himself was lamed for life.[1]

As soon as Philip was himself again he undertook the reconquest of those cities which had revolted against him. His first movements were directed against Perinthus and other towns on the Hellespont. In this enterprise, however, he was, on account of the weakness of the Macedonian navy, unable to make any headway, and the campaign had to be abandoned. This want of success greatly exhilarated the Athenians, and Demosthenes redoubled his exertions to secure favorable alliances for Athens, and to induce further defection among the dependencies of Macedonia.

[1] Philip was greatly embarrassed by his wounded limb. He is reported to have been sensitive on the score of his lameness. It was on this account that Alexander indulged in his famous piece of pleasantry at his father's expense: "How can you, sir," said the prince, "be displeased at an accident which *at every step* serves to remind you of your valor?"

At this juncture of affairs the Greek states were again thrown into commotion by the prospect of war among themselves. The people of Amphissa, seeing in some of the grounds sacred to Apollo a fine opportunity of gardening, set at defiance the old Amphictyonic decree and began to honor nature with cultivation. This act raised the cry of sacrilege, and another sacred war was imminent; but the influence of Philip was so great that he was elected president of the Amphictyons and was thus brought into a position to mitigate, if not prevent, the expected conflict.

Athens, meanwhile, was busy in creating a coalition against Philip. Thebes was induced to join her. Corinth, though for many years standing aloof from the hostile broils in which most of the states had been immersed, gave her adherence to the anti-Macedonians and exhibited an unwonted energy of preparation.[1] Philip, though cognizant of this unfriendly business, proceeded in his own way. He convened the Amphictyons at Thermopylæ and laid before them the complaints against the people of Amphissa. In obedience to the order of the council he issued an edict requiring all the states to furnish a contingent of troops for the punishment of the sacrilege of tilling Apollo's ground. The Athenians and their allies were thus thrown into a most unpleasant dilemma. Either they must answer Philip's call and join him in a crusade against the Amphissians, or else they must array themselves by the side of those who had profaned the national religion. They chose the latter course, and actually sent ten thousand mercenaries to the aid of the sacrilegious city! It was done, not that they loved the defilers of Apollo's lands, but dreaded Philip of Macedon.

The alliance, however, was of no great value to the Amphissians. Against them the king at once proceeded and they were soon

[1] A happy incident is related of this movement on the part of the Corinthians. While they were busily engaged in preparing for war, Diogenes, who now resided in Corinth, was seen anxiously and energetically rolling his tub from one place to another. When inquiry was made of him why he did so, he replied that he did not desire to appear singular by being the only man in Corinth who was not absurdly employed!

subdued and punished, but with far less severity than had been visited upon the obstinate Phocians.

As soon as Philip's success had been such as to alarm the assembly at Athens that body dispatched an embassy to the king to complain of his *violation of the treaty!* As a matter of fact, they themselves had violated it from the beginning, and he had observed the terms with scrupulous fidelity. Still he replied to the envoys, and through them to the Athenian people, with such severe courtesy as the circumstances seemed to warrant. His letter was as follows:

"Philip, King of the Macedonians, to the Athenian council and people, greeting. What your disposition towards me has been from the beginning, I am not ignorant, nor with what earnestness you have endeavored to gain the Thessalians, the Thebans, and the rest of the Bœotians to your party. But now you find them too wise to submit their interests to your direction, you change your course and send ministers with a herald to me to admonish me of the treaty, and demand a truce, having in truth been injured by me in nothing. Nevertheless, I have heard your ambassadors, and consent to all your desires; nor shall I take any step against you, if, dismissing those who advise you ill, you consign them to their deserved ignominy. So may you prosper."

The last clause of the king's paper, relating to the dismissal of the democratic leaders, was directed against Demosthenes and his associates. These were themselves now the ruling influence in the assembly, and Philip's address was not therefore likely to be received with favor. The passions of the "sovereign multitude" were swayed by the very powers which were to be renounced and consigned to ignominy.

Meanwhile the Thebans, after much wavering between interest and inclination, decided in favor of an Athenian alliance, and as soon as the league was effected the assembly of Athens dispatched into Bœotia a large force, to occupy the frontier towns which would lie first in the way of a Macedonian invasion. Philip at the head of his forces took possession of the town of Elateia, which commanded the pass of Thermopylæ. While occupying this position he made one further effort to secure a settlement of their difficulties without the shedding of blood; but his overtures were regarded by the allies as so many symptoms of fear. The Macedonian party, on the other hand, urged the king's sincerity, as evidenced in his previous course; and but for the hot appeals which were poured from the popular tribunals peace might still have been preserved. It was, however, in Thebes, rather than in Athens, that symptoms of wavering were most discoverable. Demosthenes accordingly repaired to the former city, and poured out the fiery torrent of his eloquence to persuade those who faltered to stand fast in their resistance to the common foe.[1]

The allied army of mercenaries now thrown into the field consisted of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse. The Bœotian hoplites consisted of fourteen thousand, while the Athenian division comprised nearly twenty thousand men. The army of Philip exceeded thirty thousand, and though inferior in numbers to the combined forces of the allies was greatly superior to them in discipline and organization.

The battle-field on which the destinies of Greece were now to be decided was at CHÆRONEA. Here in the summer of B. C. 338 it was to be determined whether the old organization, involving a multitude of petty and independent states, should be longer maintained, or whether the expanding kingdom of the North should dominate the whole peninsula of Hellas. The issue was really decided by the military genius of Philip, against whom the allied Greeks could bring no commander of equal abilities. The youthful Alexander, too, bore a conspicuous part in the contest. The battle was long and sanguinary. The victory inclined to the Macedonians. The defeat of the allied forces was complete and overwhelming. Philip, with his usual moderation, dismissed the prisoners without punishment. The bodies of the dead were sent to

[1] It was in the course of the oration delivered on this occasion that Demosthenes swore by Pallas Athene that if any one should dare to say that peace ought to be made with Philip he would himself seize him by the hair and drag him to prison.

Athens for burial, and the king sent thither his general Antipater and his son Alexander to treat with the Athenians on the subject of peace. He invited them to renew the compact which had recently existed between Greece and Macedon. A counter embassy was returned to the king, and the Greeks were only too ready to accept the favorable conditions which were offered.

As soon as peace was reëstablished the attention of Philip was directed to the king of Persia. For some time it had been his policy to establish himself at the head of a Hellenic confederacy, and then hurl the united forces of Greece and Macedonia upon the dominions of the Great King, against whom all the people of the West cherished so profound an antipathy. Diodorus, in his account of the course pursued by Philip at this juncture, says: "The king, encouraged by his victory at Chæronea, by which the most renowned states had been checked and confounded, was ambitious of becoming the military commander and head of the Greek nation. He declared, therefore, his intention of carrying war, in the common cause of the Greeks, against the Persians. A disposition to concur in this purpose and to attach themselves to him as their chief pervaded the Grecian people. Communicating then with all, individuals as well as states, in a manner to conciliate favor, he expressed his desire of meeting the nation in congress to concert measures for the great object in view, and such a body was accordingly convened at Corinth. This explanation of his intentions excited great hopes, and so produced the desired concurrence that at length the Greeks elected him generalissimo of their confederate powers. Great preparations for the Persian war were put forward, and the proportion of troops to be furnished by every state was calculated and determined."

The final scene in Philip's eventful and ambitious career was now at hand. The army of more than two hundred thousand men, raised by the allied states to war against the Persians, was destined to be led into Asia by another. After his victory at Chæronea the monarch returned to his capital, and in B. C. 336, occupied a brief interval with the marriage of his daughter to Alexander, king of Epirus. A feast was made in honor of the occasion. When the banquet was at its height and Philip, after the manner of the times, had given himself freely to indulgence, a certain Pausanias, who harbored a grudge against the king on account of a supposed injury, plunged a dagger into his breast and laid him lifeless. The assassin immediately fled, but before he could make his escape through the city gates he was overtaken and instantly cut down.

The causes of this tragic event, beyond the petty resentment which the murderer was known to have felt, have never been determined. The most plausible theory of the assassination is that which attributes it to the revenge of Olympias, who, in the preceding year had been discarded by the king. Philip had chosen in her place a maiden named Cleopatra, daughter of Attalus, one of his generals. It is said that the conduct of Olympias, on hearing of the murder of the king, was such as to warrant the suspicion that she had been privy to his taking off. The sudden destruction of the assassin prevented his divulging his motives, and it is therefore not known whether political influences originating in Greece or Persia had any thing to do with procuring the crime.

Philip of Macedon may be fairly ranked as the greatest ruler of his time. At the beginning of his career he had to battle with limited resources to create and consolidate his kingdom. Such was his success that at the close of his reign—though the end was precipitated by sudden violence—the Macedonian supremacy was established on a basis not to be shaken. Nor was it more by force and military genius than by the possession of great civil abilities that he gained his preëminence. He was a diplomatist, a thinker, a discerner of motives. His disposition was more humane than the age he lived in. His self-possession was remarked by all who came into his presence. His power of conversing and his affable manners made his company to be sought by the learned and polite. The summary given by Diodorus respecting Philip's character may be quoted with approval: "He es-

teemed mere physical courage and physical strength in the field as among the lowest qualities of a superior officer. He set an almost exclusive value on military science as distinguished from personal prowess, and not less on the talent of conversing, persuading, and conciliating those over whom a general might be appointed to preside. Upon these qualities he founded the only favorable opinion which he entertained of himself; for he was wont to remark that the merit of success in battle he could only share with those under him, whereas the victories he gained by argument, affability, and kindness were all his own."

CHAPTER L.—ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

HEN Philip was assassinated the prince ALEXANDER was in his twentieth year. Doubtless the vague suspicion which associated him with his father's murder was groundless and unjust. Even if Olympias was properly charged with complicity in the crime, it is not likely that Alexander, who was almost constantly with his father, and appears to have been greatly attached to him, would connive at his destruction. It is more probable that in so far as the assassination had any political significance, it was based on a scheme to transfer the crown to Amyntas, the son of Antiochus, and was therefore in the highest degree *against* the interest of Alexander. Nor was it in accord with the character of the prince to begin his career with parricide.

In accordance with custom, the new king was conducted to the throne with military pomp. He addressed the Macedonian nobles who were assembled to witness the ceremony in words well calculated to inspire confidence. He declared his purpose to rule in accordance with the policy adopted by his father, and added with great gravity: "The king's name is changed, but the king you shall find remains the same." As an earnest of his purpose, he retained his father's officers, both in the government and in the army; nor might any one find cause to complain on account of his own disparagement in the esteem and honor of the court.

It was not to be apprehended, however, that a prince of twenty could succeed such a ruler as Philip, whose powerful arm had made his name a terror to conspirators, without many and serious trials. It was to be expected that not a few of the turbulent peoples over whom the father had held sway would try the courage and tempt the patience of the son. At this time, moreover, the influence of Persia was constantly felt in the West, particularly in the states of Greece. The agents of Darius went everywhere to promote the interests of their master by creating confusion in the counsels of his enemies. The purpose of Philip to invade Asia was well known at the court of Susa, and the news of that monarch's death was received with delight by the Persian king, who fondly imagined that the youthful successor of the great Macedonian would be unable to prosecute his father's ambitious plans. The emissaries of Darius understood thoroughly the factious and turbulent spirit of the Greeks, and the policy pursued was that of fanning the slumbering jealousy of the states until it should burst into a flame of insurrection.

The first attention of the new king was directed to Thessaly. Of those states included within the limits of Northern Greece, this was the most powerful ally of the Macedonians. The agents sent out by Alexander found the Thessalians in a loyal disposition, and the friendly relations existing between them and Philip were easily confirmed. The civil and military authority of the state remained in the same hands as before. The influence of Thessaly thus became of great importance to Alexander, who was able to use his ally to good advantage in securing the allegiance of the other states.

The next important matter occupying the attention of the young king was the meeting of the Amphictyonic council at Thermopylæ. It was necessary for Alexander to have conferred on him his father's seat as president of that venerable body. This dignity, however, was easily attained at the hands of the Amphictyons, and Alexander immediately sought the still higher honor of being elected generalissimo of all the Greeks. For this purpose a

congress of the states was called to meet at Corinth. When the body was assembled, the king proposed to the delegates that the great expedition against Persia, which had been cut short by the death of his father, should now be resumed, and that himself should be elected to command the combined forces of the West. The proposition was readily assented to by a majority of the delegates, though not without the opposition of the Lacedæmonians, who held that they were restrained by an ancient custom from committing the command of their armies to another.

It appears, withal, from this circumstance, that the deliberations of the congress were untrammeled by any fear of the king, each state being allowed to exercise the suffrage in its own way. Thus was brought to a successful conclusion the preliminary arrangements by which the largest and most important expedition ever undertaken in Greece was intrusted to a youth of twenty years.

Now it was that the ambitions of Alexander found free scope for exercise. Preparations were immediately resumed for the equipment of the army for the grand campaign into Asia. It was perhaps fortunate for Alexander that at this juncture difficulties arose which furnished an opportunity to test his capacities and try the mettle of his soldiery in a field near home. Before the expedition could set out for Asia Minor, ominous clouds gathered around his kingdom, and threatening invasions gathered on three sides of the realm. On the west the Illyrians revolted and resumed their independence. On the north the Thracians, headed by the warlike tribe of Triballi, rose in arms; and on the east the miscellaneous nationalities inhabiting the coasts and islands of the Ægean threw off the restraints of authority and again betook themselves to marauding and piracy.

It was this alarming condition of affairs which first struck fire from the daring spirit and military genius of the young king. Hastily dividing his forces he despatched PARMENIO with one division against the Illyrians, while

he himself at the head of the other proceeded against the freebooters of the coast. With extraordinary rapidity he fell upon those who had defied his authority and scattered them in terror before him. He pursued the fugitives into the mountains of Hæmus, and gave them no rest even in the rocky defiles where they had sought refuge. No campaign conducted by Philip had exhibited such audacity or been crowned with such speedy success.

Turning from his expedition to the coast, Alexander next made his way into Thrace. Here the enemy had seized the tops of the mountains, and having fixed their war-chariots in front of their lines so as to form a rampart against the phalanx, they regarded their position as impregnable. It was proposed, moreover, should the Macedonians attempt to scale the heights, to hurl down the chariots in their faces. But Alexander, nothing daunted, ordered his men to ascend the acclivity, and to open their ranks for the passage of any engines that might be sent down against them. It is said by Arrian that not a single Macedonian was killed in the charge. The heights were carried and the barbarians scattered to the winds. Fifteen hundred of their dead, together with all the women and spoils of the battle, were left on the field.

The king next turned his attention to the Triballi whom he followed northward of Hæmus into the great forests which stretch out on the right bank of the Danube. After hunting the barbarians out of the woods, he assaulted them and their king, Syrmus, on the island of Pence, in the river Ister; but for once his audacity was overdone. The place proved impregnable, and he was obliged to desist from the attack. The Triballi, however, were glad to escape with their lives, and made no further attempt to disturb the peace of the kingdom.

Alexander next crossed the Danube, and made a successful campaign against the Getæ. These people were less warlike than the Triballi, and could offer no successful resistance to the progress of the Macedonians. The whole country was speedily overrun; the capital was destroyed and the tribes subdued. Returning to the south bank of the river, the king was met by a humble embassy from Syrmus, who begged that he and his people might have peace. Likewise came envoys from the Celts dwelling on the Ionian bay. They too, though representing a haughty and warlike race, sought the favor of Alexander, and were received as friends and allies.[1]

Alexander next directed his course against the revolted Illyrians. Marching with great rapidity into their country, he penetrated to the capital, Pellion, which he seized before the insurgents were well aroused to a sense of their danger. The Illyrians, however, and the Taulantians, who had joined them, trusted rather to the defensible position which they had chosen among the hills than to the risks of a battle. They therefore waited to be attacked, and it was some time before Alexander could bring them to an engagement. At last, however, he assaulted them in their position, and they were quickly dispersed. The leaders of the revolt thereupon made overtures for peace, which were readily accepted by the king. News had already been carried to him of a troublous state of affairs in Greece, whereat Alexander was so greatly disturbed that he speedily withdrew from Illyria and returned to Macedon.

After the death of Philip, the anti-Macedonian party in the Greek states became more active than ever. Especially were the radical energies of Demosthenes vehemently directed against the young king of the North. Every motive which envy and revenge could suggest was busily and persistently paraded to incite insurrection among the southern dependencies of Macedonia. Thebes took fire. This state, after the battle of Chæronea, had been reduced to a condition of vassalage. The people, naturally proud and headstrong, chafed under the domination of Macedonia, and, Greek-like, were ready at the first opportunity to break into revolt. It was in anticipation of such an emergency that in the very year of

[1] It is related that, in the interview of Alexander with the Celtic ambassadors, he inquired what might be the cause of their alarm, expecting the flattering answer that they dreaded his name. What, therefore, was his chagrin on being told that the thing which the Celts most feared was that *the sky might fall on their heads and bury them!*

DEFEAT OF THE THRACIANS BY THE MACEDONIAN PHALANX.

Alexander's accession a garrison had been, by the order of the Amphictyons, established in the Theban citadel. The two commanders of this body of guards were Amyntas and Timolaüs. The first was a Theban and the second a Macedonian. Both, believing in the peaceable disposition of the citizens, took up their quarters in the town instead of the citadel. Meanwhile a sedition was fomented in Athens, and certain Theban exiles residing there were instigated to return to their own city and head an insurrection. Accordingly, in the dead of night, Amyntas and Timolaüs were beset in their quarters and killed. Heralds then ran through the town, proclaiming that Alexander was dead, and urging the citizens to attack and destroy the Macedonian garrison.

Hearing of this condition of affairs, Alexander came down with all haste from the North, and marched into Bœotia. Before the Thebans could prepare resistance, the king was upon them. They were incredulous, and refused to believe that he who but a few days before had been proclaimed dead in the mountains of Illyria was actually at their doors with a Macedonian phalanx. Thinking that the advance was some company of marauders, they sent out a body of cavalry and peltasts to confront them. Alexander, acting with great moderation, made proclamation that the infatuated multitude should cease from their rash hostility and return to their allegiance. When the demagogues who had control of the city would not hear to the proposed settlement, the king advanced his army to the city gates, and stood ready for action. For it was believed that the Macedonian party in Thebes would presently assert itself, and that the storming of the town would thus be avoided.

But while matters stood in this attitude a party of the besiegers, under command of Perdiccas, being close to the city wall, discovered the means of scaling the rampart, and, without waiting for orders, began an assault. They fought their way into the heart of the city, but the Thebans rallied in great numbers and the assailants were driven back. Retreating through the gates, the Macedonians were pursued by the rash throng of citizen soldiers, who recklessly pressed on until they struck the phalanx, which Alexander had drawn up to resist them. Against this immovable wall the Thebans dashed themselves, and were hurled back in confusion. A battle was now fairly on. The Macedonians followed the insurgents into the city.

The besieged garrison now poured out of the citadel, and the discomfiture of the Thebans was soon complete. Great numbers were slaughtered in the streets. The auxiliaries in Alexander's army, burning with the recollection of wrongs which they had suffered at the hands of the Thebans in the times of Pelopidas, gave free rein to their passions, and made an indiscriminate butchery of the inhabitants. Nor did the violence of the victors cease with the bloody tragedy by which the town was taken. A congress of the confederate states was presently convened, and decrees of relentless barbarity were passed against Thebes and her people. It was solemnly resolved that the Theban name should be blotted out; that the city should be destroyed; that the women and children should be sold into slavery; that the territory should be parceled out to the allies and to those of the natives who had maintained their allegiance to Macedonia; and that the citadel should be held by a garrison in the Macedonian interest.

The character of Alexander was illustrated in the enforcement of the act of the congress. Much of the severity of the edict was abated. Especially where the interests of literature and art were concerned did the king act the magnanimous part. The house of the poet Pindar was not demolished, and even his relatives were spared from persecution. In other respects the decree was enforced, and Thebes was extinguished. Six thousand of her people had perished in battle, and thirty thousand were sold into slavery. It is said that the mind of Alexander was haunted not a little with the recollection of these atrocities perpetrated against the Thebans, and that he attempted, as far as lay in his power, to make amends by the bestowal of favors upon those who survived the destruction of the state.

Great was the alarm at Athens when it was known that Thebes had been taken and destroyed. It was confidently expected that

Alexander, well knowing that the Theban revolt had been instigated by the Athenians, would at once proceed to inflict on them the punishment which they had provoked. An assembly was immediately called in the terrified city, and an embassy was dispatched to the king congratulating him *on his safe return from Illyria and his success in exterminating the Thebans!* So great was the difference in their feelings towards Alexander dead and Alexander living! The king made answer to the embassy, accepting their compliment; but at the same time he sent a letter to the Athenians telling them that their friendly feelings would be reciprocated on condition of the surrender by them to him of ten of their leaders, whom he named. The list included Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, Polyeuctus, Charites, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotemus, and Merocles. The city was thrown into great confusion by the demand. It is said that Demosthenes, being in terror, gave Demades five talents to intercede for him with Alexander.

The Athenians sent back another embassy, begging the king's indulgence for their orators, and promising themselves to try and punish their leaders for the seditious counsel which they had been in the habit of giving. To this Alexander acceded, but made it a condition that Charidemus, who had acted as a Greek spy at the court of Philip, should be banished from the country. The king indeed was anxious at as early a date as possible to bring all Greece to a state of quiet to the end that he might enter upon the prosecution of those larger plans which he had inherited from his father.

THEBANS AND MACEDONIANS IN BATTLE.

Returning to his own capital Alexander diligently renewed his preparations for the invasion of Asia. In this work he spent the winter of B. C. 335–334, and with the opening of spring found himself in readiness to proceed with his campaign. His army consisted of but thirty-five thousand men, but these were thoroughly drilled and hardened by the severe discipline of exposure and war. They were mostly veterans who, under Philip, had learned to overcome all obstacles, and who now, under Philip's son, had come to share his courage and ambitions.

The Macedonian advance began from Pella to Sestos on the Hellespont. Here, at the tomb of Protesilaüs Alexander offered sacrifices. Then flinging himself into a galley he bade adieu to the shores of Europe, and was rowed to the opposite coast. Arriving in Asia, he first visited the site of ancient Troy. Thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Iliad, he paused to make offerings in the temple of Minerva, and from this shrine he obtained a suit of armor which tradition said had been preserved from the time of the Trojan war. In the place of this he dedicated to the goddess one of his own coats-of-mail, which was hung up in the temple.

Meanwhile, the Persian king appeared to take no alarm on account of the Macedonian lion who had entered his dominions at a bound. The crossing of the Hellespont had been made without opposition, though the Persian fleet far outnumbered any armament that Alexander could have brought against it. No general preparations had been made by the court of Susa to resist the impending invasion. The defense of the western provinces had been left to their respective satraps, while the Greek cities on the coast had been intrusted to the guardianship of the Rhodian general, Memnon. The carelessness of Darius and his officers in permitting the actual invasion to begin without taking measures necessary to repel it was little less than a blind infatuation of security for which the Persian Empire was presently to pay a ruinous price.

Alexander greatly desired to try the mettle of the Persians, rather than of the Greeks inhabiting the Ionian cities. He also had a respect for the military abilities of Memnon, but none at all for the prowess of the average satrap. He, therefore, made his way first along the shores of the Propontis in a northeasterly direction, and thus came into the province of Lower Phrygia, of which Arsites was the governor. To him Memnon sent a most excellent piece of advice to the effect that the satrap should lay waste the country in advance of Alexander, and avoid a battle. But Arsites had an army of more than forty thousand men, and was himself not devoid of courage. He therefore answered that not a house should be burned, nor an article of property be destroyed within the limits of his satrapy. This, of course, meant battle, and the day was at hand.

For delay was not in Alexander's nature. He pressed forward rapidly to the river GRANICUS, and came upon the stream near the town of Zelia. On the opposite bank the Persian army was already encamped; for Arsites, knowing the route of Alexander, had taken advantage of the stream to oppose his passage. When Alexander reached the bank he was for giving immediate battle; but at this juncture the veteran Parmenio, who knew better than the impetuous young king the hazards of war, advised his master not to attempt the crossing of the stream in the face of such an enemy. But the king was not to be foiled in his purpose. With a vision more far-reaching than that of Parmenio, he saw that immediate and victorious battle was the thing now needed to fire the spirits of the Macedonians and to strike terror into the foe. To his veteran general's admonition he therefore replied: "Your reflections are just and forcible; but would it not be a mighty disgrace to us, who so easily passed the Hellespont, to be stopped here by a contemptible brook? It would, indeed, be a lasting reflection on the glory of the Macedonians as well as on the personal bravery of their commander; and besides, the Persians would forthwith consider themselves our equals in war, did we not in this first contest with them achieve something to justify the terror which attaches to our name."

So it was determined to give battle without delay. Parmenio was appointed to the left wing; Philotas, to the right. Here also Alexander himself took his station. The preparations made by the Macedonians were all in plain view of the Persians on the opposite bank. Discovering, from the armor and decorations of Alexander's principal officers, in what part of the lines the king was to command, the Persians drew up their best cohorts opposite where the great Macedonian must cross the river. This movement on the part of the enemy was altogether agreeable to

Alexander, who was complimented by this disposition of the Persian forces. He saw moreover that if he should be able to break that part of the enemy's line which had been strengthened to resist him personally, the rest would, in all probability, after the manner of Asiatics, fall into confusion and fly from the field. He accordingly determined to charge through the river and into the face of the foe. The first body consisting of the peltasts and cavalry rushed through the stream and up the opposite banks. Here they were met by the Persians in superior numbers and after a brief struggle were driven back. The time thus gained, however, enabled Alexander to cross with the main division of heavy-armed soldiers.

The fight now began in earnest. For some time it seemed doubtful whether the Macedonians could force the enemy from their position. Alexander exhibited the greatest personal bravery. He was in the thickest of the fight and when his lance was broken quickly supplied its place with another. He charged with the greatest impetuosity and with his own hand killed the commander of the Persian cavalry. At one time he was surrounded by the enemy and beaten down, and was barely rescued by some courageous friends. At length the Persian cavalry broke and fled ignominiously.

In the mean time Parmenio crossed with the left wing, and had with greater ease gained a footing on the opposite bank. The opposing Persian lines had here been weakened to strengthen their left, opposed to Alexander. It thus happened that Parmenio had a less desperate struggle for victory than did Alexander. The Persians were scattered from all parts of the field, and the Greek mercenaries under Omares were soon borne down by the phalanx, and either killed or captured. Of the Persians fully ten thousand were slain in battle. Spithridates and Mithrobazanes, governors of Lydia and Cappadocia, Mithrides, a son-in-law of Darius, Pharnaces, the queen's brother, Omares, general of the mercenary Greeks, and many other nobles and distinguished men, were among the slain. It is stated the loss on the side of the Macedonians amounted to no more than one hundred and twenty.[1]

Alexander at once gathered the spoils of the battle-field and sent a portion to each of the states represented in the expedition. The present in each case was sent with the request that the spoils should be devoted as a memorial of the joint success of the Macedonians and Greeks against the enemy of both. The factious Athenians, who had as a matter of fact so many times broken faith both with the king and his father, were specially remembered in the distribution of trophies. Three hundred suits of complete armor, stripped from the bodies of the Persian dead, were sent to Athens to be hung up in the temple of Pallas Athene; and to accompany this gift the avenger of Europe on Asia dictated the following inscription: "ALEXANDER, SON OF PHILIP, AND THE GREEKS, EXCEPTING THE LACEDÆMONIANS, OFFER THESE, TAKEN FROM THE BARBARIANS OF ASIA."

The battle of the Granicus made more easy the future progress of the conqueror. The terror of his name preceded him, and town after town fell into his power. Resistance almost ceased, insomuch that where the king had expected hard conflicts he met no opposition. Dascylium, the Bithynian capital, threw open her gates to Parmenio. Sardis, the rich metropolis of Lydia, strong both by nature and military preparation, was surrendered with obsequious readiness. The satrap, Mithranes, accompanied by the dignitaries of the city, went out and met Alexander seven miles beyond the gates, and humbly implored his considerate mercy for themselves and their subjects.

From Sardis Alexander moved forward to Ephesus and Miletus. In both of these cities the strife of the Persian and Macedo-

[1] It is said that Alexander was deeply affected by the loss of those slain in his first battle. Twenty-five of the royal guards, mostly young men of fiery spirit like himself, fell in the conflict near the person of their king. He ordered statues of the valiant soldiers to be cast by Lycippus and placed in the city of Dium, Macedonia. He also gave to the parents and other relatives of those who fell at the Granicus the freedom of their respective cities; and the children of his dead soldiers were forever exempted from taxation.

nian factions had risen to such a height as to portend massacre and destruction. Never was the prudence of Alexander displayed to a better advantage than in the settlement of these internal broils. Assuming the office of mediator, he behaved with such moderation and liberality as to secure the confidence even of the democracy. He established and confirmed the government of the cities in a manner so little selfish as to substitute good order for anarchy and prosperity for destructive turmoil. At Ephesus he greatly heightened his popularity by a politic measure respecting the tribute. Hitherto the city had been burdened with a heavy annual tax, which went to the satrap of the province. At the times when Ephesus was subject to Athens and Sparta, the tribute had been paid to them. So that to the Ephesians the temporary liberty which they gained by the Ionian revolt amounted merely to a change of masters. Alexander, however, instead of exacting the tribute for his own—which would have been selfish—or remitting the tax altogether—which would have been unwise—required a continuation of payment, and directed that the whole revenue should be used in restoring the temple of Diana—a measure well calculated to stimulate the patriotism and flatter the pride of the Ephesians.

Of still greater importance, alike to Alexander and the Persian king, was the city of Miletus. Of all the seaports belonging to Persia on the Ægean, this was the most valuable and necessary. For Darius already had a large armament in the western seas, and the free communication of the conqueror with his own country was thus endangered. To gain possession of Miletus was, therefore, a matter of prime importance to Alexander, and to lose it a serious disaster to the king of Persia. As soon as the Macedonian could settle affairs in Ephesus, he accordingly set out for Miletus. On his arrival he at once began a siege; for the Milesians were not so ready to surrender their city as had been the citizens of Sardis.

ALEXANDER IN PERIL OF HIS LIFE.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

It required, however, but a short time for the walls to be knocked down by the battering-rams and the garrison dispersed. Such was the fame of invincibility which already attached to the name of Alexander that the Persian fleet, lying in the harbor of Miletus, made no effort to save the city from falling. Thus was Miletus added to the trophies of Macedonia.

In the mean time, Memnon had given special attention to the defenses of Halicarnassus, and the garrison was thoroughly drilled in anticipation of an attack. On arriving before the city, Alexander found that the walls were surrounded with a ditch thirty cubits in width and fifteen cubits deep. It was necessary that this should be filled up before the rams could be brought to bear on the ramparts. The garrison was vigilant, and from the walls discharged every species of missile upon the assailants. But the siege was pressed with vigor, and Memnon was soon brought to such straits that he found it necessary to withdraw by night. In doing so he set fire to his enginery to prevent it from falling into the hands of Alexander. By this means a portion of the city was burned. The king took possession without further resistance, and with his usual moderation quieted the alarm of the people. The citadel was still held by a portion of the forces of Memnon. but Alexander, not deeming it prudent to consume time in the reduction of the place, left Ptolemy with a body of three thousand men to keep the province in subjection, and appointed the princess Ada, who had put herself under his protection, to be regent of Caria while he should prosecute his campaign.

The next point to which the conqueror directed his march was the city of Tralles. This place was speedily reduced, and the expedition was then directed into Phrygia. The winter was now at hand, and according to all precedent military operations must cease. Not so, however, with Alexander, who informed his army of his intention to continue the campaign eastward, so that if Darius should accept the challenge he might meet him in the following spring on the confines of Syria. To quiet all discontent, however, he gave free permission to all who had been recently married to return to their wives and spend the winter months in Macedonia. Three of his generals—Ptolemy, Cœnus, and Meleager—were of this number, and to them he gave the command of the division which was to return home. He then ordered Parmenio to take his station at Sardis, so as to preserve an uninterrupted line of communication between Macedonia and the army.

With the remainder of his forces Alexander now set out through Lycia and Pamphylia. His object was by the reduction of all the seaport towns to make the Persian fleet useless; for without friendly harbors a squadron in these waters could do no harm. In his progress through the coast provinces the four principal cities—Telmissus, Pinara, Xanthus, and Patara—made voluntary submission, and more than thirty of the smaller towns sent embassies and made their peace with the conqueror. Phaselis, the capital of Lower Lycia, tendered him by the hands of her ambassadors a golden crown, and solicited his friendship and protection. All the province was brought into submission, and particularly was a certain fortress, held by the barbarous Pisidians, reduced by assault and the garrison expelled from the country.

Meanwhile the enemies of the king, unable to oppose him in the field, undertook to secure his destruction by treachery. The scheme was worthy of its authors. A certain son of the Macedonian prince, Aeropus, also named Alexander, whom the great Alexander on his accession to the throne had admitted to his friendship, was now made the tool of a conspiracy by which the king was to be put out of the way. It will be remembered that Amyntas, who was himself a claimant to the throne, had fled to the Persian court, from which great hot-bed of treachery he became an active member of the plot. He sent a certain Asisines into Phrygia as a pretended messenger to the satrap of that province, but really as a bearer of dispatches to the spurious Alexander. The latter was advised that if he would procure the murder of the king he should himself have the throne of Macedonia under the protection and favor of Persia.

But the vigilant Parmenio caught the messenger and sent him to Alexander, to whom he confessed the whole treasonable business. The other Alexander was at that time serving as an officer in Parmenio's army. He was at once seized and imprisoned, and the whole scheme ended in a miserable abortion.

Alexander then resumed his march eastward along the sea-coast. It was in this part of his course that the first of many omens was noticed by the army, and ascribed to the will and favor of the gods. At a certain part of the Pamphylian coast one of the spurs of the Taurus juts into the sea so as to prevent a passage along the beach. The king's progress was thus suddenly hindered; but as he approached the obstacle the wind, which had for many days blown from the south and driven the surf high against the rocks, turned about as if by magic, and, blowing from the north, carried the tide far down the beach, leaving a broad space of sand exposed, over which the army passed in safety. Thus for the son of Philip was established the precedent of the favor of the ruling deities—a circumstance of which the king was by no means too modest to avail himself. It became a part of his policy to encourage the belief that he was under the guidance and protection of heaven.

In the hilly country, on the eastern confines of Lycia, dwelt the barbarous tribe of Marmarians. They were a race of robbers. Not daring to oppose the progress of the Macedonians, they waited until the army had passed by, and then falling upon the baggage and cattle-train, succeeded in securing a large amount of booty. With this they fled to Marmara, their principal town, a place almost impregnable from the nature of the surroundings. But Alexander quickly turned about, pursued the robbers to their den, brought up his engines, and began to batter the walls. The barbarians, seeing that they were ginned in their own trap, held a council, and adopted the horrible expedient of murdering their women and children, burning the town, and escaping who could through the Macedonian lines. A great feast was accordingly made, and after all had well eaten the work of destruction began. Human nature revolted, however, in the midst of the massacre, and six hundred of the young men of the tribe refused to be the butchers of their mothers and sisters. But the town was fired, and the rest of the program was carried out to the extent that most of the robbers broke through and escaped to the hills. Their experience had been sufficient to take away all desire of further depredations.

The next point toward which the expedition was directed was the town of Perga, in Pamphylia. Here there was no disposition on the part of the authorities to resist or even resent the coming of Alexander. While marching thither the king was met by ambassadors from the city of Aspendus, who came to tender their submission and to obtain favorable terms of peace. The Macedonian met them in his usual temper of moderation. He conceded to them the conduct of their own affairs. No garrison should be established in their city. The annual tribute—payable in horses—hitherto assessed by the king of Persia, should now be sent to Alexander. In addition to this, a contribution of fifty talents should be made by the city. On these conditions the people of Aspendus should in no wise be disturbed. The terms were readily agreed to by the commissioners; but on their return home there had been a revulsion among the citizens, and the whole settlement was rejected. The king was thus obliged, as soon as Perga and Sida had made their submission, to set out against Aspendus. The city was at once invested, and the inhabitants soon came to their senses. They now desired to capitulate on the conditions previously offered, but the Macedonian was not so easy a master. He exacted double the amount of the contribution which he had first named, assessed a yearly tribute, and compelled the Aspendians to accept a governor to be named by himself.

No people of the West received the news of Alexander's successes with so much displeasure as did the Lacedæmonians. They alone had stood aloof from the confederacy of which Alexander was generalissimo. They alone had not been remembered, or remem-

bered in a disparaging way, in the sending home by the conqueror of trophies from his battles. In his presents and messages to the Greeks it was his habit to add the clause, "*excepting the Lacedæmonians.*" Agis, the Spartan king, now sought to neutralize these indignities by fomenting discord among the Grecian states to the end that Alexander might be obliged to abandon his far-reaching plans for the settlement of petty rebellions at home. In this work Memnon, the Rhodian, was an able coadjutor, while in the distance stood the Persian monarch ready and eager always to furnish both the means and the motives of distraction to the fearless prince who had invaded his dominions.

In furtherance of his plans the Lacedæmonian king canvassed the republican states of Peloponnesus, and induced several of them to join him in inviting Darius to send a portion of his army to occupy Southern Greece. At the same time Memnon, who now had command of the Persian fleet, was urged to assume the aggressive in the Ægean. Thus was it planned to compel the withdrawal of Alexander from the East. The king of Persia, however, not fully confident that the Macedonian could be frightened from his purpose by a noise behind him, began to gather armies and prepare all needed means of defense.

The approach of spring, B. C. 333, found Alexander in Pamphylia. Gathering information of the measures adopted by his enemies to compass his destruction, he determined to retire to Gordium, the capital of Lower Phrygia, and make that place a rendezvous for the various divisions of his army. The time had come for the return of those who, under Ptolemy and Meleager, had spent the winter in Macedonia. With them large reënforcements were expected to arrive. After the consolidation of his forces the king would determine the plan of the year's campaign.

In his way from the Lycian coasts to Phrygia, Alexander had to cross the ridges of Taurus. In doing so he encountered several warlike tribes, who attacked him with fury, only to be dispersed. The proper pursuit and punishment of these half-savage bands was, however, quite impossible in such a region; for the mountain fastnesses gave them immunity. The city of Celænæ, the metropolis of Phrygia, opened her gates to receive the new master instead of the old. What was it to the inhabitants of these towns of Asia Minor whether they should pay tribute to Darius or to the son of Philip? Only this—that the son of Philip was the more generous ruler. All Phrygia, after the surrender of the city, submitted to the conqueror, and readily accepted the provisions which he made for the future management of the province.

Before reaching Gordium, the king received intelligence of the successes of Memnon in the Ægean. The island of Chios had been taken by the Persian fleet. All of Lesbos except Mitylene had been reduced, and that city was closely invested. It was the purpose of Memnon, as soon as the siege could be brought to a successful conclusion, to make his way to the Hellespont, fall upon the coast of Macedonia, and compel the return of Alexander for the defense of his own dominions. Nor was it likely that Antipater, who had been left by the king at Pella to serve as regent during his absence, could be able to raise a sufficient armament to beat back the invaders from his coasts. The situation was not without its dangers; but before the crisis could be reached in which Alexander would be obliged to decide between abandoning his own territories to invasion or giving up his cherished and inherited ambition of conquering Persia, he was relieved of all anxiety by the death of Memnon. The loss of that able commander was a severe blow to Persian hopes in the West. The fleet could make no further progress, and was presently disbanded. The Ægean was relieved of Persian domination, and the schemes of the anti-Macedonian party in Southern Greece were brought to naught. A reäction set in in Alexander's favor, and from nearly all the states of continental Greece reënforcements went forward to join him in Asia. It was seen, moreover, that contingents of troops began to move from the Perso-Grecian towns in Ionia and elsewhere to swell the forces of Darius in the East; from which it was dis-

cerned that the Great King had abandoned the idea of distracting Alexander from his purpose, and had resolved to meet him in battle. Than this nothing could have been more grateful to the feelings of the conqueror.

So, after a brief stay at Celænæ, the king continued his course to Gordium. Here occurred that famous incident to omit which were a grave crime against the cherished traditions of the human race. It is the story of the undoing of the Gordian Knot. One of the legendary kings of Phrygia was Gordius, who, when as a peasant plowing in the field, was favored with the descent of the bird of Jove, alighting on the yoke of his oxen. There the eagle sat until the eventide. Clearly this presaged his own and the greatness of his house. The soothsayers of Telmessus interpreted the omen, and a prophetess became his wife. Of this union was born the child Midas, who, when grown to manhood and the state was greatly disturbed with civil commotions, rode with his father and mother in a car into the city.

Meanwhile an oracle had said that the king whom the people sought should be brought to them in a car. Accordingly Midas was hailed as king by the shouting populace. He thereupon took off the yoke of his oxen, and dedicating it and his chariot to Zeus, fastened them with cords made of the cornel tree to the shrine in the acropolis of Gordium. The cord was twisted and fastened in so artful a way that the ends were undiscoverable; and the oracle declared that the fates had decreed the empire of the world to him who should untie the knot. Albeit, here was an opportunity which Alexander must not let pass unimproved. On arriving at the city he was shown into the temple, and there beheld the fateful relics, secured, as of old, by their fastenings. As to how he succeeded in loosing the knot, there are two traditions—the one reciting that he drew out the pin which fastened the yoke to the beam and thus detached the yoke itself, while the other says that he severed the knot with his sword.

A matter of much more historical importance was the arrival at Gordium of an Athenian embassy. The commissioners came to request that Alexander would liberate those citizens of Athens whom he had taken as prisoners on the banks of the Granicus, fighting for the Persian king. These, with two thousand others, were still detained in Macedonia, and their countrymen had undertaken to procure their release. The king listened attentively to what the envoys had to say, but declined to grant their request. He told the embassy, however, to inform their countrymen of his kindly feelings towards the Athenians, and of his purpose, so soon as the Persian war could be brought to a successful issue, to set their fellow-citizens at liberty.

In the mean time, Darius had completed the organization of his army, and was already on his march to the West. His intention was to cross the Great Desert and attack Alexander before the latter could pass the confines of Asia Minor. It was equally important for the Macedonian to complete the conquest of the lesser Asia, and to secure the mountain-passes on its eastern borders before the coming of the Persian avalanche. At this time there remained three satrapies unconquered: Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and Cilicia. It was of the utmost importance to Alexander to expedite the conquest of these provinces. He accordingly hurried in the direction of Paphlagonia, but before entering the satrapy he had the good fortune to receive therefrom a friendly embassy, proffering the submission of that important country.

Thus relieved from the necessity of a conquest, he hastened into Cappadocia, and there too was received without resistance. Having appointed Macedonian governors over these two leading provinces, and taken their pledge of allegiance to himself as generalissimo of the Greeks, he turned into Cilicia. But in attempting to make his way thither through a mountain-pass called the Gate of Taurus, he was suddenly confronted by the Persians, who had preöccupied the defiles to prevent his passage. Such, however, was the terror of the conqueror's name that the enemy did not, even in their advantageous position, dare to give him battle. On the contrary, they abandoned the pass and fled. Alexander then pressed on to Tarsus, the

Cilician capital. Arsanes, the governor, hastily decamped with the garrison, and fled to Darius. The city authorities thereupon opened the gates, and Alexander was admitted without opposition. It was the last act in the conquest of Asia Minor. In all the rich and beautiful regions of the western division of the Persian Empire, not a foot of territory remained to Darius.

The exertions and anxieties of the ambitious young king now began to tell upon his constitution. In the long marches from Cappadocia into Cilicia, he had suffered the extremes of fatigue. It is likely, moreover, that some of the districts through which he passed were miasmatic, and that some of the towns were infected with contagion. Soon after his capture of Tarsus, Alexander was attacked with a fever which came near ending his life. The severity of his illness was heightened by his own indiscretion. Just before he was prostrated, oppressed with fatigue and the summer heat, he plunged into the river Cydnus, noted for the icy coldness of its waters, and amused himself as a swimmer. On coming forth he was presently prostrated, and rapidly brought so low that his life was despaired of by all except Philip, the Acarnanian, his favorite physician. The latter continued to attend and encourage his master. While Philip was engaged in preparing a draught for his royal patient, the king received a secret dispatch from his old general, Parmenio, informing him that Philip was a traitor and had been bribed by Darius to poison his king. While the letter was yet in Alexander's hands, the cup containing the draught was handed him by Philip. The king received the potion, and at the same time handed the dispatch to the physician. Observing no change in Philip's countenance as he read, Alexander without a word drank the potion, and the loyal attendant was soon gratified with a favorable change in his patient. For once the faithful Parmenio had been misled by false information, which had well-nigh proved fatal both to the king and his physician.

As soon as Alexander had sufficiently recovered from his illness to resume the direction of affairs, he sent forward Parmenio to occupy the pass which led into Syria. This order was issued with the double view of preventing a like action on the part of Darius and of securing to himself an easy route into the Greater Asia. He himself made a brief campaign into the mountainous district of Cilicia. On his march thither he was surprised on coming to the city of Anchialus to observe the extent and magnificence of its fortifications and public buildings. It was here that the statue of Sardanapalus, the reputed founder of the city, was found, still bearing that famous old Assyrian inscription, which the Greek scholars accompanying Alexander interpreted as follows: "SARDANAPALUS, THE SON OF ANACYNDARAXES, IN ONE DAY FOUNDED ANCHIALUS AND TARSUS. EAT, DRINK, PLAY; ALL OTHER HUMAN JOYS ARE NOT WORTH A FILLIP."

Leaving this place the conqueror proceeded to Sali, upon which he imposed a tribute of forty thousand pounds. Thence he made his way to Megarsus and Mallus. At the former place he made sacrifices in honor of Pallas Athene; and at the latter he won the people over to his cause by freeing them from the Persian tribute. Nor were the inhabitants less ready to join his standard on account of their nationality, Mallus having been originally founded by a colony of Argive Greeks.

While Alexander tarried at Mallus intelligence arrived of the movements of Darius. The Great King had already crossed the Syrian plain, and was but two days' march from that mountain pass which the Macedonians had already seized. The soldiers of the conqueror were eager to meet the enemy, and he quickly moved forward to the gateway leading from Cilicia into Syria. It is related that at this juncture Darius was perplexed with contradictory counsels. The Greek officers in his army advised him to tarry in the plain near where he was, and there receive the Macedonian onset, but the Persian generals urged the king to press forward to the foothills and drive his enemy back through the passes. The monarch followed the advice of neither implicitly, and of both in part. Instead of going forward to the Syrian Gate,

now held by Alexander, he made a side movement to the right, and occupied another pass, known as the Amanic Gate. Having gained this entrance into Asia Minor, he passed through with his army and advanced as far as Issus, thus putting himself between Alexander and those countries which he had recently subdued.

The Macedonians were agitated not a little on learning that the Great King was on the line of their communications. It is reported that Alexander was considerably exercised to prevent the spread of alarm among his generals and soldiers; but he confidently asserted that of all courses which Darius could have taken the one chosen was to himself the most pleasing. He called the attention of his officers to the fact that in the rougher country—rougher as compared with the Syrian plain—which the Persian had selected it would be impossible to display his vast army in full force or to use it efficiently. Here, said the conqueror, the cavalry of the enemy would be of no avail, and his light-armed troops, with their showers of missiles, could not be employed to advantage. As for himself, he knew that the immortal gods, ever favorable to the cause of the allied Greeks, must have inspired the Persian king to put himself in a position where he must be destroyed. Having thus reässured his soldiers, he began a retrograde movement through the Syrian Gate.

The position now occupied by Darius was eminently favorable. A short distance from the western terminus of the pass out of which the Macedonians must come, flows the river Pinarus which, gathering its waters from the highlands, descends to the west and then turns southward in its course to the sea. The stream thus describes an arc the convexity of which was towards the west. On this side of the river the Persians were drawn up for battle, while the Macedonians, making their exit from the gate, must come up in the inner curve of the Pinarus and cross the stream in the face of the enemy. The one advantage of Alexander was that his army occupied the chord of an arc while the enemy was disposed on the rim of the circle.

In arranging for battle the command of the Macedonian left, lying next to the sea, was given to Parmenio. Opposed to him was the Persian cavalry. To face the Greeks in the army of Darius the phalanx was set in the center of the Macedonian line. The command of the right Alexander reserved for himself. Opposite were the high grounds from which the Persians must be dislodged in case they should not themselves be unwise enough to descend into the plain for battle.

The number of soldiers in the army of Darius has been variously stated. The old historians, with whom exaggeration—especially of the numerical force of an enemy—was a habit, computed the Persian host at a half million of fighting men. More careful authorities have reduced the number to one hundred and forty thousand. Of these fully thirty-five thousand were cavalry. To oppose this tremendous array Alexander had in all about forty thousand soldiers.

After considerable maneuvering, in which both commanders appeared anxious lest by some misstep an advantage might be gained by the enemy, the battle began by the advance of the Persian right against Parmenio. Alexander had contemplated beginning the fight himself by assaulting the heights over against him, but when he saw that the battle was opening in another part of the field he dispatched thither the Thessalian horse to assist his veteran general. But though thus weakened he forebore not to cross the stream and assail the Persian left. On both wings the charge of the Macedonians, though stoutly resisted, was successful, and the Persians were put to flight. In the center the phalanx crossed the river, and was met on the other bank by those old Ionian Greek soldiers whom Memnon had trained in former years, and who were in an unnatural way fighting under the Persian banners.

These men were of different mettle from the barbarians with whom they fought. They had the ancient valor of Greek soldiers, and felt no doubt some mortification that the prestige of their race was about to be transferred to the Macedonians. The latter on their part regarded their antagonists as traitors to the cause of the allied Greeks, and had, besides,

their own reputation to sustain as well as wrongs to be avenged in the ranks of their unnatural countrymen. Here, then, the battle was furious and bloody. Hardly could the staggering phalanx make its way against the stubborn resistance of the Greek soldiers; nor is it certain which way victory in this part of the field would have inclined but for the overthrow of the Persian wings.

The success of Alexander and Parmenio enabled them, especially the former, to fall upon the flanks of the Persian center, and the valiant soldiers who confronted the phalanx found themselves assailed from three directions. Under such assaults they began to lose ground, but such was their valor that they nearly all perished sooner than relinquish the field. It was in this part of the battle that Darius displayed conspicuous bravery. He urged forward his chariot into the thickest of the fight and encouraged his soldiers both by voice and example until his horses were cut down and himself almost taken by the Macedonians. Nothing but the courage of his brother Oxathres saved the king from capture or destruction. In the critical moment the monarch was thrust into a fresh chariot and borne from the field. As usual in the great battles of the East the flight of the king was the signal for a universal rout. The ranks everywhere broke and fled precipitately from the scene. Only the Persian cavalry on the right wing made a stand and fought as if to sustain their old-time fame for valor. Nor did they desist from their onsets until some time after the rout had become general in all other parts of the field.

As soon as the flight began the Macedonians pressed hard upon the fugitives. Thousands were cut down in the panic and confusion. Alexander himself at the head of the cavalry bore down upon the flying foe and cut his broken ranks to pieces. His hope was to overtake and capture the king and thus end the business of the Empire. But Darius, after fleeing as far as he could in his chariot, mounted a horse and succeeded in escaping through the Amanic Gate. But so hot was the pursuit that the shield, bow, and cloak of the king were secured by Alexander.

The losses of the Persians are differently stated by different authors. The lowest estimate, which is perhaps nearest the truth, places the number slain at about seventy thousand, and of the captives at forty thousand. Nor is there any trustworthy account of the loss sustained by the Macedonians. There appears to have been an intent on the part of the Greek writers to gloss over the matter or to represent the list as insignificant. It is impossible, however, but that a severe loss must have been inflicted on Alexander's army; for the battle was long and obstinate, and the Ionian Greeks gave the phalanx blow for blow. It is known that Ptolemy and several other distinguished officers were slain.

The battle of Issus furnished several incidents which posterity has been pleased to preserve. When Alexander returned from his pursuit of Darius he learned that the family of that monarch, including his wife, his daughters, and his mother, were prisoners in the Macedonian camp. They were in the greatest agitation, believing that the king had been slain, and that they themselves would be dishonored and sold as slaves. Hearing of their distress, the conqueror at once sent his friend Leonatus to quiet their alarm, and to assure them that the king had made good his escape. They were informed that they should be treated not only with humanity, but with that courtesy which befitted their rank. The language attributed to Alexander sounds like a phrase of chivalry; for he is reported to have said to the distracted princesses that towards the Great King he had no personal enmity at all—that he warred with him only because they could not both be ruler of Asia.

On the following day the Macedonian, accompanied by his intimate friend Hephæstion, called in person at the tent which had been assigned to the captive women. When they were ushered into the presence of the royal household the princesses, mistaking the stately Hephæstion for Alexander, prostrated themselves before *him* and began to plead for commiseration. Hephæstion at once drew back and pointed to the king as the one to whom they should address themselves. Alexander at once relieved the embarrassment in

a manner that would have done honor to a crusader. He told the queen that she had made no mistake; that Hephæstion was *another Alexander*, as worthy to be esteemed as himself.[1]

In the mean time, one of the eunuchs in attendance upon the royal household made his escape and carried to Darius the story of the treatment accorded to his family. To him the thing seemed incredible. The great Oriental, believing in the essential badness of human nature, at once conjectured that his beautiful queen had fascinated his adversary, and that *that* was the occasion of his clemency. Jealousy seized him, and he was in a transport until his attendant informed him that the Macedonian was in no sense his rival—that his conduct towards the queen had been a sincere act of courtesy and consideration. Then the mood of Darius changed, and in great excitement he offered a prayer to the gods that if the empire of Asia should ever depart from himself it might fall to Alexander.

Before he could follow up his victory, Alexander deemed it prudent to complete the conquest of Syria and Phœnicia. These were the only two provinces remaining unsubdued in the western countries of the Greater Asia. The king dispatched Parmenio with one division of the army against Damascus, the capital of Syria, while he himself with the other division advanced into Phœnicia. The first expedition was soon crowned with complete success. Damascus was taken without serious opposition. Parmenio also captured a number of agents who were employed by Darius in corresponding with the anti-Macedonian party in Greece. From these Alexander learned the exact nature of the intrigues which were constantly hatched in Athens, Thebes, and Sparta, with a view to compassing his overthrow. Upon these malcontent elements in the Greek states the intelligence of the battle of Issus and of the capture of the Græco-Persian spies fell like a cold bath.

The knowledge that Alexander was absolutely master of the situation in all the western parts of Asia was disagreeable news to the reactionists, who were endeavoring to sow the seeds of insurrection in the West. Nor was the success of Parmenio at Damascus limited to the capture of the city and the emissaries. He likewise secured possession of the money-chest of Darius, out of whose abundant coffers the Western Greeks were to be persuaded to favor the interests of Persia. With this sinew of war in the hands of the Macedonians it was not likely that the Ionians and continental Greeks would any longer so greatly prefer a Persian to a Macedonian ruler.

In no part was the effect of the battle of Issus more distinctly felt than in Sparta. Agis, the Lacedæmonian king, still continued, even after the death of Memnon, to agitate measures unfavorable to Alexander. To support this movement and disposition of the Spartans Darius had, on setting out with his army to meet the Macedonian, dispatched a fleet under Pharnabazus and Antophradates to sail into the Ægean and coöperate with the Peloponnesians in a proposed expedition against Macedonia. The squadron reached the shores of Southern Greece, and Agis was busily engaged in preparing for the northern invasion when the news came of the victory of Alexander at Issus. Of a sudden the Persian commanders came to the conclusion that there was need for them in Asia. They accordingly dropped away as quickly as possible, and returned with the fleet to Persian waters. Great was the relief of Alexander when he learned of the collapse of the proposed descent on the coasts of Macedonia.

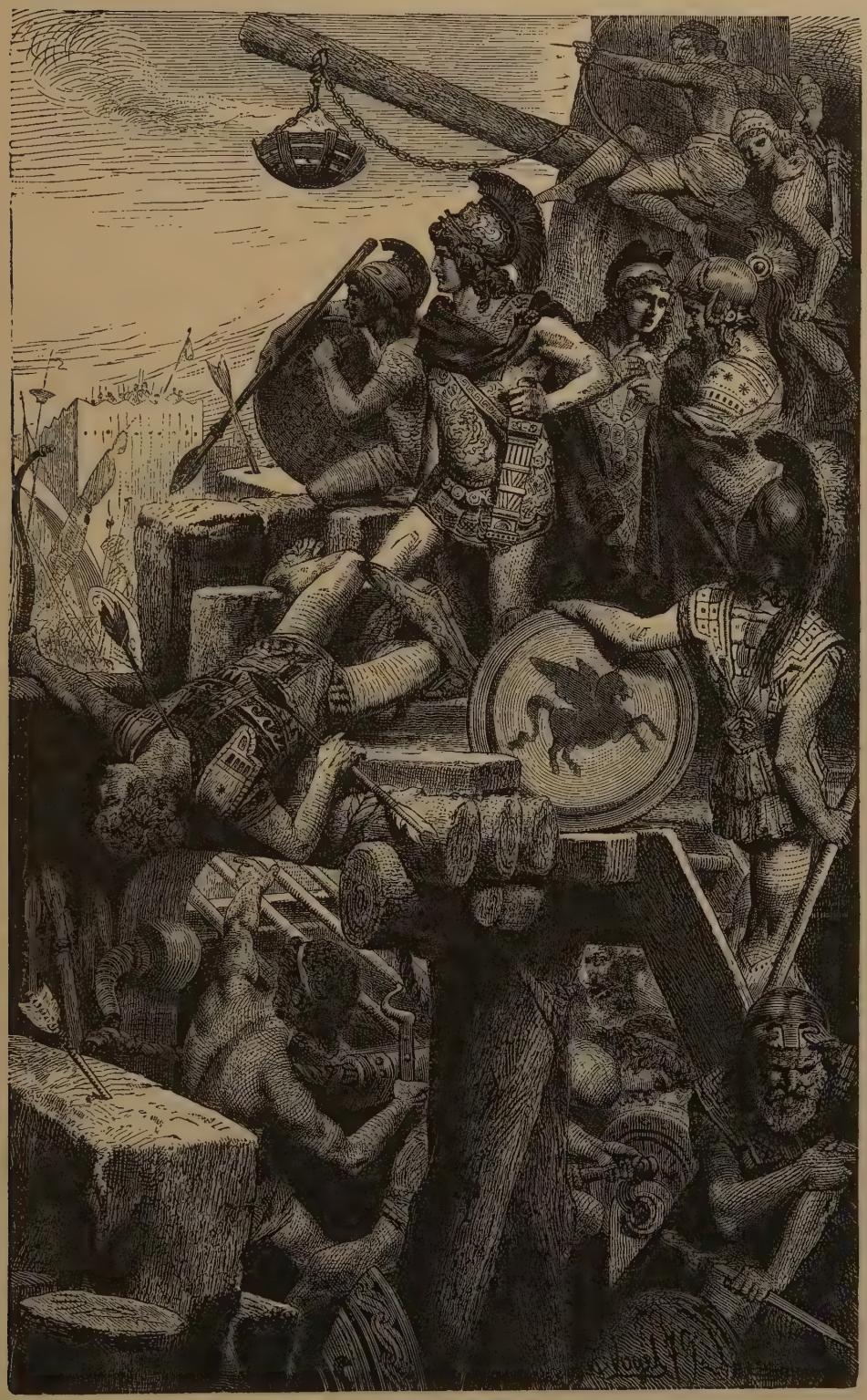
In the mean time the conqueror was proceeding to lay siege to Tyre. It was considered of the first importance that this great maritime city, from which the fleets of Persia were supplied with whatever gave them strength and efficiency, should be converted into a Macedonian dependency. While Alex-

[1] The comments of Arrian upon this incident are worthy to be repeated. "I neither," says he, "relate [this circumstance] as truth nor condemn [it] as fiction. If it be true, the pity shown by Alexander to the women and the honor bestowed on his friend deserve commendation; whilst, if we supposed them feigned and only related as probabilities, it is honorable to him to have had such speeches and actions recorded by the writers of his own times, not only as being generally believed, but as consonant with the character which he bore among his contemporaries."

ander was on his way thither, he was met at the town of Marathus by ambassadors from Darius. These came to propose in the name of their master that he and the Macedonian should become friends and allies, and to request that the Persian princesses should be permitted to return to Susa. At this time Alexander was emboldened by success, and also angered at the treacherous relations recently unearthed between the Persian court and the anti-Macedonians in Greece. He therefore answered with much haughtiness. He accused the Persian monarch of having been privy to the assassination of King Philip. He brought home the charge of having intrigued with the Greeks to compass the downfall of Macedonia. He recited various injuries done to himself and his country by the court of Susa. He announced that he himself and not Darius was now monarch of Asia, and that any further communications must be addressed to him, not as king to king, but as vassal to lord. Finally, Darius was invited, if he desired further intercourse, to come to Alexander in person, and in that event he should be treated as a subject, but with proper consideration. The conclusion of the Macedonian's message, addressed as it was by a youth of twenty-three to the representative of Cyrus the Great, is worthy to be repeated: "If you have any fears for your personal safety, send some friends to receive my pledged faith. On coming to me ask for your wife and children, and whatever else you may wish, and receive them, for every reasonable request shall be granted. Henceforth, if you have any communication to make, address me as the King of Asia; and pretend not to treat with me on equal terms, but petition me as the master of your fate. If not, I shall regard it as an insult and take measures accordingly. If, however, you propose still to dispute the sovereignty with me, do not fly, but stand your ground, as I will march and attack you wherever you may be."

A memorable dispatch! Not worded after the manner of modern diplomacy, but nevertheless intelligible. Perhaps the king of Persia was able to understand it. As soon as these negotiations were ended, Alexander pressed forward to Tyre. Before reaching the city he was met by a deputation, headed by the son of the governor, who came to proffer the allegiance of their city, but at the same time refused to permit the conqueror to enter within their walls. The proposal was so little satisfactory to the king that he demanded unconditional submission, and in case of refusal threatened to storm the town. The Tyrians would not comply, and Alexander at once proceeded to invest the city. Then followed a memorable siege of seven months' duration, in which it were difficult to say whether the besieged or the besiegers exhibited greater heroism. Tyre was built on an island, at the distance of a half-mile from the shore. Her seamen were the most expert and daring in the world. Before the Macedonian could bring his engines to bear on the ramparts, he must build a mole sufficiently broad to bear them, and extending from the shore to the city. This done, and the battering-rams being brought into position, the Tyrians succeeded in burning them before they could be made effective. Alexander now saw that he must meet the enemy on their own element. He accordingly began to train a force of sailors, and not until this work was accomplished did he find himself in a condition to assault the city with fair prospects of success. At last, however, he made the attack, and Tyre was taken by storm. The people who had so long defied him now paid dearly for their obstinacy. The enraged Macedonian soldiery was turned loose upon them, and eight thousand were put to the sword. Besides this tremendous butchery, thirty thousand of the inhabitants were sold into slavery.

Before the siege of Tyre was brought to a close a second embassy arrived from Darius. This time the Great King made the trial of money as a means of relaxing the temper of the Macedonian. He offered for the ransom of his family and as the basis of peace and friendship a sum equivalent to ten millions of dollars. As a further inducement he proposed to give his daughter in marriage and to cede to Alexander all the country in Asia west of the Euphrates. It must be confessed that the offer was highly flattering, and most warriors



ALEXANDER BEFORE TYRE.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

would have been glad to accept so vast an empire at the hand of a vanquished foe. But the son of Philip would be all or nothing. When the proposal was, according to his manner in such matters, laid before a council of his generals, the sage Parmenio, when asked for his opinion, replied: "If I were Alexander I would accept the terms." "And I, too," said Alexander, "if I were Parmenio!" It was evident that the king of Macedon had his eye fixed on the big game of the East, and that all attempts either of friends or foes to divert him from his purpose would prove in vain. A message so harsh as to be hardly in accordance with the magnanimous temper which he had so many times displayed was prepared and forwarded to Darius. The despatch was couched in the following terms: "I want no money from you, nor will I receive a part of the empire for the whole; for Asia and all its treasures belong to me. If I wish to marry your daughter I can do so without your consent. If you wish to obtain any favor from me, come in person and ask for it." Here was an end of controversy. Of a certainty Darius must yield and become a vassal, or else take the field and—lose it.

After the capture of Tyre, Alexander next turned his attention to Gaza. This strongly fortified town, situated in the midst of vast sands, was the only remaining obstacle between the conqueror and the gateway of Egypt. It was a part of his general policy to leave behind him no fortress occupied by an enemy. Gaza was garrisoned by a large force of Arabians well provided with every thing which forethought could furnish against the emergencies of a siege. The persistency of the Macedonians in their investment and final capture of Tyre had forewarned Batis, the governor of Gaza, of what he in his turn might expect. A gallant defense was made, but the town was finally carried by assault. When the Macedonians had scaled the ramparts the inhabitants with desperate courage gathered in a group and fought till the last man was killed. The town was sacked. The women and children were sold into slavery, and a Macedonian colony was founded in the ruins of the city. The incident of the siege was a severe wound received by Alexander, whose life thereby was thought for the time to be endangered.

By the fall of Tyre and Gaza the whole of Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judæa was given up to the conqueror. Having no longer any cause to fear insurrections behind him he now pressed forward toward Egypt. Arriving at Pelusium he demanded a surrender of the fortress, which was immediately given into his possession. The Persian governor of Egypt was next summoned to renounce his authority in favor of Alexander. Unable to resist the demand and finding that the Egyptians, long burdened with the oppressions of Persia, were in sympathy with the Macedonian, the satrap yielded without striking a blow. Thus within a week and without the shedding of blood was the sovereignty of the whole of Egypt transferred to Alexander.

It rarely happens in a case of genius such as that possessed by the son of Philip, that the exhaustless energies of the mind are able to be appeased with a single line of activity. The really great warriors of the world have generally been great statesman. Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Napoleon—each like the other—was but poorly satisfied—perhaps not satisfied at all—with the bloody work of destroying his fellow-men. In each case the ambition to bring order into the world, to regulate, to civilize the nations, rose with a larger and brighter disk than the mere ambition of war presented.

As soon as Egypt was fairly in his possession, and the conquest thus completed of all the countries west of the Euphrates, the Macedonian hero began to excogitate such measures as seemed best adapted to promote the interests of the peoples whom he had brought under his sway. One of the first schemes produced by his fertile brain was a method by which intercourse might be rendered easy and rapid between India and the states of the West. A principal feature of the plans which now occupied his mind was the establishment in Egypt of a great emporium of commerce. He first by surveys familiarized himself with the valley of the Nile as far south as Heliopolis. In the course of his examination of the country, he availed himself of every means and opportunity to win the admiration and

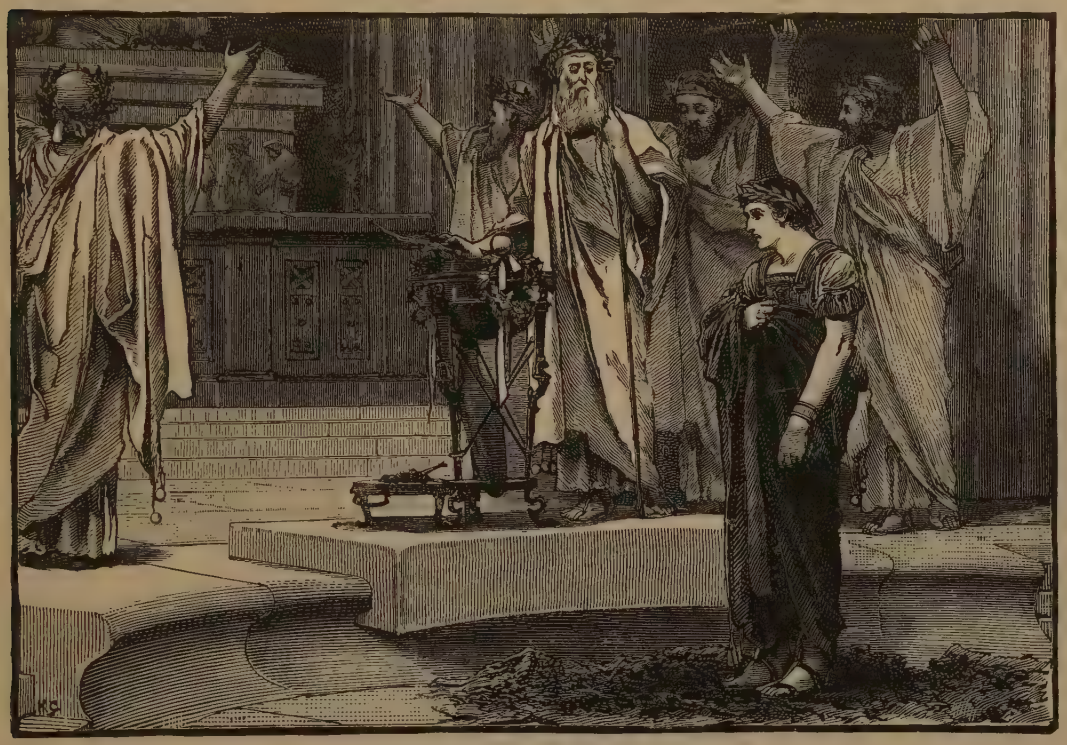
affections of the people. Returning by way of Memphis, he carefully examined the several mouths of the Nile. Having rejected both Pelusium and Canopus as unsuited in situation for the contemplated city, he passed to the western side of that branch of the river on which the latter town was located, and there selected a site for the proposed metropolis. To Dinocrates he assigned the work of laying out and founding the city; and as if to trust his fame to an enterprise of peace rather than to the havoc of war, he ordered that the new Egyptian capital should bear his name—ALEXANDRIA.

It will be remembered that the family of Philip of Macedon, not without pride, traced its mythical origin to the great heroes, Perseus and Hercules. It appears that Alexander was not above the half superstitious vanity of claiming these fabulous personages as his ancestors. Such an element of vainglory in his nature it may have been which induced him, while still tarrying in Egypt, to undertake a pilgrimage across the desert to the shrine of Ra or Jove, in the oasis of Amun. Possibly, however, the impulse which urged him thither was the ambition to do what Cambyses had failed to accomplish. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that the Macedonian was willing to avail himself of this means to heighten his reputation among the African races by consulting the oracle of their great deity in the desert.

Of course the journey to Amun was accompanied with miraculous indications of the favor of heaven. When the Macedonians were well-nigh dying of thirst, rain poured down in torrents. When the band of pilgrims had lost its way in the desert, two tremendous serpents suddenly appeared and marshaled them toward the oasis. Ravens likewise flew before the pilgrims. So they came to the beautiful site of the shrine of Jove. The Macedonian was received with every mark of distinction by the obsequious priests who, after the manner of their kind in all ages, were willing—

> "To bend the pregnant hinges of the knee
> That thrift might follow fawning."

Ostensibly, Alexander had visited the oasis to consult the oracle of Amun as to the va-



ALEXANDER AT THE TEMPLE OF AMUN.

lidity of his own claims to be regarded as the son of Zeus. To his inquiry on this question, if we may trust the credulous fable-writers of antiquity, a favorable answer was returned by the auspicious spirit of the place; and the son of Philip was enabled to return into Egypt bearing the unequivocal honors of deity.[1]

In arriving at Memphis, Alexander at once proceeded to reörganize the Egyptian government. He also reviewed and modified, in some particulars, the governments which he had previously established in the provinces subdued by his arms. In the early spring of B. C. 331, having completed the civil arrangements to which he had devoted his time since the preceding autumn, he set out for Tyre, which place he had appointed as a rendezvous for both his fleets and armies. Here he met ambassadors from Athens and other cities of the Greek confederacy, with whom he conferred respecting the prosecution of his Asiatic campaign. He then began his movement to the East, and in the first days of summer reached the Euphrates. At Thapsacus he found the bridge across the river broken down, and the enemy in considerable force on the opposite bank; but they quickly decamped, without attempting to hinder his passage.

Alexander effected his crossing without delay, and proceeded eastward along the northern confines of Mesopotamia. He had not advanced far, however, in this direction until he was informed by deserters and scouts that Darius had led his army up the eastern bank of the Tigris, and, as if to await his antagonist, had selected a strong position on the margin of that broad and rapid stream. It is probable that this intelligence occasioned a change in the plans of the conqueror. It had been his purpose to make his way into Lower Mesopotamia, and, having captured Babylon, to press forward to Susa. But learning the whereabouts of Darius, and perceiving the intentions of the Great King to offer battle in his chosen position, he rapidly advanced in that direction. On the fourth day of his march he came in sight of the Persian host; but on the appearance of the Macedonian Darius began to recede towards the south, with the evident intention of drawing Alexander further and further into the enemy's country. But the latter pressed upon him with so much eagerness and audacity that the Persian was compelled to make a stand for battle. He accordingly selected a suitable field on the banks of the Bumadus, a small eastern tributary of the Tigris. The king made his head-quarters six miles distant from the plain selected for the fight, at the town of ARBELA, where the Persian baggage and military chests were deposited.

If we may trust the ancient authors, Darius brought to the battle-field, on which his own and the destinies of his empire were now staked, an army of foot-soldiers numbering at least a million, while the cavalry amounted to forty thousand, the scythe-bearing chariots to two hundred, and the elephants to fifteen. To oppose this limitless host, Alexander had forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse. It is not improbable, however, that this incredible disparity in numbers arose not from the facts in the premises, but from the disposition of the Greek writers to glorify the achievements of their countrymen.

Alexander at this great crisis behaved with more than his usual caution. He spent four days in fortifying his camp, and at the second watch of the fifth night drew out his forces for battle. While advancing upon the enemy, he perceived on reaching the summit of a hill the evidence of such unusual preparation on the part of Darius that it was deemed prudent to hold a council of war. Most of the Macedonian generals gave their vote for an immediate attack, but the veteran Parmenio advised that the ground which they were to traverse and the general disposition of the Persian forces should be carefully scanned before incurring the hazard of battle. With

[1] A half humorous incident of Alexander's interview with the priest of Amun has been preserved by Plutarch. It appears that the oracle, not quite willing to vouch for the divine paternity of the Macedonian, indulged in the usual trick of ambiguity. The old priest, on coming out to deliver the response of the god, is said, as if blundering in his Greek, to have addressed Alexander as *Pai Dios* (son of Jove), when as a matter of fact he was merely intending to say *Paidion* (my son)! Of course Alexander's courtiers preferred *Pai Dios* to *Paidion*.

this view Alexander, whose judgment seems to have been cooled by the tremendous stake at issue in the conflict, fully coïncided, and a whole day was accordingly spent in reconnoitering the field.

In the early morning of the seventh day, all the preliminaries having been arranged, the two armies cautiously advanced towards each other, and then grappled in a struggle which was to decide the fate of Asia. The battle began with an action of the cavalry and chariots. Soon, however, the lines of infantry became involved, and the fight raged along the whole front of the field. Nor were the Greeks at first able to drive the heavy masses of the enemy before them. On no previous field had the Persians displayed so much bravery and steady discipline. The Scythian cavalry had well-nigh proved a match for the famous horsemen of Thessaly. In some parts of the field, under the tremendous pressure of numbers, the allied forces actually wavered and lost some ground. But the Macedonian phalanx, irresistible as hitherto, made its steady way, like some huge engine of destruction, upon the heavy masses of the enemy, and before its horrible forest of spears, the barbarians were forced into flight. Darius himself—whether by his own will or by the confused tides of the rout which swelled around him is not certainly known—was borne away with the roaring mass of fugitives.

Discovering the flight of the king, and eager to possess himself of the royal person, Alexander, with the cavalry, pressed forward with extreme audacity, and the Macedonian left, under command of Parmenio, who was charged with the protection of the camp, was almost fatally weakened. It happened, moreover, that the Persian cavalry on the right, opposite to Parmenio, was commanded by Mazæus, one of the ablest of the Great King's generals. This daring officer succeeded in breaking through the Macedonian lines, and captured the camp. Messengers were hastily sent to Alexander, who on the right was far in advance in pursuit of the king. With the utmost speed the conqueror wheeled and came back to the support of Parmenio. The battle on the left was renewed with desperate bravery until the Persian horse was finally put to flight.

The camp was regained, and Alexander again pressed forward in the hope of capturing the fugitive king. On arriving at the river Lycus, he found that Darius had already crossed to the other side. The pursuit was therefore given over, and, after a brief rest, the conqueror turned aside in the night, and before morning entered the town of Arbela without opposition. Here he secured the rich treasures which the Persian king, pending the battle, had there deposited. The chariot, shield, and bow of Darius were found among the captured spoils.

Of the number slain in the battle of Arbela[1] no authentic account can be given. The credulous Arrian says that the Persians lost three hundred thousand in killed and a still greater number in prisoners, while the whole loss of the Greeks is stated at not more than a hundred. Such a statement, however, is so glaringly improbable as to be entirely unworthy of respect. In general it may be said that the old authorities are of but little value in determining the numbers composing armies or the losses in battle.

After his overthrow at Arbela, Darius attempted to make a stand in Media. Around him here were gathered the scattered fragments of his army. But Alexander, knowing that the king could never again offer him any effectual resistance, now turned his course in the direction of Babylon. No serious opposition, however, was to be anticipated from the great cities of the Chaldæan plain. On arriving in the vicinity of the great metropolis a vast procession of people with priests and nobles at the head came out to surrender the city of Nebuchadnezzar to the son of Philip. The gates were opened and the citadel and treasury given up without the slightest attempt to save them from the clutch of the conqueror. Within the Babylonian vaults and treasure-houses, so vast a wealth of stores and money was found as never before had greeted the eyes of the Macedonian soldiery. Nor did Alexander lose the opportunity to establish

[1] For the true name of this great battle see Book Sixth, p. 376.

himself in popular esteem by flattering the national superstitions. Careful respect was shown to the religious rites of the Babylonians, and the conqueror himself disdained not to enter the great temple of the city and offer sacrifices to Belus.

Remaining for a while in Babylon, Alexander received a deputation from the Armenians of the North, who professed their desire to be included as subjects of his Empire. Soon afterwards a delegation arrived from Susa, the Persian capital, and he was informed of the wish of that great city to put her keys in his hands. The ambassadors expressed their dislike of the Persian dynasty, and the wish of the Susianians to share their destinies with the House of Macedon. This was important intelligence, and Alexander immediately availed himself of it by marching in the direction of the Persian capital. Before arriving at Susa, however, he was met by a son of the satrap, who came out to assure him of a hospitable reception. He was informed that the city, with all its defenses and treasures, would be surrendered without delay or opposition. Within twenty days after his departure from Babylon he reached his destination. Susa was given up, and the Macedonian found himself in possession of a sum equal to fifty millions of dollars. In the royal palace were found many of the treasures which Xerxes had taken from the Greeks. Among the rest were two bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, those famous popular heroes who slew the tyrant Hipparchus. These venerated relics were at once returned by Alexander to the Athenians, though the conqueror could hardly have been in sympathy with the cause of which they were the symbols.

While tarrying at Susa, Alexander reïnstated the wives and daughters of Darius in the royal palace. He also, in reörganizing the government, intrusted the satrapy to a native Persian, thus exhibiting a conciliatory disposition towards the traditions of the people. Meanwhile a large reënforcement, sent out by Antipater, arrived from Macedonia. With them came fifty youths from the most distinguished families, who were recommended to the king as proper additions to his body-guard.

The time had now come to begin the invasion of the original seat of the Persian Empire. Between Susiana and Persia Proper were ranges of high mountains, the passes of which must be traversed by the Macedonians on their way from Susa to Persepolis. These heights were inhabited by a race of warlike barbarians who, even in the palmy days of Persian ascendency, had maintained their independence, and were in the habit, with singular impudence, of obliging the subjects of the Great King to pay toll for the privilege of passing through the mountains. It was the program of these half-savages, on the approach of the conqueror, to occupy the cliffs, and compel the king of Macedon to pay the usual tribute. But the buccaneers of the hills were soon taught another lesson. The light-armed Macedonians, agile as the mountaineers themselves, hastily preöccupied the heights, and the barbarians were glad to escape with their lives. It was not the custom of Alexander the Great to pay for the privilege of going where he would.

At a further stage of his progress through the hill-country, the Macedonian encountered a still more serious obstacle. The Persian Gate, through which he must descend from the highland into the plain, had been seized by the satrap, Ariobarzanes, who, with forty thousand picked soldiers, had chosen this favorable position with the determination to stop the progress of Alexander toward the East. In attempting to force the pass, the Macedonians were not only checked but actually repelled, until what time Alexander, having discovered another defile through the mountains, passed through with one division of his army, and fell upon the Persian rear. The discomfiture of Ariobarzanes was complete.

It was now no longer any concern of the Macedonian what should become of the satrap who had attempted to bar his progress, but whether he himself could reach Persepolis before the fugitives from the recent overthrow should bear thither the news of his coming. He had been informed of the purpose of the Persepolitan authorities to destroy the treasures and records of the city rather than per-

mit them to fall into the hands of the ravager of Asia. It was, therefore, of great importance to Alexander, by becoming the herald of his own victory, to prevent the contemplated destruction. So rapid was his march that he dashed upon the city gates unannounced: nor could those in authority, anxious as they were to save themselves by flight, interfere to prevent the pillage of the capital. Persepolis went down, like the other great cities of Asia, before the trampler of the Orient.

Once safely established in the capital of the Empire, Alexander again found time to pause for a season from the anxieties of war. Both he and his soldiers gave themselves up to festivities not wholly free from excess and rioting. At this juncture occurred one of the least creditable transactions of Alexander's life—the burning of the magnificent palace of the Persian kings. It appears that a certain Thaïs, an Athenian *Hetæra*, celebrated for her beauty and accomplishments, was invited by Alexander to a banquet given by him to his generals. Wine flowed freely, and the Macedonian, in common with the rest, was under the influence of the inebriating cup. In the midst of the feast, Thaïs recalling to mind the demolition of her native city by the Persians, and feeling towards them that burning hatred of which a woman only is capable, proposed that, as a measure of retaliation and revenge, the torch should now be applied to the royal palace of Persepolis. It is related that the Greek generals, having recently noticed on the part of Alexander a certain inclination to look with favor on the luxurious and effeminating manners of the Persians, and fearing, as is believed lest he should, in reorganizing the Empire, conclude to establish his capital in the East, and seeing in the great palace of the Persepolitan kings a temptation to such a course, interposed no objection to the revengeful freak of the Athenian woman. Alexander, perceiving that his generals did not object to the incendiary proposition, not only gave his own assent to the wish of his favorite, but himself rushed forth with a torch and fired the royal dwelling. The progress of the flames, however, soon sobered the temporary madman, and in sudden repentance for his crime, he endeavored to save the palace from destruction; but the conflagration had already proceeded so far that only a part of the royal house could be rescued from the flames.

For four months after his entrance into Persepolis, Alexander remained in the city. Darius, meanwhile, had established himself in Ecbatana, and was there rallying such forces as he could command, in the hope of saving the northern provinces of his empire. He also busied himself with that business which had now become a part of the traditional policy of the Persian kings, namely, the instigation of a revolt among the states of Greece. In collusion with Agis, king of the Lacedæmonians, Darius succeeded, in the winter of B. C. 331–330, in organizing a formidable rebellion among the confederated powers of the West. An army was raised in Southern Greece, and an expedition planned against Macedonia. Antipater, who was still regent of the hereditary dominions of Alexander, prepared resistance, and even anticipated the movements of the enemy by marching into Peloponnesus. The war was thus precipitated upon the Spartans and their allies, and the whole issue was soon decided by a decisive battle, in which Antipater was completely victorious. The insurgents were dispersed and Agis slain. So complete was the triumph of the Macedonian cause that even in Sparta the friends of Alexander secured control of affairs, and a contingent of Lacedæmonian troops was sent forward to the king at Persepolis.

With the opening of spring the conqueror left the Persian capital and set out into Media. On his approach to Ecbatana, Darius, having heard of the failure of the movement in his favor in Greece, and finding himself unable to confront his antagonist in the field, gathered together his treasures, and with a guard of ten thousand men, left the city to become a fugitive in the earth. The city was taken without a blow, and the whole of Media was added to the new empire of the Macedonian.

With the latter it now became a prime ambition—a passion—to gain possession of the

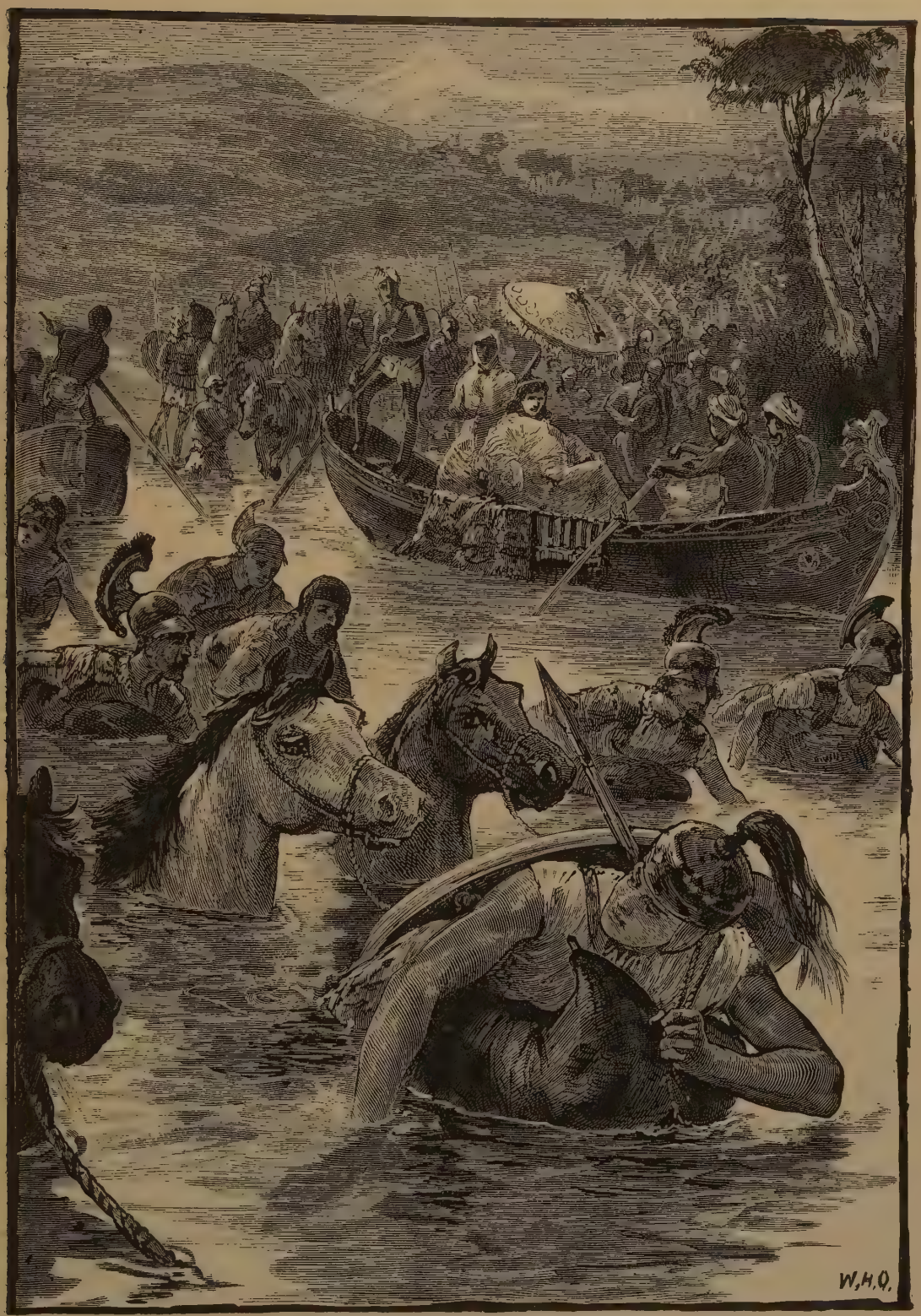
Persian king. Accordingly, having selected a body of his best troops, he started in pursuit of the royal refugee, and, after a march of incredible rapidity, arrived in eleven days at the city of Rhagæ, near the great pass of the Caucasus, called the Caspian Gate. Here he learned that Darius had abandoned the hill-country and was continuing his flight across the Parthian plains. While making a temporary pause to procure supplies and rest his men, intelligence was brought to Alexander that Bessus, the satrap of Bactria, together with two others, one of whom was a cavalry officer in the body-guard of the king, had conspired against Darius, seized his person, and were now dragging him back to be delivered to the conqueror. It was their purpose, however, after the manner of Asiatics, to hold possession of their captive, and thus be able to extort terms favorable to themselves—perhaps to sell the prisoner at an enormous price in money and preferments.

Setting out in the night, Alexander again pressed forward with great rapidity, and on the morrow arrived at a village which had just been occupied by Bessus and his confederates. Again hurrying forward across the desert, he soon came in sight of the fugitives. A brief and feeble resistance was offered to the pursuers, and then the captors of the king, fearing that Darius, when taken, might induce Alexander to punish them for their perfidy, plunged their swords into the royal captive and left him in his chariot by the road-side to die. In a few moments the conqueror was on the spot, but not until the last king of the Persian Empire had breathed out his life. Only the bleeding, lifeless body of him who had once swayed the millions remained as a trophy to the conqueror. It is not often that the history of the world has presented a scene so dramatic as that of the son of Philip standing before the dead body of his adversary. It was greatly to the honor of Alexander that he behaved with the utmost humanity in the presence of his fallen foe. The royal corpse was carefully conveyed to Persepolis, and splendidly buried in the tombs of the Persian kings.

With the death of Darius, the empire founded by Cyrus the Great was extinguished. The invasion of Xerxes, with its attendant havoc and devastation to the states of Greece, had, after a century and a-half of waiting, been amply avenged by the Macedonian conqueror. There was no longer any serious opposition to the establishment of a new dynasty on the ruins of the East. For a brief season, Bessus, the treacherous satrap of Bactria, assumed the title of Artaxerxes and laid claim to the dominions of the Great King.

It was, however, but an act of vaulting ambition which o'erleaped itself and fell on the other side. He was pursued by Alexander into the province of Sogdiana, cooped up in a fortress, and finally surrendered into the hands of the Macedonians. After being mutilated according to the practice of the East, he was cruelly put to death. The Bactrians, however, for several months continued to oppose the authority of Alexander. It was found necessary to make a campaign into the country between the Caspian and the Jaxartes. This river was crossed by the Macedonian army—the furthest limit of its northward progress. The satrap, Spitamenes, called to his aid the people of Sogdiana, and the fierce Scythians, thus creating an army of formidable proportions. But the general, Cœnus, soon overthrew them in battle, and Spitamenes was pursued into the desert and put to death. Another insurgent, named Oxyartes, took possession of a fortress, situated in an almost inaccessible height, and, being well supplied with provisions, bade defiance to the Macedonians. When summoned to surrender, they coolly asked Alexander if his men had wings. This piece of bravado was answered on the following day by a Macedonian storming party, who, with hands and feet, if not with wings, ascended the cliff and carried the fortress by storm.

Among the captives found in this stronghold of the enemy was the daughter of Oxyartes, the beautiful Roxana, whom Alexander, against the half-suppressed protests of his Greeks, chose for his wife. It appears that the union was based on politics as well as affection; for it was now evident that the Macedonian contemplated the organic consoli-



MACEDONIANS CROSSING THE JAXARTES.

dation of the various nations subdued by his arms, and that he saw in intermarriage one of the chief means by which this result was to be accomplished. It was observed, moreover, that his army had of late been recruited from Asiatic sources, and notwithstanding the jealousy which this measure created among his Macedonian and Grecian subjects, Alexander persisted in the course which seemed to him most likely to conciliate the favor of the recently subjugated peoples.

Thus it was that the banner and phalanx of Macedonia were carried to the borders of India. Nor was there any doubt of the ability of the conqueror to press his way eastward until the ocean and the Himalayas should impede his progress. His army was now an army of veterans, inured in the campaigns of four successive years to every species of hardship incident to the camp and the field. Besides the discipline which they had received at the hands of the bravest and most experienced generals, the person and example of Alexander himself, who shared with his soldiers all the hardships of the march and the battle, had inspired them with enthusiasm for their leader and confidence in their abilities to conquer the world.

To these prospects of future achievement a single circumstance seemed to oppose a barrier. Of late there had arisen trouble not a little between the Macedonian and some of the officers of his army. In the first place he was led to suspect that Philotas, the son of Parmenio, was engaged in a treacherous conspiracy against himself. The young general was accordingly arrested, tried before a military commission, condemned by his judges, and put to death. This was a fatal blow to Parmenio, who, though long the confidential adviser of Philip and afterwards the ablest general of Philip's son, soon fell under suspicion of disloyalty, and, whether guilty or innocent, was speedily sent to his death. In these proceedings it was evident that the mutual trust of the king, and his officers, which for many years had survived the ordeals of privation and battle, was clouded with discontent and suspicion.

The winter of B. C. 329 was passed by the Persian army in Bactria. It was during this interval that an event occurred from the effects of which the king never wholly escaped. The Asiatic courtiers, who now constituted a part of the retinue of Alexander, began to exercise upon his character a deleterious influence. It is clear that his ear was no longer offended with the base flatteries of the East. This gradual alienation from the severe manners of his father's court was noticed with mortification by the austere Macedonians, who still constituted the body of his friends. On a certain occasion, in the Bactrian winter-quarters, a banquet was given in honor of Castor and Pollux. When all were well heated with wine, some of the fawning puppies of the East began in their usual obsequious way to flatter the king on his great achievements and divine paternity. Thereupon Clitus, the ablest of the Macedonian generals after Parmenio, and the intimate friend of the conqueror, rebuked the sycophants with all the hot words in his vocabulary.

Alexander, to his shame, interfered to stop the reproaches of Clitus, who thereupon turned on his master a torrent of well-deserved rebukes. The king, already excited with drink, gave way to passion, and in a moment of ungovernable rage snatched a weapon from one of his guards, and gave his faithful general a death-thrust on the spot. With the quick return of reason, realizing the horrible crime which he had committed, he fell into bitter remorse, shut himself up in his chamber, would not see his friends, and for three days neither ate nor drank. Finally he was persuaded that the rash murder of his friend was chargeable to Bacchus rather than to himself, and with this miserable subterfuge he quieted his conscience.

A short time afterwards an event occurred which came near costing Alexander his life. Among his retainers was a company of young men known as the Band of Pages. Their leader was a certain Hermolaüs. On an occasion Alexander accompanied these youths on a boar hunt in the Bactrian forests. When the beast was brought to bay, Hermalaüs, without waiting according to good manners for the king to strike down the game,

himself gave the death blow. Alexander, in childish anger for the affront thus offered, fell upon the young man in the presence of his companions, beat him with a rod, and took away his horse. Hermolaüs showed himself capable of revenge. Taking four of his companions into his confidence, he made conspiracy with them to kill the king that night in his bed-chamber; for the pages were the guardians of the royal sleeping apartments. It chanced, however, that the plot was overheard by the convenient old woman who was near the chamber. She thereupon persuaded the king not to retire that night; and on the following day, the young men being put to the rack, confessed the particulars of their murderous scheme. They, also, declared that the instigator of the plot was a certain Athenian named Callisthenes, an arrogant philosopher belonging to the court. He and the young men were straightway condemned and executed.

The time had now arrived to begin the contemplated expedition into India. In the spring of B. C. 327, Alexander set out across the mountain range of Paropamisus, and quickly penetrated the valley of the Indus. His army was now swollen to more than one hundred thousand men. This great force he divided into two corps, reserving the command of one for himself, and giving the other to Hephæstion. This general the king ordered to press forward to the river Cophenes, while he himself undertook the conquest of the barbarous tribes dwelling between that river and the Indus. As soon as this work was accomplished, he crossed the great river, and made his way into the eastern provinces. Several districts were rapidly overrun, and a certain Taxiles, the most important ruler of this region, made a voluntary surrender of his territories. He also sent to the conqueror a present of seven thousand Indian horses, and in other ways testified his willingness to be enrolled among the subjects of the king. Alexander cordially accepted the prince as his ally, and restored him to his dominions.

Meanwhile, Porus, the most powerful king of South-eastern India, had gathered a vast army of his subjects and advanced to the river Hydaspes to oppose the passage of the Macedonians. For the third time in the course of his campaigns, Alexander beheld on the opposite bank of a stream the cohorts of an innumerable enemy drawn up to hinder his progress. To the mind of the Macedonian, the present emergency seemed more grave than that which presented itself at the Granicus or Issus. Instead, therefore, of dashing into the river with the reckless audacity displayed in his first battle, he hesitated and maneuvered. After making so many feints as to throw Porus off his guard, he finally succeeded in crossing in the night. A general engagement ensued with the morning light, and the Indians were completely routed. The two sons of the king and twenty-three thousand of his troops were killed. Porus himself, flying on his great war elephant, was captured and brought into the presence of Alexander.

It is narrated that the Indian prince was of so goodly a person and manners that the Macedonian, greatly impressed with the bearing of his prisoner, asked him in what way he could serve him. "By acting like a king," was the reply. "I should do as much for my own sake," said Alexander; "but what shall I do for yours?" Porus answered, "I have preferred my only request." So greatly was Alexander pleased with the response of the royal captive that he at once reïnstated him in authority; and having presently conquered thirty-seven cities on the eastern frontier, he added them to the possession of his new friend and confederate.[1]

Having completed the conquest of India, the conqueror sought recreation for himself and his men by instituting on the bank of the Hydaspes a series of gymnastic and equestrian games like the Olympic festival of Greece. When the celebration was completed, he proceeded to found in honor of his victories the city of Nicæa, and soon after-

[1] The reader can but be struck with the superior bearing of Alexander in the field. War brought out the better qualities of his character and genius. It was in the times of surcease, when his restless energies no longer found vent in the excitement of campaign and battle that his passions turned to meanness and depravity.

DEFEAT OF PORUS BY THE MACEDONIANS.

wards he selected a site for Bucephalia, so named in honor of his famous horse, Bucephalus. The conqueror then intrusted to Craterus a division of his army, with instructions to build and fortify the new cities. He himself with the remaining division again set out towards the east. He crossed first the river Acesines, and in the region beyond conquered a second prince named Porus. He then passed the Hydraotes, and came into a country inhabited by independent tribes, which attempted in their half-barbarous way to impede his progress. A battle was fought with them and they were routed in confusion. They then retired into their fortress of Sangala, and having refused to capitulate, were besieged by the Macedonian army. For a brief period the town was obstinately defended, but was presently carried by storm. Seventeen thousand of the Indians were killed in the assault, and seventy thousand more were made prisoners. The city was leveled to the ground, and the confederate tribes not involved in its destruction fled beyond the Hyphasis for safety.

All of the vast region known as the Punjaub, or Land of the Five Rivers, was now completely subjugated. Of the great streams, by which this country was watered, the Hyphasis, just mentioned, was the most easterly. This river, therefore, constituted the natural limit of Upper India. But no corresponding limit was found to the ambition of Alexander. He immediately began to prepare to cross the Hyphasis, and to continue his progress to the East. But here at last the fates had decreed that the son of Philip should pause. The arrow shot from strongest bow into highest sky must turn *somewhere* and seek again the earth in its flight. If the impulse of conquest still bore onward the conqueror himself, it was no longer felt in the breasts of his generals and men. On the banks of the Hyphasis they hesitated, wavered, refused to go further. In vain did the baffled Macedonian attempt to persuade his commanders and soldiers to accompany him to the extreme of Asia. In vain he promised them an easy and circuitous route through victory and spoil to the ocean of India. Then they should sail homeward by a brief and pleasant passage through the Persian Gulf. But destiny was fixed—they would go no further. So, to conceal his defeat and mortification, the conqueror consulted the gods and announced that the divine oracles had indeed decreed a return to Europe. Under the breastplate of Mars appeared the duplicity of the priest and the shrewdness of the politician!

So the Macedonian proceeded to build twelve pillars on the bank of Hyphasis, and left them there as monuments of his victory and as limits of his progress towards the rising sun. To Porus he then intrusted the government of the seven provinces—with their two thousand cities—which he had conquered in his Indian campaign, and himself immediately prepared to descend the Hydaspes to the Indus and the Indus to the sea.

As soon as the arrangements for the return to Europe could be completed, the conqueror formed his army in three divisions, giving the first to Hephæstion, the second to Craterus, and reserving the third for himself. The first two divisions were ordered to proceed along the river bank, while the commander himself, with his division, embarked on board a fleet built for the purpose by the Phœnician and Cypriot carpenters belonging to the army. Frequently in his progress down the river the conqueror was hindered by the hostility of native tribes. In one instance a nation called the Malli so greatly retarded his movements that he felt constrained to go on shore and besiege their capital. This was defended with much spirit by the barbarians, until Alexander, vexed with the delay, ordered the place to be carried by storm. The assault was at once made, and every thing fell before the charge of the Macedonians until they came to the citadel. Here the ramparts had to be mounted with scaling-ladders. These the king at once ordered to be brought forward; but becoming angry at what to him seemed unnecessary delay, he snatched a ladder himself, placed it against the wall, and in spite of the vociferous remonstrances of his companions began rapidly mounting to the top.

In order to save their king from what seemed certain destruction, the Macedonians pressed

after him; but just as he reached the summit the ladder broke, and all the rest were precipitated to the ground. The son of Philip was left alone on the top of the rampart, where his brilliant armor flashing in the sun made him a conspicuous mark for a hundred javelins. Nothing but his audacity saved him from certain death. Instead of attempting to escape he leaped boldly in the citadel, placed his back to the wall, and cut down the Mallian commander, with several others who rushed upon him. In a few moments three of his own trusted followers scaled the rampart and sprang to the side of their king. The first instantly fell, fatally wounded, but the other two placed themselves between the foe and the king, who had already received an arrow in his breast, and beat back the assailants until the Macedonians broke through the walls and the place was carried. The wound of the king was not such as to endanger his life, but the peril to which his rashness had exposed him was perhaps the greatest which he had ever faced in the vicissitudes of battle.

Having reached the sea, arrangements were at once completed for the return of the expedition, first to the capital of Persia, and afterwards to Europe. The army was divided into two parts, one of which was to embark on the fleet and the other to proceed overland across the Gedrosian desert; for it was deemed necessary that the two divisions by land and sea should keep within supporting distance, the land forces to supply the squadron from time to time, and the squadron to furnish the land forces with the means of embarkation should the same be found desirable.

The fleet was under command of Nearchus, and Alexander himself took charge of the division which was to proceed to Persia. Marching at the head of his columns, carrying full armor, and claiming no exemption from the hardships of the common soldier, the conqueror plunged into the desert sands, and for two months toiled on through the Gedrosian waste. Not until the expedition reached the province of Carmania were adequate supplies obtained to meet the wants of the army.

During the two years' absence of Alexander in the East, the governors of Babylon, Persepolis, and Susa, behaving after the manner of Orientals, had resumed the oppressive methods of government to which both they and the people had so long been accustomed. Great abuses had prevailed, and the conqueror found his subjects restless and discontented under the exactions of their rulers. To regulate these disorders and to punish those of his subordinates who had proved unworthy of their trust were now the first duties of the king.

More than ever he perceived the desirability of unifying as far as practicable the diverse nationalities over which he was called to rule. He, therefore, redoubled his exertions in the way of conciliating the various peoples under his sway, and as a means of doing so he again had recourse to intermarriages. It will be remembered that the family of Darius had been left in the palace of Susa about three years previously. On returning to that place Alexander proceeded to celebrate his marriage with the eldest daughter of the late king. To Hephæstion, his favorite general, he gave a sister of the princess which he himself had chosen. To Nearchus was assigned the daughter of Mentor, the brother of that Memnon who had so ably opposed the Macedonian at the beginning of his career. Eighty of the leading commanders of the army were rewarded with princesses of Persia, and the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence after the style of the country. By these means the affections of the Persians were rapidly turned to him who had scourged them; but to the Greeks there was much that was distasteful in the proceedings of their great leader.

Having remained for a time at Susa, busy with plans and projects for the organization and development of the Empire, Alexander now set out for Babylon. He descended the Eubæus and then ascended the Tigris, making surveys and maps of the rivers with a view to their future improvement. A corps of competent engineers accompanied him, and these were constantly consulted as to the best means of opening the country to commerce and an improved civilization. There is no

period in Alexander's life in which he appears to a better advantage than in this careful exploration of his dominions with a view to the establishment of a reign of peace. Especially were his energies judiciously employed on arriving at Babylon. Hitherto it appeared to have been the chief concern of the rulers of that great city to protect it by some artificial means from the hazard of capture by an enemy. Fear had made a league with the Euphrates. Dams had been built across the channel in such a way as to inundate those parts before the city over which the Assyrian might assail the gates. The natural uses of the great river as a way of commerce and a source of irrigation were thus destroyed.

Alexander, on discovering the condition of affairs, made haste to open the channel for his fleet and the merchantmen of the world. He had the harbors repaired and enlarged until they were able to accommodate a thousand ships. He encouraged every enterprise which promised to facilitate the opening of commerce with distant regions, and to stimulate the industrial energies of the vast populations under his authority. He ordered his engineers to construct new channels by which the waters of the Euphrates might be better distributed for purposes of irrigation and to drain the great marshes to the west of the river, where for ages this overflow had gathered into stagnant pools, unfitting the land for habitation.

When these grand enterprises were well under way Alexander ascended the Tigris to the city of Opis, where he caused to be celebrated the Olympic festival. It was on this occasion that he had to face another mutiny of his soldiers. The veteran Greeks of his army could not conceal their inherent dislike for the manners and character of the Orientals. With chagrin and mortification they had seen their great leader more and more assimilated to the Persian mode of life. Even his dress was conformed to the styles of the East. Unable to see in all this any thing but an alienation of the king from the severe habits and discipline of his native land, the sturdy Macedonians became morose, melancholy, mutinous. They demanded the privilege of returning home. They refused longer to participate in useless struggles with barbarians and campaigns which were endless.

In this peril the genius of Alexander stood him well in hand. He made an address to his soldiers in which he reviewed their wonderful achievements, extolled their heroism, depicted the rescue of Asia from barbarism by their valor, and exhorted them not to tarnish their reputation and the glory of the Greek name by yielding to bad passions and pernicious counsels. Such was the power of the appeal that the soldiers were overcome with mingled remorse and admiration. A reaction flashed along the ranks, and the mutiny was at an end. The conqueror then availed himself of the situation by sending to their homes ten thousand of his veterans. He loaded them with rewards and honors and put them in charge of the able Craterus, whom he commissioned as regent of Macedonia in place of Antipater. Thus by prudence and sound discretion he converted an alarming insurrection into an increase of power and authority over his army.

In the mountainous district between Media and Persia dwelt a tribe of warlike barbarians who during the whole ascendency of Achæmenian dynasty had maintained their independence. Nor were they more inclined to yield obedience to Alexander. Unable to reduce them except by force the Macedonian set out from Opis and crossed the Median border. While on the way one of the satraps sent to him a body-guard composed of a hundred Amazons, perhaps the most novel contingent ever added to his army. The famous woman-warriors were mounted like troopers and carried battle-axes and lances.

Before engaging the mountaineers who had defied his authority, Alexander had the misfortune to lose his bosom friend and trusted general, Hephæstion. No previous personal loss had so deeply affected him. For days together he would neither eat nor drink. As usual when in grief, he shut himself up, and would not be consoled. At last he found some comfort in giving his friend a magnificent funeral, and then his attention was distracted by the excitements of the campaign.

In a short time the Cossees were subdued, and the Macedonian, having for the moment no other enemies with whom to contend, found time for a civil enterprise more worthy of his genius. This was the exploration of the Caspian sea. Until now it had been believed that this great body of water was but an arm of the Arctic Ocean. Alexander gave instructions to Heraclides, commander of the shipwrights, to go into the Hyrcanian forest, prepare a fleet, and determine the geographical limits of the unknown sea. He himself, when the work was well under way, departed for Babylon, having determined to make a formal entry into the city, and from that center direct the affairs of his government.

After the battle of Arbela, Alexander had intrusted the Babylonian government to the priests of the temple of Belus. These hierarchs had all the subtlety and double-dealing habits of their race. Knowing the use to which they had put the king's revenues, and dreading an examination of their accounts with the royal treasury, they undertook to prevent Alexander from visiting the city. They sent out a deputation of soothsayers to warn him that the omens were not favorable for his present coming, and advising delay. But the king easily penetrated their hypocritical anxiety, and put them to confusion by quoting a saying of Euripides that he is the best prophet who makes the best guess!

Having established himself in the palace at Babylon, he immediately resumed the great works from which he had been distracted by the campaign into Media. Further improvements of the river were projected, and he himself spent days together in an open boat, under the burning sun, directing the work of his engineers. He also planned an elaborate survey of the coasts of Arabia and Eastern Africa; and at the same time his mind was busy with future military operations, which embraced, among other schemes, the conquest of Western Europe. Nor was such an enlargement of his empire beyond the possibilities of his all-embracing genius. His fame as a conqueror had already extended to the remotest parts of the civilized world; and the dream of universal empire was less visionary with him than with any other character of history. While tarrying at Babylon, embassies came from Libya and Carthage, and from the Italian states of Lucania and Tuscany; and it is alleged that envoys were received from European Scythia as well as from Gaul and Spain.

His first actual campaign was planned against Africa, but before entering upon an enterprise so vast and of such uncertain duration, he ordered a magnificent sacrifice to the gods and a feast to his army. The day was one of the most famous in the history of the great festivals of Babylon. The king himself entered most heartily into the ceremonies, participating with his officers in the banquet with which the pageant was concluded. Whether the momentous event which followed hard after the festivities was traceable to the excesses of which the king was guilty, or whether his exposure in the marshlands about Babylon had poisoned his system with malaria, or whether his constitution was broken by the hardships and fatigues of so many campaigns, or whether all of these circumstances combined at this crisis to bring the great Macedonian to his bed—is not certainly known. At any rate, on the day after the festival he was seized with a violent fever. For several days, however, he continued to attend to his duties, bathing, offering sacrifices, and receiving embassies; but on the eighth day his condition became serious; on the ninth, critical; and on the tenth, his life was despaired of.

As soon as the intelligence was carried to the army, the soldiers were thrown into the greatest agitation. They distrusted the commanders who were near the person of their king, and broke out with violent threats unless they should at once be admitted to his presence. Certain of their number were accordingly brought into the chamber where the son of Philip was breathing his last. He exchanged a look of sympathy with his veterans, and held out his hand, but was unable to speak. He lived till the following morning and expired in the midst of his generals.

Many stories were set afloat to account for

his sudden death, one of which was that Aristotle had prepared for Antipater, the deposed regent of Macedonia, a subtle poison, which the latter forwarded to Babylon to be used against the person of the king. But subsequent investigations dispelled such rumors, and left it clear that Alexander had died from natural causes. The great event which left the empire of Asia without a master occurred in B. C. 323.

Alexander the Great, whose remarkable career has been summarized in the preceding pages was at the time of his death but thirty-two years and eight months of age. In person he was handsome and well-proportioned, though not sufficiently tall to make his presence especially commanding. The discipline of his boyhood had been such as to give him symmetry of body and soundness of constitution. Beginning the military life before he reached his majority, he became inured to every species of hardship and exposure. It was, however, in the quality of his mind that he surpassed all the heroes of his times. His ambition was as great as the arena, and the arena was the world. His courage was equal to his ambition, and his genius to his courage. His sagacity in the council was as great as his abilities in the field; and his skill in discerning the motives of men, in exposing intrigue, and in outwitting the craft of an enemy, was preëminent above all his contemporaries. Of his vices the most conspicuous were the inordinate passion of which he was sometimes guilty, and the strong appetite which he too frequently indulged. His chief follies were vanity and superstition — the former manifested in the pleasure which he evidently took in those who praised him and his deeds, and the latter in such supreme nonsense as claiming his paternity from Jupiter. As in the case of other conquerors, it has been the fate of the Macedonian to have his name used as a synonym for cruelty, heartlessness, tyranny. The superficial gaze of mankind has been fixed on the turmoil and destruction of his great battles. The bloody field strewn with the mangled bodies of thousands has shut from sight the better qualities of the man. In humanity and magnanimity he was preëminent above all the great men of his age. It may be said that by him and his father a new code of war was instituted among the nations—a code which had a method in its cruelty, and which had an end and aim beyond the mere fact of spoliation and conquest.

The consequences of Alexander's career and works were in the highest measure salutary. Before his day Asia was *effete*. For centuries the great consolidated despotisms of the East—Assyria, Babylonia, Persia—had hung like a pall on the spirit of man. Alexander dispelled the cloud and liberated from bondage. He drew across the fertile plains of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia the tremendous plowshare of reform. He stirred the nations to their profoundest depths. He broke up and trampled on the traditions and precedents of the Asiatics. He cleft the high walls which barbarism, owl-like, had reared between herself and the light; and the light streamed through. He came as a harbinger out of the young and resolute West. He and his generals were scholars and statesmen. They spoke Greek. The beautiful speech of the Hellenes flowed like quicksilver through the dirt and linguistic *débris* of the East. It carried on its liquid tide the most splendid literature of the ancient world. Art grew like a hyacinth from the mire of his battles. Letters flourished in his capitals. The barbarians heard the sound thereof and were glad. The date-palms of the Euphrates quivered with the agitation of a new life. Commerce put on new robes and walked like a queen over the long-abandoned quays of Babylon. In the course of his conquests, civilization gained a victory over darkness, and the sky brightened from east to west over half the world. Though anarchy came by his death, the results of his great activities had taken so firm hold on the soil of Asia as never to be uprooted. For men having once arisen to a better estate and felt the blessing of the sunlight do not willingly go back to darkness, or lie again contented in the wallow of barbarism.

CHAPTER LI.—SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

THE death of Alexander the Great left the world without a master. Nor had the work of organizing and consolidating the great empires, subdued by his arms, proceeded sufficiently far to give promise of successful completion. He left no successor who could rightfully claim the scepter. The children born of his Asiatic wives were not regarded as legitimate claimants of the throne. His oldest son, born of Barcina, the widow of Memnon, was but five years of age. It was not to be supposed that the burdens and responsibilities of a great military empire would be devolved upon such a child, even under a regency. Roxana, his Bactrian queen, had not yet become a mother. Of all who might with some show of reason lay claim to the succession, Arrhidæus, the half-brother of Alexander, son of Philip and Philine, held the first place, and to him the Greek and Macedonian leaders first looked as to a possible successor. But Arrhidæus had neither intellect nor ambition. His education had not been directed to the conduct of affairs, and his native force was so feeble as to make him even an inefficient tool in the hands of others. It was evident, therefore, that the strong hand of military power must be stretched out over the chaos occasioned by the death of Alexander.

As soon as the son of Philip was no more, eight of the leading generals of the army, together with Perdiccas, to whom Alexander had given his ring and signet, assembled in Babylon to consider the condition of the Empire and to devise means for its government. These eight commanders were Leonatus, Lysimachus, Aristonous, Python, Seleucus, Eumenes, Meleager, and Nearchus. Meanwhile the phalanx, being Macedonian and more concerned in the affairs of the home kingdom than in the management of the vast realms which they had helped to conquer, had, out of deference to the House of Philip, named Arrhidæus as successor to Alexander. This action soon led to a rupture between the infantry and cavalry wings of the army. The latter desired some able military chieftain, who could lead them against an enemy and sustain their fame as soldiers. The former, headed by the phalanx, preferred a legitimate sovereign, under whom Macedonia should still be and remain the central fact in the Empire. The eight leaders just referred to took sides with the cavalry, and Perdiccas was forced, partly by expediency and partly by an attempt made upon his life, to join his fortunes with the other generals. The cavalry, under such leadership, assembled without the city, and threatened to cut off supplies and starve into compliance all who opposed their views.

The great council assembled in the palace of Babylon. After a variety of projects had been discussed, it was proposed by Aristonous that the general affairs of the Empire should be intrusted to Perdiccas, with the title of Regent. The measure was carried; and he on whom the dangerous honor was imposed was thus set in direct antagonism with Arrhidæus, who had received the suffrages of the infantry. Meleager, the general of that wing of the army, found himself in a serious predicament: he must break either with his soldiers or with the Regent. He sided with the soldiers, and became their leader. This party undertook to uphold Arrhidæus, and thus a conflict was brought on which came near ending in bloody work. The forces were already drawn out for battle, the phalanx on one side and the cavalry on the other, when the catastrophe was avoided by the mingled fear and magnanimity of Arrhidæus himself. When battle was about to begin he threw himself among the soldiers, and besought them to refrain from such an act as would prove an everlasting stain upon their reputation. He publicly renounced all claim to the crown. "If this diadem," said he, "can be possessed

only by the wounds and death of Macedonians, I will instantly divest myself of the pernicious ornament. Take back the fatal present. Give it to some one worthier than I am, if he can preserve the splendid gift unstained by the blood of his countrymen." The effect of this appeal was such that the phalanx receded from its attitude, and gave in its allegiance to the regency under Perdiccas. With him, however, in a short time Leonatus was associated in the government, and soon afterwards Meleager as a colleague.

Soon after the completion of these arrangements Queen Roxana gave birth to a son. The event was hailed as a glad omen, and the child was honored with his father's name. It was ordered that the infant should be nurtured with the greatest care and treated as the heir expectant of the Empire. The next thing demanding the attention of the leaders was the division of the provinces. Ptolemy, son of Lagus, chose for his portion the Nile valley, and thus became the founder of the Græco-Egyptian dynasty. By this choice he was removed somewhat from the broils into which he foresaw that his colleagues would in all likelihood be plunged. Antipater received Macedonia, but with him was associated the veteran Craterus, whom it will be remembered Alexander had sent thither as regent. The Thracian states fell to Lysimachus, and Cappadocia to Eumenes. The Greater Phrygia was assigned to Antigonus, and the Lesser to Leonatus. The home provinces of Persia were allotted to Pencestes, and the kingdom of Media to Python. Perdiccas received Babylonia and retained as his lieutenants in the government Aristonous and Seleucus. Thus was the world parceled out among the generals of the conqueror.

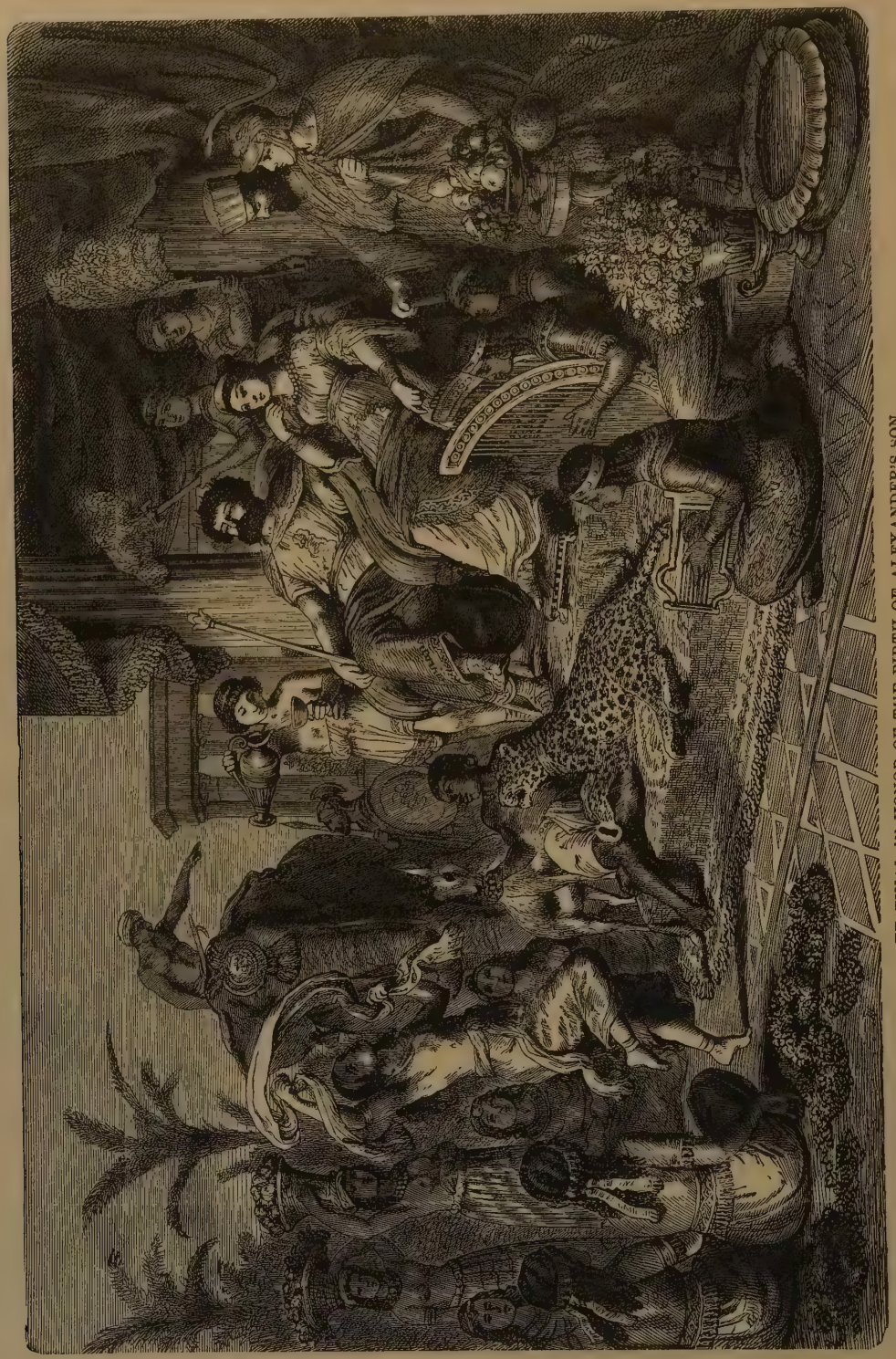
During all these important transactions the body of the great dead lay unburied in Babylon. He had given directions that he should be interred in the oasis of Amun, near the shrine of Zeus. At length Perdiccas undertook to fulfill the injunction of his master. The body was embalmed and preparations made for a grand pageant to the distant place of burial. Two years, however, elapsed before the funeral was actually completed; and then the plan was changed and Alexandria substituted for the Libyan oasis as the place of sepulture. Nor could posterity complain that the great city founded in his honor was selected as the final resting-place of the son of Philip rather than the green spot in the desert which superstition more than rational preference had suggested.

The first disturbance which demanded the attention of the Regent Perdiccas was the revolt of the mercenary Greeks. These troops had been placed as garrisons and colonies in the cities of northern and eastern Media, and upon them was imposed the duty of maintaining those borders of the Empire intact from the encroachments of barbarians. As soon, however, as it was known that the king was dead, the Greeks, believing themselves now free from restraint, revolted, and placing themselves under a commander of their own began their march for Greece. Perdiccas at once dispatched his lieutenant, Python, to suppress the insurrection and turn back the insurgents to the places from which they had issued. This officer, however, proved treacherous and formed a design of making Media independent, but Perdiccas sent after him public orders to kill all the Greeks and divide their property among the Macedonian soldiers. The nature of the orders being known in the army Python durst not disobey, and the bloody mandate was executed without mercy.

The next revolt was in the province of Cappadocia. The people of this country, under the lead of their native king, Ariathes, bade defiance to the rule of the Macedonians, and Perdiccas intrusted to Eumenes the task of reducing them to obedience. The character of these warlike barbarians was well known to the Regent, and he accordingly ordered Antigonus and Leonatus, governors of the two Phrygias, to assist in the work of subjugation. Both, however, refused to obey the order, and Perdiccas himself was obliged to march to the aid of his colleague. Notwithstanding the valor of the Cappadocians, they were quickly overthrown by the veteran Macedonian army, and the authority of Eumenes reëstablished on a firm basis.

Soon afterwards an insurrection broke out

in Pisidia and Isauria. The former country was quickly overrun, the capital taken by assault, and the inhabitants put to the sword. The mountaineers of Isauria, however, made a more successful resistance. Being finally cooped up in their principal town, they made a desperate



FESTIVAL IN HONOR OF THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER'S SON.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

defense. When hope was lost they fired their houses, burned their wives and children, drove back the assailants from the ramparts, and then, discovering the impossibility of escape, turned about and perished in the flames. The Macedonians succeeded in taking a town of bones and ashes.

The epoch that followed the death of Alexander is mostly filled with events growing out of the quarrels and jealousies of those into whose hands the Empire had fallen. It was not long until Ptolemy formed a scheme to marry the daughter of Antipater. This action of course contemplated the ultimate union of Macedonia and Egypt. Perdiccas, whose craft in the cabinet was by no means equal to his generalship in the field, having heard of the project of Ptolemy, claimed Antipater's daughter's daughter for himself; but he was soon reminded that not even this politic marriage was as advantageous as another which was possible. For there was Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, whom he might solicit, and thus unite himself directly with the House of Philip. So the marriage to the daughter of Antipater was annulled in favor of that with the princess. But meanwhile the friends of Arrhidæus, who was still nominally the successor to Alexander, urged him to seek an alliance with Eurydice, also of the royal blood. This princess, however, was presently put to death, as was believed, by the influence of Perdiccas. This event raised such a mutiny that the Regent was glad to recede from his position and begin a policy of conciliation towards his rivals.

As soon as affairs were again quieted Perdiccas summoned Antigonus to repair to Babylon and defend himself against the charge of insubordination in refusing to aid Eumenes in the Cappadocian war. But the general refused to obey the summons. In this course he was encouraged by Antipater and Craterus in Macedonia and Ptolemy in Egypt. These rulers, alarmed at the assumptions of the Regent, who now blinked not at all his claim to authority over all the dominions of Alexander, made a league against him, and took up arms to maintain it. In the matter of war, however, Perdiccas was perfectly at home. He at once planned an invasion of Egypt, and hastened as a measure of preparatory revenge to strip Antigonus of his government, conferring the same on Eumenes. Nor were Antipater and Craterus behindhand in preparations. By the time that the Regent was ready to begin his descent on Egypt they were on the march into Asia. The defense of the country against them was intrusted to Eumenes. With an army of about twenty thousand men he met the invaders near the plain of ancient Troy. One of his officers, named Neoptolemus, deserted and went over to Craterus; and by his counsel that able veteran was put off his guard, considering the forces led by Eumenes no more than a medley of barbarians. The battle soon showed the mistake. Eumenes was completely victorious. Craterus and Neoptolemus were both slain, and even the phalanx was driven to the mountains.

In the mean time Perdiccas was making his way towards Egypt. Once on the confines of that country, he summoned Ptolemy to come into his presence and answer a long list of charges. This the Egyptian governor did in a manner to exculpate himself; but the baffled Regent at last found a pretext in this—that Ptolemy had assumed to arrest the funeral cortege of Alexander, and to bury the body of that hero in an Egyptian city instead of in the oasis of Amun. So the invasion was continued to Pelusium. Ptolemy proved himself equal to the emergency. He planned a series of fortifications which the assailants were unable to carry. A part of the forces of Perdiccas were drowned in attempting to cross the Nile, and his army, being divided by that stream, was attacked in detail and utterly routed. The Regent, availing himself of the protection of the survivors, was glad to withdraw from the country. Soon afterwards, B. C. 321, when he was preparing to renew the contest with Ptolemy, he was assassinated in his tent by Python, that disloyal general whom he had previously sent against the revolted Greeks in the Median cities.

Two years before this event a league had been formed in Greece for the overthrow of Macedonian authority. As usual, Athens headed the confederacy. The command was

intrusted to Leosthenes, who advanced at the head of about twenty thousand men and took possession of the pass of Thermopylæ. From this stronghold Antipater was unable to dislodge him, and was himself so much worsted in the battle that he fell back and defended himself in the town of Lamia, near the Malian gulf.

Word was now sent to Asia Minor asking Leonatus, the governor of Phyrgia, for reënforcements. The latter made a rapid march into Macedonia, and Leosthenes meanwhile, in the attempt to prevent a junction of his enemies, made several unsuccessful assaults on Lamia, in one of which he was killed. His successor, Antiphilus, hearing of the approach of Leonatus, went forth to meet him on the northern confines of Thessaly. Here a bloody battle was fought, in which victory remained with the Greeks. Leonatus was slain and the larger part of his army sought refuge in the mountains. But Antipater soon succeeded in rallying his forces and gained a complete victory over Antiphilus. The Greeks sued for peace, but the Macedonian would not treat with them except as separate states. This put Athens at his mercy. He dictated to the Athenians a change of government and compelled them to surrender Hyperides and Demosthenes, the two principal orators of the democracy. The former, however, made good his escape from the city, and the latter, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies, ended his life by poison. The Athenians perceived that the magnanimity of Philip and Alexander was no longer to be expected from the court of Macedon.

After the overthrow of Perdiccas at Pelusium, it was within the power of Ptolemy to seize the regency for himself. Instead, however, of taking this ambitious course, he contented himself with nominating for that important office his friend Arrhidæus, one of the conqueror's generals not hitherto conspicuous. He it was who, conducting the funeral pageant of Alexander, by way of Egypt to the African oasis, had been persuaded by Ptolemy to erect the royal tomb in Alexandria instead of the desert.

After the overthrow and death of Craterus at the hands of Eumenes, the passions of the Egyptian army were greatly inflamed. They heard of the destruction of their old general with mortification and rage. This was directed first of all against Perdiccas as the cause of the unseemly broil between friends. After the death of the Regent they looked to Eumenes as the responsible representative of the mischief, and so they resolved to exterminate him and all his confederates. Fifty of the leading adherents of the late Perdiccas, including his brother Alcetas, were proscribed, and the army at once set out through Syria to enforce the edict. At Triparadus, however, they were met by Eurydice, the wife of Arrhidæus, and by her persuaded to abandon the enterprise. Her influence became, for the hour, well-nigh omnipotent, and when Antipater, who had been sent for, arrived at the scene, he was amazed to find that not even his presence was sufficient to break the spell with which the queen had bound the soldiery. Attempting to bring his old soldiers to their senses, they turned upon him and would have put him to death, but for the timely interference of Seleuces and Antigonus. Presently, however, a reaction set in, such as could hardly be looked for except in a mutinous army, and the veterans made haste to proclaim Antipater regent! Accepting the trust at their hands, he returned to Macedonia, in B. C. 322, and assumed the duties of directing the affairs of the dissolving Empire.

Several changes had now become necessary in the provincial governments. Eumenes was declared an outlaw, and his satrapy of Cappadocia conferred on Nicanor. Clytus was appointed to the governorship of Lydia, and Cilicia was conferred on Philoxenes. As yet, however, all of these provinces lying within the dominions of Eumenes, were under his authority, and must be taken from him by force of arms before these new governors could gain possession of their respective territories. The regent Arrhidæus was now confined in his authority to Hellespontine Phrygia. Last and greatest of the provinces was Babylonia, which was awarded to the young and ambitious Seleuces.

These arrangements having been completed,

Antipater undertook the subjugation of Eumenes. With him Antigonus joined his forces, and the campaign against Cappadocia was pressed with vigor. Nora, the strongest fortress in that country, was besieged, and Eumenes was hard pressed to hold out against his assailants. While the blockade was still in force, the unscrupulous Antigonus made overtures to Eumenes, and tried to induce him to enter into a league against Antipater; but Eumenes replied that he would enter into no alliance with any except a representative of the House of Alexander. He then returned into the fortress, and the siege was resumed.

Before the place could be taken Antipater died, and Polysperchon was appointed to succeed him in the regency. In the mean time, the son of Roxana was associated with Arrhidæus, and both were put in charge of the new Regent. It soon became apparent that Antigonus had expected the general management of affairs to devolve on himself, and finding another preferred before him, he began to take counsel how he might obtain by force or intrigue that which was denied him by the free-will of others. He accordingly entered into a conspiracy with Cassander, the son of Antipater. This ambitious soldier had succeeded in gaining the affections of Eurydice, and hoped to gain not only her, but with her the shadowy Empire, the crown of which was worn by her half-imbecile husband.

For this piece of political gallantry Cassander was disinherited by his father. The young man had fled to Antigonus, and now became his natural ally. Hereupon Antigonus took the field and attempted to win by open force, while Cassander, remaining in the shadow, continued to operate by subtlety. Ephesus was presently seized, and some ship-loads of money, amounting to six hundred talents, destined to meet the expenses of the Imperial government of the East, were captured by Antigonus. Eumenes was again tempted to join him in an alliance against Polysperchon, but could not be seduced from his loyalty.

The faithful satrap presently thereafter succeeded in making his escape from Nora, and thus brought the siege to naught. He soon afterwards entered into an open alliance with Polysperchon, who conferred upon him the supreme command of all of the Asiatic armies of the Empire. Another measure of the Regent was his edict reëstablishing democracy in all the states of Greece. It was thought by this means that the allegiance of the Hellenic commonwealths would remain unshaken, notwithstanding the temptations to which they were subjected by Antigonus. The event, however, was the introduction of a reign of confusion such as not even the turbulent Greeks could well endure. For a while the popular distraction knew no bounds. The worst elements of society became suddenly predominant. At Athens the aged Phocion, who had been forty-five times elected general by the assembly, and was now eighty-five years old, was condemned by the rabble to drink the hemlock. During the year 318 B. C. a desultory warfare was carried on between Cassander and Polysperchon. A naval battle was fought in the Bosphorus, in which Nicanor, the admiral of Antigonus, was defeated with a loss of one-half of his ships; but that satrap a few days afterward made a sudden descent upon the victors while encamped on the coast of Thrace, and in the battle of Byzantium inflicted on them a bloody defeat. Athens thereupon surrendered to Cassander, and the government was conferred on Demetrius Phalereus.

Meanwhile Polysperchon, as a means of strengthening his government, had brought home to Pella, Olympias, the mother of Alexander. That ambitious and passionate woman became a powerful influence in the affairs of state. Her favorite scheme was to secure the united dominions of the conqueror for her grandson Alexander, son of Roxana. The ascendency of Eurydice over the supporters of her husband, Arrhidæus, was equally marked. It thus happened that the Macedonian world was torn almost as much by the rivalries of two women as by the arms of Cassander and the Regent. The struggle, however, was brief as it was fierce. Olympias, having gained over the soldiery to her cause, compelled Eurydice and her husband, the king, to fly for their lives. Having soon afterwards obtained possession of their persons, she caused them

both to be assassinated. Thus, after a nominal reign of six years, was extinguished the spectral successor of Alexander the Great.

Cassander was greatly enraged at this atrocity and hastened into Macedonia to avenge the death of Eurydice. On his approach the aged Olympias took counsel of discretion and escaped from the city. With her grandson, Alexander Ægus, and his mother Roxana, she shut herself up in the strong fortress of Pydna, and was there besieged by Cassander. At the last, famine effected what arms had failed to accomplish, and the relentless old queen surrendered herself to her enemies. She was subjected to the form of a trial and put to death.

While these events were happening in Europe the struggle continued between Eumenes and Antigonus in Asia. The former, in addition to the conflict with his enemies in the field, was troubled not a little in his civil councils. The Macedonians, upon whom he was compelled to rely for support, looked upon him with disfavor, for he was a man of obscure birth and foreign parentage. Meanwhile Antigonus, after his victory in the battle of Byzantium, began a pursuit of Eumenes, who was then with his army in Phœnicia.

The latter, unable to meet his foe in the field, began retreating toward the east. He called upon Seleucus, the Babylonian satrap, to aid him with men and supplies; but that prince, instead of complying, opened the sluices of the Tigris and came near destroying Eumenes and his whole army. They escaped from their peril, however, and made their way as far east as the borders of Persia. Here, in B. C. 316, they were overtaken by Antigonus, and a battle was fought, with indecisive results. In a second conflict, however, Eumenes was defeated and taken prisoner. He was carried through the Macedonian camp and begged the soldiers to kill him, but they would not. But soon afterwards he was secretly put to death in prison. For twenty years he had fought for the House of Philip; and after every other general of note had abandoned the cause of Alexander and begun to contrive for himself, he still continued to strive for the maintenance of Macedonian supremacy. Among the many who had given free rein to selfishness and treachery, Eumenes alone kept his honor bright and went down to the grave without a stain on his escutcheon.

Antigonus, having thus triumphed over all opposition, assumed the regency. Polysperchon retired into Peloponnesus. Olympias was dead. The young Alexander Ægus was thus left naked to his enemies. Antigonus gathered his forces and made a campaign into Media. Having observed that of late the veteran cohort known as the Argraspides, or Silver-shields, had had too much to do in settling difficulties appertaining to the government, he dispatched them on arduous expeditions to the frontier provinces for the purpose of wearing them out with privations and fatigue. A second measure was to get rid of Python. That turbulent spirit was invited to join Antigonus with the promise of preferment, but was presently seized and put to death. Then followed the overthrow of Peucestes, satrap of Persia. Being jealous of this officer, Antigonus followed him to his capital, Pasargadæ, and having driven him from authority appointed one of his own tools as his successor.

The next object of the Regent's dislike was Seleucus, governor of Babylonia. Dissembling his purpose, he marched to the capital and was royally entertained by Seleucus; but the latter, perceiving that he was destined to fall by the same hand that had destroyed Python and Peucestes, made his escape from Babylon and fled to Egypt. He was cordially received by Ptolemy, and the two immediately sent proposals to Cassander and Lysimachus to enter into a league against the ambitious Antigonus. They were joined by Asander, satrap of Caria, and the confederates then made their demands of the Regent. But he rejected the overtures with disdain. Both parties made preparations for war, and in B. C. 315 hostilities began. The struggle continued for a period of twelve years, and involved all the leading populations from the Adriatic to the Indus.

In the beginning of the contest Antigonus invaded Caria, and Asander, the governor, was overthrown. The Regent next succeeded in securing the favor of a strong party in Peloponnesus, where Polysperchon still main-

tained a shadowy authority. Having thus gained a foothold, Antigonus made war on Cassander and stripped him of all his Grecian dependencies. He next turned his arms against Lysimachus, governor of Thrace, and him also he overthrew and drove from his dominions. Syria was next conquered, chiefly through the warlike abilities of Demetrius, the son of the Regent. The government of Ptolemy still remained intact.

At this juncture the confederates made known their desire for peace; but the ambition of Antigonus had grown with what it fed on, and he would listen to nothing. Ptolemy thereupon took up arms and went forth with a large army to Gaza. Here a decisive battle was fought, in which the Egyptian was completely victorious. The fortunes of Antigonus were so badly shattered that Seleucus was enabled to return to Babylon and resume the duties of his satrapy. The Syrian cities opened their gates to Ptolemy, who intrusted the defense of the conquered countries to Cilles and returned to Alexandria. His lieutenant, however, was soon defeated in two battles by Demetrius, and all that Egypt had gained was as suddenly lost. Ptolemy was obliged to give up Syria to the foe.[1]

After his return to Babylon, Seleucus was obliged to defend himself against the satraps of Media and Persia. It will be remembered that these officers had been elevated to power by Antigonus, and their continuance in authority now depended upon their supporting his cause. But Seleucus, collecting his forces, went forth against them and they were overwhelmingly defeated. Evagoras, the Persian governor, was left dead on the field, and Nicanor of Media was obliged to save himself by flight. This victory, B. C. 312, was decisive in one part of the struggle. Seleucus was firmly seated. A Greek kingdom in the East was thus established, with its capital at Babylon. The great dynasty of the SELEUCIDÆ was founded on the Euphrates, under whose beneficent government the eastern part of the dominions conquered by Alexander were destined for a long time to enjoy a measure of peace and prosperity.

The sudden success achieved by Seleucus induced Antigonus to listen to proposals for a general settlement. An important conference was accordingly held between himself and the confederate leaders, and conditions of peace were agreed upon. It was decided that Egypt should be given to Ptolemy and his successors. Thrace went to Lysimachus; and Macedonia, not including Greece, was awarded to Cassander until such time as Alexander Ægus, the son of the conqueror, should arrive at his majority. Antigonus reserved Asia for himself, thus refusing to recognize the government of Seleucus at Babylon. Thus by the successors of Philip's son was the world again parceled out into kingdoms.

Scarcely had this settlement been effected when Cassander opened the ball by the murder of the young Alexander and his mother, Roxana. Then followed soon afterwards the destruction of Hercules, another son of the conqueror, and Barcina, his mother. Thus at last was the deck cleared of the legitimate claimants to the crown of the Macedonian Empire. The bloody conspirators now had the game to themselves.

In a short time, Ptolemy, in disregard of the terms of the treaty, made a campaign into Syria and retook certain cities belonging to Antigonus. He then opened a correspondence with Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, with a view to marriage; but Antigonus, having discovered what was going on, sent a dispatch to the satrap of Sardis, where Cleopatra resided, and had the princess assassinated.

Soon after this event Demetrius raised a large force and invaded Greece. By the terms of the treaty the Grecian states were to remain independent; but Cassander had at once seized them as a part of the spoils belonging to him. With an armament of two hundred and fifty galleys, and five thousand talents in money, Demetrius now proceeded to enforce the settlement. The Athenians went wild over this ghastly restoration of

[1] It was in the withdrawal of Ptolemy from Syria that he was accompanied to Alexandria by the Jews, who thenceforth constituted so important an element of population in that city.

their liberties. As soon as quiet was restored, Demetrius proceeded to Cyprus, which was now occupied by the forces and partisans of Ptolemy, and laid siege to Salamis, the capital of the island. The Egyptian ruler came out with a large squadron to the relief of the city; but in a severe naval battle he was so completely defeated that he could offer no further resistance to the progress of his enemy. Salamis and the other towns of the island surrendered, and were transferred to Antigonus, in whose name Demetrius made the conquest.

PTOLEMY SOTER.

The blow inflicted on Ptolemy in his unfortunate sea-fight suggested to Antigonus the invasion of Egypt. With a powerful army of ninety thousand men and eighty elephants he marched through Syria to the coast, and then embarked for the mouth of the Nile. A storm, however, shattered the squadron, and on arriving in Egypt he found a united people and a country rendered almost impregnable by the skill and energy of his adversary.

Such was the aspect of affairs that he was obliged to adopt the humiliating expedient of retreating without striking a blow. In order, however, to redeem his reputation, he directed his flotilla to the island of Rhodes, and undertook the subjugation of the capital city. For more than a year Demetrius beat about the ramparts with every species of enginery known to the military skill of the times; but the Rhodians, assisted by Ptolemy, held out against him, until at last he was obliged (B. C. 305) to abandon the siege and grant to Rhodes her independence.[1]

Notwithstanding these reverses to his arms, Antigonus still indulged the ambitious project of regaining all the dominions of the Empire. He looked to the subjugation of Egypt, Macedonia, and the East. So aggressive were his movements that the former league of Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus against him was renewed, and both parties prepared for war. Seleucus entered Cappadocia with twenty thousand men, and the leaders came from the West to join his forces. It was now B. C. 301, and another crisis had arrived in the history of the nations subdued by Alexander. Antigonus and Demetrius, at the head of their army, met the allies at the little village of Ipsus, and here the decisive battle was fought. Antigonus was slain. His army was routed; and Demetrius barely escaped with eight thousand men. A new division of territory followed; Cœle-Syria and Palestine fell to Ptolemy; the larger part of Asia Minor to Lysimachus: Antioch became the capital.

In this strait of his affairs, Demetrius was suddenly relieved by fortune. Seleucus, now jealous of the growing power of Lysimachus, came to the rescue and formed an alliance with Demetrius by marrying his daughter Stratonice. The father, whose political estate was thus unexpectedly improved, at once resumed the aggressive, retook Cilicia from Lysimachus, and, in B. C. 295, made a successful invasion of Greece. In the next year he was declared king of Macedon, an incentive thereto being his marriage with Phila, the daughter of Antipater.

As soon as he was well seated in authority Demetrius renewed those visionary schemes which his father had entertained even to the day of his death. The son was equally ambitious, and would fain make good his claims to universal dominion. He accordingly organized a powerful army with a view to entering upon a career of conquest. At the outset he was opposed by Lysimachus and Ptolemy. While his attention was directed to these

DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES.
Museo Visconti.

[1] It was in commemoration of the aid given to the Rhodians by Ptolemy in this memorable siege that they conferred on him the title of *Soter*, or *Savior*—a title more generous than just; for it was to their own heroism that they owed their deliverance.

formidable antagonists, a foe still more to be dreaded appeared in Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. With him he went to war, but on approaching the borders of his adversary large bodies of the troops of Demetrius went over to the enemy, and he was obliged not only to abandon the campaign, but also to leave his own kingdom to the combined ravages of Pyrrhus and Lysimachus. The Macedonian, however, continued the war in Asia Minor, until he was brilliant son Agathocles—an event which made the king an object of execration in all the West. His punishment was left to Seleucus, who, in B. C. 281, marched into Asia Minor, met Lysimachus on the field of CORUPEDION and slew him in battle. Before leaving his capital, however, the now aged Seleucus had virtually abdicated the government in favor of his son, Antiochus, in whose hands he placed his young wife Stratonice.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS DISCUSSING WITH THE ARCHITECTS THE PLANS FOR THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY.

betrayed by his son-in-law, Seleucus, surrendered to his enemy, cast into prison, and brought to his death.

In the mean time Ptolemy Soter was succeeded in Egypt by his son, Ptolemy Philadelphus—presumably so called because he did *not* love his brother; for Ptolemy Ceraunus, the oldest son of Soter, was displaced by that ruler in favor of the younger, who became his successor. Arsinoë, the sister of Philadelphus, was married to Lysimachus, and him she is said to have instigated to murder his

In these acts the venerable monarch was largely influenced by a desire which had possessed him to revisit his native Macedonia. As soon as the battle of Corupedion had been decided in his favor, he continued his course to the West, and was presently rewarded with a sight of his native hills, which he had not beheld *for fifty-two years*. Soon afterwards, while with an old man's curiosity he was examining an ancient altar, Ptolemy Ceraunus, who had accompanied him on his return into Macedonia, stole behind and

stabbed him to death. The murderer at once repaired to Lysimachia, and announcing himself as the avenger of their late king's death, seized the throne and held it for the space of three years.

From all this blood and violence it is a grateful relief to turn to the court of Philadelphus. To him it is fair to accord the praise of being the most enlightened sovereign of his times. He made Egypt more glorious than she had been since the days of the great Pharaohs of antiquity. Alexandria became under his munificent patronage the most splendid seat of learning in the world. Men of letters from all quarters of the world came hither as to an asylum. He founded the Alexandrian library, and invited to his court the most distinguished scientists, poets, and philosophers. He participated in their learned discussions, and with a discernment that would have done credit to Francis Bacon sought to draw them away from the region of inane speculation and to limit their researches to the things beneficial to men. The great Pharos which had been begun by Ptolemy I. was completed in B. C. 280, and the glare of its flaming torch was flung for more than forty miles across the Mediterranean.

HALL IN THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY.

Thus, in the city named after the conqueror of Asia, the light and learning of Asia was mingled with the enterprise of the West.

With the death of the aged Seleucus perished the last of those remarkable military chieftains who had followed the fortunes of Alexander the Great. The personal struggles of those who had heard the voice of that mighty hero in battle ended with the battle of Corupedion. Antiochus was left with the

Greek kingdom of Syria. Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned in Egypt; Ceraunus in Macedonia. By him the sons of Lysimachus were murdered, Arsinoë driven into Egypt, and Antigonus, son of Demetrius, excluded from the throne.

But the blind Nemesis, ever on the trail of the butcher, soon sent her avenging ministers to balance the disturbed scales of justice. The Gauls came. Having acquired rather than appeased an appetite for plunder during their recent invasion of Italy, they now poured into Thrace and Macedonia. Without proper preparation or due caution in the presence of such a foe, Ceraunus went forth and gave them battle. The result was that his army was cut to pieces by the barbarians and himself slain in the fight. The invaders then made their way into Asia Minor, selected their province, conquered it, and gave it the name of *Galatia*.

PHAROS OF ALEXANDRIA.

After a long struggle with King Pyrrhus and the Gauls, Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, at length secured the throne of Macedonia and took the title of Antigonus II. In a reign of twenty-seven years (B. C. 269–242) he embroiled himself but little with the affairs of surrounding kingdoms. In an attempt, however, which he made upon the liberties of the Greek states, he stirred up so much resentment that, under the lead of the Achaians an alliance, known as the ACHÆAN LEAGUE—hereafter to act a conspicuous part in the concluding drama of Grecian history—was formed against him and his schemes. In B. C. 242 he died at the advanced age of eighty, and left his crown to his son Demetrius II., whose reign of ten years was not marked by any notable events. His ambitions—such as they were—were successfully resisted by the League, and his petty wars with the Ætolians, Illyrians, and Thracians had no important results. At his death the crown descended to his son Philip, then but three years of age, who was placed under the regency of his uncle, Antigonus Doson.

Meanwhile, in B. C. 222, Cleomenes, the young "king" of Sparta—for that unchangeable commonwealth still clung to its traditional names—not liking the growing ascendency of the League, made war on the confederated states, and the latter called on Antigonus Doson to aid them in resisting the Lacedæmonian aspirant. The two armies which were brought into the field by the respective parties met on the field of Sellasia, and Cleomenes was overthrown and driven into Egypt. That country, in the mean time, had passed from the hands of the great Philadelphus to his son Ptolemy Euergetes, from whom the Spartan refugee now sought protection and vindication.

For fourteen years Antigonus Doson remained as regent of Macedonia, and was then, at death, succeeded in authority by his ward PHILIP, who was destined in a short time to be embroiled with the Romans, and to become one of the actors in the complicated drama in which the new Republic of the West stretched out her scepter over all of the contending parties.

Soon after the accession of Philip to power the Achæan League made a rash invasion of Ætolia and were repulsed with great loss. The Ætolians pressed home their advantage, and the Achæans applied to Philip for aid. The monarch repaired into Greece, and undertook to settle all difficulties by conciliatory measures proposed in a general conference of the states. But the business resulted in nothing, and that conflict ensued known as the Second Social War. In this contest Philip took the side of the League, and for four years (B. C. 222–218) upheld the cause against the Ætolians and their allies. At the end of this time the Nemæan festival was celebrated, and while the festivities were on, the news came of Hannibal's great victory over the Romans on the field of Thrasimenus.

The effect of one violence was to counteract another. The Greek states were led to consider the tremendous political powers which had been developed in the West, and how they themselves were thereby imminently exposed to conquest. This reflection led to a settlement. Even the Ætolians were able to see that, unless all Greece should be united, she would in the near future fall an easy prey to one or other of the powers of the West.

Turning to the East, and resuming the history of the Greek kingdom of Syria we find on the throne as successor to Seleucus his son, Antiochus Soter—a title conferred on account of his victorious defense of the country against the Gauls. He came to the throne in B. C. 280, and had a disturbed reign of eighteen years. His first military operation was a campaign against Bithynia, which for some time had been in a state of insurrection. The expedition was intrusted by the king to his general, Patroclus; but the Bithynians soon compelled him to withdraw in disgrace. Nor was the campaign which was undertaken in B. C. 280 against the kingdom of Pergamus more successful. A few years later Antiochus was induced to engage in a broil which proved to be still more unfortunate to himself and kingdom. A certain Magas, who had been appointed by Ptolemy Philadelphus, as governor of Cyrene, raised the standard of revolt and induced Antiochus, who was his father-in-law, to espouse his cause. This injudicious action cost the king of Syria dearly. The powerful fleet of Ptolemy struck right and left at the Syrian dependencies, and while Magas gained nothing but defeat, his father-in-law was, in the course of a four years' war, mulcted of the fine provinces of Lycia, Pamphylia, Caria, and Cilicia.

Soon afterwards, in B. C. 262, the barbarous Gauls, who were now firmly established in Asia Minor, and had received vast accessions from their countrymen in Europe, made such havoc by their ravages that Antiochus resolved on their extermination. With a large army, he met and assaulted the barbarians before the walls of Ephesus. The conflict was one of the most bloody and desperate of the century; and such were the valor and determination of the Gauls that the Syrian army was entirely routed and Antiochus killed. The title of Soter, which he had borne for

ANTIOCHUS I.—Berlin.

eighteen years as a successful defender of his country against these identical marauders, was suddenly annulled by them, and converted into a theme of ridicule.

The late king of Syria was succeeded in B. C. 261 by his son, Antiochus Theos. This young prince, on hearing of his father's defeat at Ephesus, hastened thither with a new army to mend, if possible, the fortunes of the kingdom. But after a desultory war of several years' duration, he was obliged to retire before the invincible barbarians, and leave them in peaceable possession of their province. In a struggle, however, with a chieftain who had seized the governorship of Caria, Antiochus was crowned with success; and it was for this pitiful victory that the base fools who thronged his court conferred on him the title of *Theos* or the god.

About the same time the Syrian king became involved in a war with Ptolemy Philadelphus, from whom he gained, only to lose them again, the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia; but before the contest was ended, the attention of Antiochus was suddenly recalled by the alarming condition of affairs on the north-eastern frontiers of his own kingdom. In B. C. 254, both Bactria and Parthia, offended at the exactions and inhumanity of the royal governors, raised the standard of revolt and defied the power of the king. Theodotus, the Bactrian satrap, was for the time entirely successful. Agathocles, the Parthian governor, was attacked by two patriot brothers, Arsaces and Tiridates, and by them the adherents of Antiochus were obliged to take to flight. Startled at these outbreaks, the Syrian monarch was glad to enter into negotiations for peace with Ptolemy, between whom and himself terms were soon agreed upon, and the treaty confirmed by the marriage to Antiochus of the Egyptian Princess Berenice. By this act Laodice, whom the Syrian had previously married, and by whom he had two children, was discarded; but the queen soon sought revenge by poisoning Antiochus, and securing the succession to her son, Seleucus, surnamed Callinicus. It was in this year, B. C. 246, that Ptolemy Euergetes succeeded his father Philadelphus on the throne of Egypt.

The first work which the new prince of Alexandria felt constrained to undertake was to visit retributive justice upon those who had murdered his sister Berenice; for that princess had been hunted down by Laodice and put to death within the sacred precincts of the Daphnean temple. Seleucus thus stood as the representative of the crime which had been committed against the House of Ptolemy. The latter raised an army and began an invasion of his rival's dominions, and at the same time the Parthian insurrection continued on the eastern frontier of the Empire. The Egyptian soon overran Syria and continued his victorious career through Media and Babylonia even to the banks of the Indus. But his conquest was one rather of spoliation than political aggrandizement. He returned to the West with plunder amounting in value to forty thousand talents of silver. In addition to this vast booty he brought home to his countrymen the statues of more than two thousand Egyptian gods which had been carried away by Cambyses to Susiana and Persia.[1]

In the mean time the government of Seleucus was still further distracted by a rebellion in Syria, headed by his brother Antiochus Hierax, who induced the Gauls to join his standard. While these two were engaged in a struggle for the mastery, Euergetes, who might easily have reduced the whole country, withdrew into Egypt, apparently satisfied with the vengeance which he had taken on his enemy.

This afforded opportunity and motive to Seleucus and Hierax to come to an adjustment; but a permanent peace between them was impossible, and in B. C. 242, hostilities again broke out with greater violence than ever. A severe battle was fought at Ancyræ, in which Hierax was victorious, but the Gauls, who had won the battle, hearing that Seleucus was dead, turned on their own commander, by whose destruction they thought to obtain the mastery of Asia for themselves. Barely did Hierax escape from their clutches. Two years afterwards, with one hundred thousand Gauls, he renewed the contest, marched against Babylon,

[1] It was for this service that he was honored by the Egyptians with the surname of EUERGETES, the Doer of Good.

and was utterly routed by the army of Seleucus. The defeated insurgent fled to Egypt, put himself under the protection of Ptolemy, and by him was detained as a prisoner for thirteen years.

Meanwhile the Parthians, having strengthened themselves by an alliance with the Bactrians, held out against the Syrians. With them, after the overthrow of Hierax, Seleucus at once renewed the contest. In B. C. 239 a decisive battle was fought with the rebel barbarians, in which they gained a great victory over the Syrian army. Seleucus was taken prisoner and sent into the wilds of Upper Asia, where he was held a captive until his death, ten years later. As soon as his captivity was known at Babylon the authorities placed upon the throne his eldest son, Seleucus III., who took the title of Ceraunus, or Thunder—a name given in contempt by the soldiers; for he was a despicable weakling both in mind and body. He began his inglorious reign of three years by attempting to carry out the plans of his father. A conspiracy was presently made against him by Nicana, one of his generals, and a certain Gaul named Apaturius, and he was assassinated in the twentieth year of his age. The throne was immediately conferred on his brother Antiochus, surnamed the Great.

In the beginning of his reign the new monarch was greatly aided in his government by his cousin Achæus, one of the most distinguished soldiers of his times. Not so, however, was the king supported by the minister Hermeias, who proved treacherous, and sowed revolt in the provinces. Molon and Alexander, governors of Media and Persia, headed insurrections in their respective satrapies, and the royal generals who were sent against them were defeated. At length, in B. C. 222, Antiochus took the field in person, and the fortunes of the war were changed. When the armies were drawn up for battle the soldiers of the insurgent satraps deserted them and went over to the king. Molon and Alexander found refuge in suicide, and Hermeias was condemned to death, not, however, until he had produced a fatal breach between Achæus and the king.

Euergetes was at length succeeded on the throne of Egypt by Ptolemy Philopater—a prince whose character illy accorded with that of his illustrious predecessors. The kingdom was neglected to the extent of inviting foreign aggression. The ambitious Antiochus saw in the situation an opportunity to recover Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, nor was he slow in retaking these provinces from the Egyptians. The latter, foreseeing that the Syrian king would soon be knocking at their doors, fell back before him, and destroyed all the wells between Palestine and Egypt. Several able generals opposed the progress of Antiochus, and finally confronted him at Raphia with a powerful army. The two forces met in B. C. 218. Besides the immense array of infantry and cavalry on each side, nearly two hundred elephants were marshaled forth to influence the result of the battle. The contest was long and bloody. At the first, victory inclined to the banner of Antiochus; but the tide presently turned, and he was subjected to a disastrous rout. More than fourteen thousand of his dead were left on the field. So decisive was the result that Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria were at once recovered, and Antiochus was glad to conclude a peace on the basis of restitution.

While the attention of the king of Syria was occupied with these events, Achæus, justly offended at the course of his master in treating him as disloyal, secured for himself several provinces in Asia Minor, and prepared to defend them. Phrygia and Lydia were included in his dominions. With Prusias, king of Bithynia, Attalus, king of Pergamus, and Mithridates, king of Pontus, he had made successful alliances. Nevertheless he was unable to stand before the arms of Antiochus. Attalus, who had been compelled rather than persuaded to espouse the cause of Achæus, went over to the Syrian king. The insurgent general was driven into Sardis, and when the city was taken he shut himself up in the citadel. Ptolemy attempted through an emissary to secure the escape of Achæus, but the agent proved treacherous, and the general, being betrayed into the hands of his enemies, was wrapped in the skin of an ass and crucified.

Antiochus next vindicated his title of *Great* by doing what several of his predecessors had ingloriously failed to accomplish—subdue the Parthians and Bactrians. In a campaign of B. C. 214 he overran both of the revolted provinces, gained decisive victories, and reduced to obedience the rebellious inhabitants, who for thirty years had defied the authority of the Syrian kings. Having achieved these brilliant successes, Antiochus continued his campaign to the banks of the Indus, and returned to his capital with a great augmentation of wealth and honor.

So great were the vices of Ptolemy Philopater that Egypt was not permitted to reap any important benefits from the victory at Rhaphia. His conduct precipitated an epoch of civil discord, and it was a good riddance when his vicious indulgences brought his life to a close. He was succeeded by his son, surnamed Epiphanes, who was a mere child at his father's death. This circumstance suggested to Philip of Macedon the feasibility of an Egyptian invasion. Accordingly, in B. C. 202, he set out through Asia Minor, and captured most of the cities therein belonging to the House of Ptolemy. Several of the Ægean islands fell into his power, and still further successes were promised to his arms; but the Rhodians, alarmed at these aggressions, assisted

TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS PROCLAIMING "LIBERTY" TO THE GREEKS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

by Attalus, king of Pergamus, sent out a fleet against Philip, and the Romans, also interfering, compelled him to return to his own dominions.

For a year or two, however, he continued to press the war in Asia Minor, and, among other successes, gained a decisive victory over the Ætolian general Scopas, in a battle at the foot of Mount Panius. His justification for all these proceedings was that as the heir of Seleucus Nicator he was the rightful ruler of all the countries of the Lesser Asia. In B. C. 197, he besieged the fortresses of Mysia and Caria, and presently afterwards invested Smyrna and Lampsacus. He then overran Thrace, and began to rebuild the ruined city of Lysimachia. All these measures indicated that the Macedonian ruler was about to lay a strong hand on the greater part of the Alexandrine Empire in the West. But a stronger Hand now reached out of the shadows. The outlines of the fingers of Rome were seen on the wall of destiny.

In B. C. 196 the Isthmian games were in progress at Corinth. The states were assembled to witness the time-honored celebration. Suddenly the Roman proconsul, Titus Quinctius Flaminius, appeared in the midst and announced that the great Republic of the West assumed thenceforth the protectorate of the commonwealths of Greece. He, as arbiter, would hear the embassadors of the several states at war, and settle without prejudice all the points in controversy! The announcement was equivalent to saying that the empire of the world had been suddenly transferred from the banks of the Euphrates to the banks of the Tiber, from Babylon to Rome!

We have now pursued the course of events from the death of Alexander the Great through the turmoil of revolution and bloodshed down to the time when the fragments of the colossal empire established by the son of Philip began to be absorbed by the Roman Republic. The period occupied by the contentions of the successors of Alexander B. C. 326--196 is one of the darkest and most difficult passages in history. These times were the Middle Ages of Antiquity. They stood chaotic between the unity of Persia and Macedonia on the one hand, and the greater unity of Rome on the other. Not without a certain sense of relief may the reader turn from the heterogeneous jumble of events presented by the annals of the Græco-Syrian, Græco-Egyptian, and Macedonian kingdoms to the unique and singular grandeur of Rome. To that great power of the West our attention will now be directed.